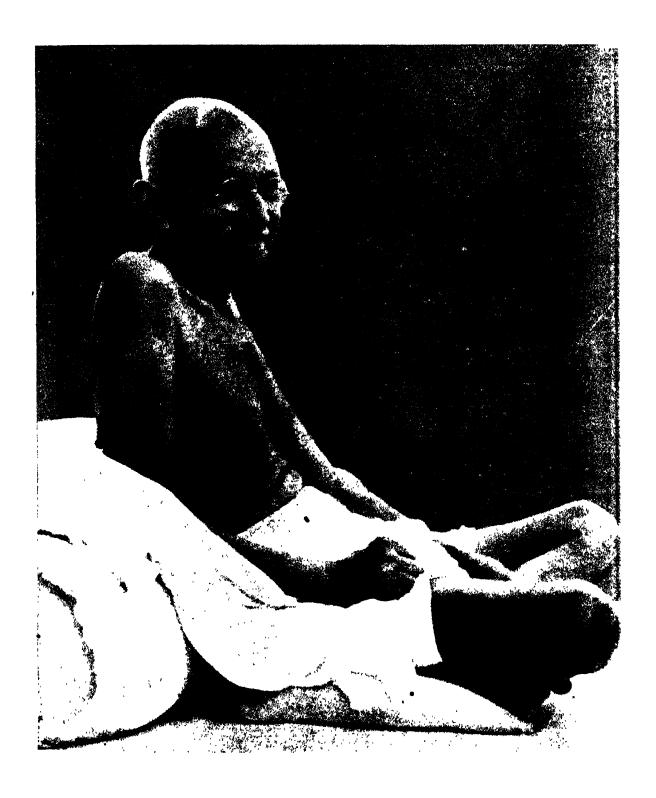
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NOTES

The Passing of Mahatma Gandhi

The Light that guided all of us, little or great, for over one of the most momentous quarters of a century of this nation's history, has been put out by the hand of a criminal. Twenty-four centuries back, when the Light of the World went out in this very land, a similar wave of despair and grief overwhelmed the faithful, though the passing did not cenne with the same tragic and shameful suddenness. Today we cannot find any means of consolation, we can only ask as to why was this thunderbolt aimed at this fated land.

The tragedy of January 30 ended an era in Indua's evolution, fashioned by British methods of administration, exploitation and enlightenment. It ended in the assassination in his seventy-ninth year of the architect of India's Freedom by Nathuram Vinayak Godse, on his way to the prayer meeting that had become part of Gandhiji's life as an individual, as a Prophet of New Life, and as a leader of his own people.

The question we have to ask, is what led that misguided cretin and the band of bestial parricides that was associated with him, to venture on such a foul crime? It is not enough that all the criminals be hunted out and punished. The reasons behind this dire catastrophe have to be searched for so that the good work of the Father of the Nation may not perish with him. There is no doub's that our leaders have partially lost the close hold over the mind of the masses, that was Mahatmaji's greatest gift to them. This must be re-established, for mere condign punishment for the guilty is not enough; they must be wiped out through public condemnation and opprobrium.

The world looks on in horror at this tragedy. We are afflicted with sorrow and shame; and the natural anger of men and women have sought and found outlet in attacks on the life and property of people, the majority of whom are innocent of any sympathy with

such a brutal sacrilege But sorrow and shame cannot be appeased by such an easy method of retribution. The departed soul of India's leader would not have had it so. Ten days before the tragic 30th of January, a bomb had been thrown at him by another crazy fool who thought of him as being an enemy of the majority in the Indian Union. And for this aggressor, he had no anger in his heart, and hoped that "the people would pity him." And in his humility he could only say:

God only knew how I would have behaved in front of a bomb aimed at me and exploding. I would deserve a certificate only if I fell as a result of such an explosion and yet retained a smile on my face and no malice against the doer.

It is this spirit of forgiveness towards the evil-docr, combined with the utmost condemnation of the evil, that had inspired every thought and activity of this man of God sent by his Maker to play such a significant part in the world's affairs. In a way, this quality may be said to have constituted the central message of his life, the Truth and the Way that he has been a witness and path-finder of these forty years Standing before such a tragedy, we may not have the mental equipoise that would help us to rightly interpret and appraise the significance of the phenomenon that Gandhiji represented in the historic continuity of our country's life. The world has acclaimed him as the bringer of peace to its war-scarred life, as a healer of its spiritual distempers, as a practical man of affairs with vision and courage to indicate the Way out of material and mental discontents that characterize the life of modern humanity. The world has seen in him the continuity of the Prophethood that during the millenia of man's history had incarnated itself repeatedly.

But yet there would remain some sccrets unanalysed. The student of history of the 19th and 20th centuries would have to re-orientate his vision and imagination to rightly interpret the social conditions that produced in a remote corner of India, in the home of the chief administrator of a petty Indian State, the manikin that emerged as the *Mahatma*, the Great Soul, of four hundred million men, women and children of our subcontinent, whom the world has put on the same pedestal as that reserved for the founders of its historic religions.

And the students of developments in India during the last one hundred and ninety years would be required to explain in the context of the internal affairs of their own country, the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi. We know that in the mango groves of Plassey in the year 1757. Robert Clive picked up the scentre of royalty that had fallen from the hands of Serajuddaulla, betrayed by his kinsman and the commander-in-chief of his army. We know that during the ensuing regime Robert Clive and other soldiers of fortune "shook the pagoda tree" and amassed illicit fortunes beyond the dreams of avarice. This looting had historic precedents to justify itse'f; for, foreign conquest had always been characterized by such conduct in those days But what fo'lowed was something different. And this difference was exemplified in the Farine of Bengal (1769-70) almost on the threshold of British rule over India. This famine stood as a testimony to the fact that the new rulers had been moved by a spirit of grab that continued to regard and treat India solely as a field of plunder and exploitation. A British man of letters, Dean Inge, in his Outspoken Essays has described the consequences of this predatory spirit in action:

The first impulse (to the industrial revolution) in Britain was given by the plunder of Bengel which, after the victories of Clive, flowed into the country in a bread stream for about thirty years. This ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating England's industries as the five milliards extorted from France did for Germany after 1870.

Ruskin had called it the "Indian loot." But this process had a new characteristic distinguishing it from other foreign conquests. It formed part of a State system that destroyed the industries of the conquered countries with a view to build up its own industries creating in these areas conditions of unemployment and destitution continuing for decades and centuries. The British conquest of India was not like that of Timurlane or Nadir Shah taking at one sweep whatever wealth they could lay their hands on. The scientific exploitation introduced by Britain has been more permanent, more pervasive. To this new device of rule our predecessors succumbed, body and soul, in a spirit of resignation for more than half a century till the advent of Ram Mohun Roy and his generation when we hear for the first time voices of protest against the ways of the new rulers.

For the next twenty years we find the Indian hovering between "half-dawn and half-chaos" till the

outburst of 1857 when the remnants of the ruling classes of India made a last desperate attempt to overthrow the new regime. They failed, though they had brought the last of Timur's family, Bahadur Shah, out of his enforced solitude, and though the last of the Peshwas, Nana Saheb, the titular head of the Marhatta Confederacy, had taken the lead in organizing this "Mutiny" as British historians phrased the revolt or this "First War of Indian Independence," as Indian historians described it. This attempt at subversion of the new order failed, because except the people of the area extending from Bihar to Delhi, the vast peasant mass of the country lay inactive because the change of a regime meant no change to their ways of life. Another thirty years bring us to 1885 when the Indian National Congress was born, and the grievances. of the people were ventilated in organized protest, under educated leadership, which was informed and capable of leading through legitimate channels of legal and constitutional rediess. For twenty years, the builders of the Congress laboured in the hope and faith that Britain would redeem the promises solemnly made on her behalf by her sovereigns in 1833, in 1858, and in 1877, when Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India. These leaders were products of British education, drawing sustenance from the Liberalism that was in the ascendant aimost all through the 19th century, finding inspiration in the French Illumination and Revolution and the Resorgimento. As a result of their actions, by the seventh decade of the 19th century, British administrators found the educated Indian "less submissive in tone and language than formerly, more erect in mental and moral stature in the presence of Europeans."

The full flowering of this return movement was reached by the end of the 19th century when a young Hindu monk was found asserting the values of his people's life in the Parliament of Religions he d at Chicago in 1893, and the thought leaders of Christendom were startled into a recognition of the rise of another Way of Life with a history of its own going back to unremembered centuries. In the field of politics, in the relation between the alien State and the people of India, a new audacity and 'grimness" erupted into view as Bengal stood up for the defence of her cu tural integrity. This brings us to 1905 which ended the era of acquiescence in British superiority and started the era of positive action for the assertion of national rights and the vindication of national honour. Followed "revolutionary patriotism" and "terrolism" with secret conspiracy and organization as their technique of action, with the bomb and the revolver as their weapons of offence and defence.

During the First World War (1914-1918), the revolutionary patriots of the country, both exics and active in their motherland, were able to secut. German and Turkish help with a view to overthrow British rule over India. It was a desperate venture, an unequal fight between an imperial system, equipped with

the most developed of modern arms, and with the most intelligent of leadership and groups of revolutionaries drawn from two provinces mainly, the recruiting field being confined to sections of the educated community. The result of this fight was not long in doubt. Thus were dashed on the ground many an ardent hope; and many were the men who sacrificed at the altar of their country's freedom, the richest qualities and endowments of their youth, the happiness of their near ones as men and women understand and value it. They failed, because they failed to inject into the vast majority of their people, the courage that characterized their own conduct; they failed to call out of the deeps the spirit of sacrifice, of "do and dare" that moved themselves.

And when this failure of "revolutionary patriotism" was demonstrated beyond any doubt, there appeared Gandhiji in the firmament of India's public life, During all the time of the revolutionary upsurge in his country he had been fighting the good fight for the honour of his people's dignity in South Africa. The poncy of the Boer and the Briton in this part of the British Empire high-lighted the arrogance against which his own people had been waging a per-istent fight in his own homeland. There was common ground between the new leader and the "revolutionary patriots" in India in their spirit of sacrifice, in their determination to "do and dare, and die." But he came with a new technique of fight built on his faith in the goodness of men which late or soon cannot fail to respond to the demands of Truth and Justice. Therefore, he was able to tell his own people that the empire-policy of Britain was "Satanie" but that the peop e of Britain should be pitied therefor, for the sins committed in their name. He asked his people to believe him when he said that the goodness of the British people, overlaid with two centuries of exploitation of other people's rescurces, would assert itself and do justice by India. At the same time he told them that they must keep their spirit alive and alert, that they should be self-reliant, that they should remove from their body politic all the elements that made for disunity and lack of cohesion. This was the heart of his programme of the spinningwheel, of the removal of Untouchability.

The betrayal of the hopes of self-determination for India promised during the World War I by Britain and the breaking of solemn promises to Muslims about the integrity of the Turkish Calipha'e prepared the ground for the India-wide agitation that found a new leader in Gandhiji. The imperialist in Britain, buoyed up by victory over the Kaiser, thought of consolidating his system of rule over the "lesser breeds" of mankind by methods which Ireland experienced as "Black and Tan" and India as "Jallianwala Bagh." These two experiences laid hare the treacherous heart of British imperialism; the "Crawling Lane" at Amritsar shook Gandhiji's faith in the British bureaucracy to do the decent thing by India. His "hartal" to make the protest against the Rowlatt Bill extended the circle of opposition to British methods of administration amongst classes that had been rather indifferent to the doings of the "Sarkar"—the Government—which was

above all law, human and divine. How the mass mind of India responded with such intrepidity to the call of the new leader will remain a milestone in human psychology. The technique of "hartal" jostled them out of their pathetic resignation and brought them face to face with a new world of ideas and activities.

The "hartal" and the demonstration attendant therron laid the foundation of the new leadership. When the Muslim mass in our country rallied round it in 1920 under the leadership of their Ulemas and Moulanas, a situation was created that "perplexed" as seasoned a politician as Lord Reading who had succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Governor-General. The educated classes responded no less superbly, though their mind was not free from deubts and hesitations which came to the surface when in 1923, C. R. Das, Ma'ilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel. Hakim Ajmal Khan led and organized the Swaraj Party. This "revolt" had its roots in certain of the basic principles that moved the new leadership in its reaction to Indian discontent in the context of the conditions created by the capitalist-imperialism pioneered by Britain since the middle of the 18th century. The ruin of India's village industries was not an isolated phenomenon; it followed certain philosophic assumptions of human nature and human good that in practice proved to be not an unmixed blessing. Gandhiii had been led to rebel against these by the writings of Ruskin and Tolstov bringing out the cannibal nature of the new dispensation flourishing in the early 19th century. His reaction to it was embedded in his book Hind Swaraj, wherein he related his talk with a Bombay cloth mill owner bragging of his theory of exploitation of the patriotic sentiment of Bengal during the Swadeshi and anti-Partition movement days. The leadership of the country and the Congress which Candhiji inherited had no reply to this exploitation. Gandhiji proposed to root it out by his cult of the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. And his Nen-violent Resistance to evil argued a faith in the goodness of human nature that few shared. His call for communal amity, his campaign against Untouchability jerked us into a new realization of the discordances of Indian life that have been disrupting national cehesion and insulting the dignity of human nature. The old leadership had not been indifferent to these weaknesses in our body politic; it had lacked the soul-stirring passion and the fervour that moved mountains. Gandhiji brought these new qualities with him in fighting internal and external enemies to human good. The masses responded to these, and ever since then Gandhiji has been able to retain their allegiance and love,

In assessing his contribution to the evolution of modern India, these fac's that have strongly coloured our thoughts and activities and stirred dissatisfaction with the accepted values of life internal and external, have to be counted and in our various ways we have been responding to his challenges to deeply-held beliefs acquired during the British period, to the combative in-tinct of human beings. This antinomy explains why he had to wage such a persistent campaign against the habits of thought and conduct of his own people, and why even in his political fights, they could be found rising to the demands on their spirit of sacrifice by fits and starts. For about eight years

till the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930, known as the Salt Campaign, Gandhiji kept himself aloof from politics, though his influence on it had to be reckoned with. When that upsurge of mass enthusiasm did come, it did in the wake of such a simple formula as the demand for untaxed salt. But the commonalty of the land responded to the symbolization of salt in the Dandi March because it represented a grievance that touched on one of the daily needs of the poorest and that of their cattle. The masses of India were rocked as never before; but the Muslim masses in general were indifferent, and the intelligentsia amongst them, who survived in their allegiance to Indian Nationalism even after the defection of the "Ali brothers", were reinforced by the support of the Khudai Khitmadgars (Servants, of God), organized by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, known to the world at large as "Frontier Gandhi." The "Christian Viceroy," Lord Irwin, was not deterred by his faith in resorting to all "methods of barbarism" by which irresponsible authority fights to maintain its stranglehold.

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact called a halt to this fight. But the Willingdon regime returned to the original bias of British policy, and though Lord Irwin's successor spoke of his ambition to go down to history as "the first constitutional Governor-General" of India, imperial policy dictated him to reject "the Conference method" of his predecessor. Therefore did we find Lord Willingdon seuding a curt reply to Gandhiji's anxious enquiry carried in his telegram of 29th December, 1931:

"Whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress."

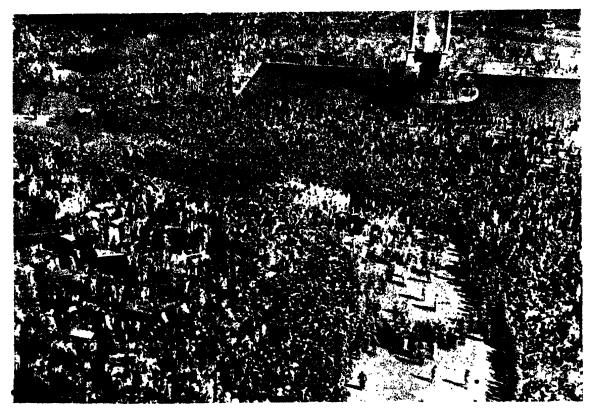
Followed the second Civil Disobedience of the Congress, and the Government started over again the procedure of arrest, imprisonment, imprisonment without trial, the regime of "lawless laws"; shooting, "mild lathi charges," cavalry charges into crowds, introduced variety into the technique of repression. Opposition was gagged into silence, dragooned into passivity. But the fire of resentment burned and lingered.

The outbreak of the second World War of the 20th century came as an opportunity to Britain to re-assert her hold over the human and natural resources of India, to fan communalism and separatism as an instrument thereof, She went on the offensive when without consulting any Indian leader or the, Central Legislature she declared India as a helligerent on the side of the Allies against Germany. The Congress Ministries resigned in protest against this "affront to the self-respect" of their .people, The Round Table, the quarterly organ of British sentiment in its least intolerant phase, was constrained to recognize that there was justice in this attitude: "As it was, the crisis caught India when she was still standing on the threshold of Dominion Status, so that while all the Dominions were free to choose, India was committed to war by a constitutional procedure which, though legally correct, provided for no consultation of the Indian public." And when in the pursuit of this arrogant policy, Lord Linlithgow announced pa August 8, 1940, that the British authorities "could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life," the London weekly, New Statesman and Nation wrote that this declaration gave "a formidable right to veto the will of Indian democracy." The paper continued: "It repeats exactly what was said with fatal results to Ulster." And since then till June 3, 1947, the President of the Muslim League used his "veto" with results more extensive than what took place in that corner of Ireland. And to this "pledge" of the British Government uttered through the lips of Lord Linlithgow in 1940 can be traced all the abominations that have taken place in India since August 16, 1946.

During these years Gandhiji followed a line of action that refused to treat Britain's adversity as India's opportunity for wresting political power from her hands. Even Congress leadership refused to accept his advice: it was prepared to cooperate with war measures "provided responsibility was transferred from Westminster to India." to quote the words of the Poona re-olution of the All-India Congress Committee passed on July 27-28, 1940. It was no small concession when it declared that the Congress could not extend the principle of Non-violence to "Free India's national defence", and one of its leaders could say that "the declaration of freedom that we demand does not mean a withdrawal from the British plan of defence." The British failed to appreciate Gandhiji's decent attitude. They exploited differences between various elements of India's population for their narrow policy. Even when Japan over-ran Malaya and Burma, their War Cabinet sent Sir Stafford Cripps in a mission of reconciliation that broke on the rock of their own adroit duplicity, and confirmed Gandhiji's suspicion that they were beyond redemption. Therefore did he call for "an orderly with-Alrawal" of their power from India to be saved from the ignominy of their hasty flight from Burma, This call took shape in the "Ouit India" Movement of August-November, 1942, when a leaderless people took on their own account measures that declared to all the world the opposition of India to British imperialism. They failed in their "revolt." But the forces of history co-operating with India's discontent have forced British power out of India. Gandhiji has symbolized and organized this discontent, and he lived to witness the success of one of his own objectives. But British power before retiring from India forced division on India's historic continuity much against Gandhiji's diapproval and perception of the dangers that such a division would precipitate. During the last one hundred and sixtynine days of his life on this earth he strove with might and main to halt the cruel consequences of disruption released over the country. He fell a martyr to this attempt to maintain human decency in the land of which he had dreamt a glorious future of unity amid diversity, of differences reconciled by a spirit of sweetness and light that is the glory of humanity's quest of the True, the Good and the Beautiful. To this ideal we must re-dedicate ourselves. In the desolution and despair of the loss, we must not falter. For, that would be a hetrayal of the faith in us of the man whom we loved to regard as the Mahatma, the Great Soul, the Architect of India's Freedom.



Mahatma Gandhi lying in State



The Funeral Procession

The long five-mile route from Birla House to the Jumna banks was lined on either side with people of every creed and every age



The End of the Journey
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Lady Mountbatten, Lord Leuis Mountbatten, Hon'ble Pamela
Mountbatten, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Lo Chia Luen watch the ameral pyre of
Gandhiji on the bank of the Justina



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehtu addressing the mammoth meeting at Ramlila Grounds in Delhi on February 2, when over a quarter of a million people gathered to pay their last homage to

Gandhiji on the Congress

"Indian National Congress which is the oldest national political organisation and which has after many battles fought her non-violent way to freedom cannot be allowed to die. It can only die with the nation," wrote Mahatma Gandhi in the Harijan of February 1st, under the caption "Congress Position."

"A living organism ever grows or it dies. The Congress has won political freedom but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom. These freedoms are harder than the political, if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular. All-embracing constructive work evokes the energy of all the units of the millions.

"The Congress has got the preliminary and necessary part of her freedom. The hardest has yet to come. In its difficult ascent to democracy, it has inevitably created rotten boroughs leading to corruption and creation of institutions, popular and democratic only in name. How to get out of the weedy and unwieldly growth?

"The Congress must do away with its special register of members at no time exceeding one crore, not even then easily identifiable. It had an unknown register of millions who could never be wanted. Its register should now be co-extensive with all the men and women on the voters' rolls in the country.

"The Congress business should be to see that no faked name gets in and no legitimate name is left out. On its own register it will have a body of the servants of the nation who would be workers doing the work allotted to them from time to time. Unfortunately, for the country they will be drawn chiefly for the time being from the city dwellers, most of whom would be required to work for and in the villages of India. The ranks must be filled in increasing numbers from villagers.

"These servants will be expected to operate upon and serve the voters registered according to law, in their own surroundings. Many persons and parties will woo them. The very best will win. Thus, and in no other way can the Congress regain its fast ebbing unique position in the country.

"But yesterday the Congress was unwittingly the servant of the nation. It was Khudai Khidmatgar—God's servant. Let it now proclaim to itself and the world that it is only God's servant—nothing more, nothing less. If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power, it will find one fine morning that it is no more. Thank God, it is now no longer in sole possession of the field.

"I have only opened to view the distant scene. If I have the time and health I hope to discuss in these columns what the servants of the nation can do to raise themselves in the estimation of their masters, the whole of the adult population, male and female."

Gandhiji and Congress Constitution

The following are Mahatma Gandhi's suggestions regarding the Congress constitution:

"Though split into two, India has ettained political independence through means devised by the Indian

National Congress. The Congress in its present shape and form, namely, as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its 700,000 villages as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendency of civil over military power is bound to take place in India's progress towards its democratic goal. It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons the A.-I.C.C. resolves to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh under the following rules with power to alter them as occasion may demand:

Every panchayat of five adult men or women being villagers or village-minded shall form a unit.

Two such contiguous panchayats shall form a working party under a leader elected from among themselves.

When there are 100 such panchayats, the 50 first-grade leaders shall elect from among themselves a second grade leader and so on, the first grade leaders meanwhile working under the second grade leader. Parallel groups of 200 panchayats shall continue to be formed till they cover the whole of India, each succeeding group of pahchayats electing second grade leaders after the manner of the first. All second-grade leaders shall serve jointly for the whole of India and severally for their respective areas. The second-grade leaders may elect, whenever they deem necessary, from among themselves a chief who will, regulate and command all the groups.

As the final formation of provinces or district, is still in a state of flux, no attempt has been made to divide this group of servants into provincial or district councils and jurisdiction over the whole of India has been vested in the group or groups that may have been formed at any given time. It should be noted that this body of servants derive their authority or power from service ungrudgingly and wisely done to their master, the whole of India.

- 1. Every worker shall be a habitual wearer of khadi made from self-spun yarn or certificate by the A.-I.S.A. and must be a tectotaller. If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form in his own person or in his family. He must be a believer in the idea of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions and equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race, creed or sex.
- He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction.
- He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these.
- 4. He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.
- 5. He shall organize the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts.
- 6. He shall educate the village-folk in sanitation and hygiene and take all measures for prevention of illhealth and disease among them.

- 7. He shall organize the education of village-folk birth to death along the lines of "Nayee Talim," in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh.
- 8. He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters' roll are duly entered therein.
- He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification to acquire it, for getting the right of franchise.
- 10. For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time, he shall train and fit himself in accordance with the rules laid down by the Sangh for the due performance of duty.

The Sangh shall affiliate the following autonomous bodies: the A.-I.S.A., A.-I.V.I.A., Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Coseva Sangh.

The Sangh shall raise finances for the fulfilment of its mission from among the villagers and others, special stress being laid on collection of poor man's pice."

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast

Speaking in a voice quivering with emotion, Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister, broadcasting tonight from the Delhi station of AIR on the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, said: "The first thing to remember now is that no one of us dare misbehave because we are angry. We have to behave like strong and determined people, determined to face all the perils that surround us, determined to carry out the mandate that our great teacher and our great leader has given us, remembering always that if, as I believe, his spirit looks upon us and sees us, nothing would displease his soul so much as to see that we have indulged in any small behaviour or any violence.

"We must hold together, and all our petty troubles, difficulties and conflicts must be ended in the face of this great disaster. The best prayer that we could offer him and his memory is to take a pledge to dedicate ourselves to truth, and to the cause for which this great countryman of ours lived and for which he has died."

The Prime Minister said:

"Friends and comrades, the light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere. I do not know what to tell you and how to say it. Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him, the father of the nation, is no more. Perhaps I am wrong to say that. Nevertheless, we will not see him again as we have seen him for these many years. We will not run to him for advice and seek solace from him, and that is a terrible blow not to me only but to millions and millions in this country. And it is a little difficult to soften the blow by any advice that I or anyone else can give you.

The light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years, and a thousand years later that light will still be seen in this country and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the infinediate present: it represented the living truth—the eternal truths, reminding us of the

right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom.

"All this has happened when there was so much more for him to do. We could never think that he was unnecessary or that he had done his task. But now, particularly, when we are faced with so many difficulties, his not being with us is a blow most terrible to bear.

"A madman has put an end to his life, for I can only call him mad who did it, and yet there has been enough of poison spread in this country during the past years and months and this poison has had effect on people's minds. We must face this poison, we must root out this poison, and we must face all the perils that encompass us, and face them not madly or badly but rather in the way that our beloved teacher taught us to face them.

"So we must not do that. But that does not mean that we should be weak but rather that we should in strength and in unity face all the troubles that are in front of us.

"A great disaster is a symbol to us to remember all the big things of life and forget the small things, of which we have thought too much. In his death he has reminded us of the big things of life, that living truth, and if we remember that, then it will be well with India."

Patel's Broadcast

"It is a day of great sorrow and shame for India," said Sardar Patel. Deputy Prime Minister, speaking in Hindustani from the Delhi station of AIR on 30th January. He appealed to the people not to think in terms of taking revenge but "to carry the message of love and non-violence enunciated by Mahatmaji. It is a shame for us that the greatest man of the world has had to pay with his life for the sins which we have committed. We did not follow him when he was alive; let us at least follow his steps now he is dead."

Sardar Patel said that he went to Birla House at 4 p.m. today and had about an hour's talk with Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi then brought out his watch and said: "This is my prayer time and I shall have to go now."

Sardar Patel left Birla House immediately, but before he arrived home he was informed that Mahatma Gandhi had been shot by a young man and had been taken to Birla House in a precarious condition, Sardar Patel hurried to Birla House and found the Mahatma lying dead.

He said: "On his face was writ the usual spirit of forgiveness. There was no expression of anger or annoyance anywhere. It was the expression of his usual kindness and forgiveness."

Sardar Patel referred to the recent fast undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi and said he survived death at that time because he had still some useful work to do for India. He (Mahatma Gandhi) also escaped when a bomb was thrown by a madman very recently. But now he had fallen the victim of a madman's bullet and "Bapuji is no more."

Continuing, Sardar Patel exhorted the people to maintain calm and perfect peace. This was Mahatma Gandhi's mission—the mission for which he lived and fied. This mission must now be fulfilled by the people, who could do it only if they forgot differences and bitterness and emulated Mahatma Gandhi's motto.

Suhrawardy's Statement

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said: "I feel as if the bottom of the world has fallen out. Who is there who will now assuage the anguish of the oppressed, who is there who will now wipe their tears? To him we had learnt to turn for guidance and for advice in all our difficulties and he never failed us.

"Weep, India, weep until thy heart breaks, for extinguished is the gift that shed truth and justice, a deep love for humanity and transcendental sympathy for the forlorn and the friendless.

"May we take his teachings to heart and, in the midst of our gloom and despair, endeavour to put into practice those grand tenets of peace and love of mankind for which he gave his life.

"I am sure he sees what we do; let us try to fulfil his cherished dream of Hindu-Muslim unity and oneness of mind and spirit in the common service of humanity."

Zahid Hussain's Tribute

Mr. Zahid Hussain, Pakistan High Commissioner in India, said: "I am shocked and horrified to hear of the news of Mahatma Gandhi's sad and sudden death. It is an unparalleled tragedy the seriousness and gravity of which it is impossible to express in words.

"Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest cementing force between various communities of India and Pakistan, and India needed him most at this critical period of her history. He was the greatest sage of his time, who combined the spiritual balance of the East and the dynamic energy of the West.

"In him India and humanity have lost their noblest teacher, who even in his old age and in weak health carried on with energy and conviction his peace mission with unrivalled courage. Indian Muslims especially had in him a true friend and their loss is very heavy indeed.

"The cowardly act of the misgoided youth who shot him dead will be unreservedly condemned by all irrespective of caste, creed or nationality. He is guilty of the greatest disservice to humanity."

Nehru's Tribute to Gandhiji in Dominion Parliament

On February 2, the Dominion Parliament paid homage to Mahatma Gandhi in an atmosphere of profound grief. There was nothing of the familiar look about the Chamber, no laughter, no exchanges of pleasantries, not even cheers or cries of approval when speaker after speaker rose to heights of eloquence in voices surcharged with emotion.

While the House was paying its homage, demonstrators outside the Chamber were shouting slogans condemning communal organizations.

Pandit Nehru, declaring that they must try to be worthy of cheir teacher, said that it was the first duty of the Government to root out violence. "So far as this Government is concerned, I trust they will spare no effort to do that because if we do not do that, if we, in our weakness or for any other reason that we may consider

adequate, do not take effective means to stop this violence and this spreading of hatred by word of mouth or writing or act, then, indeed, we are not worthy of being in this Government, we are certainly not worthy of being his followers and we are not worthy of even saying words of praise for this great soul who has departed.

"In ages to come, centuries and, might be, millennia after us, people would think of this generation when this man of God trod the earth and would think of us who, however, small also tread the holy ground where his foot had been. Let us be worthy of him."

Pandit Nehru added that this tragedy was not merely the isolated act of a mad man. "It has come out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that has prevailed in this country for many months and years, more especially the past few months. That atmosphere envelops us and surrounds us and if we are to serve the cause he put before us, we have to face this atmosphere, combat it, struggle against it, root out the evil of hatred and violence."

The Prime Minister said: "It is customary in this House to pay some tribute to the eminent departed, to say some words of praise and condolence. I am not quite sure in my own mind if it is exactly fitting for me or any others in this House to say much on this occasion.

"For I have a sense of utter shame, both as an individual and as the Head of the Government of India, that we should have failed to protect the greatest treasure that we possessed. It is our failure, as it has been our failure in the past many months, to give protection to many an innocent man, woman and child. It may be that the burden and the task were two great for us or for any Government. Nevertheless, it is failure.

"The fact that this mighty person whom we honoured and loved beyond measure has gone because we could not give him adequate protection is shame for all of us. It is shame to me as an Indian that an Indian should have raised his hand against him, it is shame to me as a Hindu that a Hindu should have done this deed, and done it to the greatest Indian of the day and the greatest Hindu of the age.

"We praise people in well-chosen words and we have some kind of a measure for greatness. How shall we praise him and how shall we measure him, because he was not of the common clay that all of us are made of. He came, lived a fairly long span of life and has passed away. No words of praise of ours in the House are needed, for he has had greater praise in his life than any living man in history, and during these two or three days since his death, he has had the homage of the world. What can we add to that?

"Ilow can we praise him, we who have been the children of his, and perhaps more intimately children of his than the children of his body, for we have all been in some greater or smaller measure the children of his spirit.

"The glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark. Yet he would not have us feel this way. After all, the glory that we saw all these years, that man with the divine fire, changed us also, and such as we are, we have been moulded by him during these years and out of that divine fire many of us also took a small spark which strengthened us, made us work to some extent on the lines that he fashioned. And so, if we praise him, our words seem rather small, and if we praise him, to some extent we praise ourselves.

"Great men and eminent men have monuments in bronze and marble set up for them, but this man of divino fire managed in his lifetime to become enmeshed with millions and millions of hearts so that all of us became somewhat of the stuff that he was made of, though in infinitely lesser degree. He spread out over India not in palaces only or in selected places or in assemblies but in every hamlet and but of the lowly and those who suffered.

"In a large measure, he made this country during these last 30 years and more, and attained to heights of sacrifice which in that particular domain have never been equalled elsewhere. He succeeded in that. Yet ultimately, things happened which no doubt, made him suffer tremendously.

"Though his tender face never lost its smile and he never spoke a harsh word to anyone, yet he must have suffered for the failings of this generation whom he had trained, suffered because we went away from the path that he had shown us and, ultimately, the hand of a child of his—for he after all is as much a child of his as any other Indian—struck him down.

"Long ages afterwards history will judge of this period we have passed through. It will judge of the successes and the failures. We are too near it to be proper judges and to understand what has happened and what has not happened. All we know is that there was a glory and it is no more. All we know is that for the moment there is darkness, not so dark certainly because when we look into our hearts we still find the living flame which he lighted, and if this living flame exists there will not be datkness in this land and we shall be able with our effort, remembering him and following his path, to illumine this land again, small as we are but still with the fire that he kindled into us.

"He was perhaps the greatest symbol of the India of the past, and may I say of the India of the future that we could have had. We stand on this perilous edge of the present, between that past and the future to be, and we face all manner of perils, and the greatest peril is sometimes the lack of faith which comes to us, the sense of frustration that comes to us, the sinking of the heart and of the spirit that comes to us when we see ideals becoming unreal and we see the great things that we talked about somehow becoming empty words, and life taking a different course.

"Yet I do believe that perhaps this period will pass soon enough. Great as this man of God was in his life, he had been greater in his death and I have not the shadow of doubt that by his death he has served the great cause as he served it throughout his life.

"We shall always mourn him because we are human and cannot forget our beloved master, but I know that he would not like us to mourn him. No tears came to his eyes when his dearest and closest went away, only a firm resolve to persevere, to serve the great cause that he had chosen. So, he would chide us if we merely mourned.

"That is a poor way of paying homage to him. The only way is to express our determination to pledge ourselves anew, to dedicate ourselves to the great tasks which he undertook and he accomplished to such a large extent. So we have to work, we have to labour, we have to sacrifice and thus, to some extent at least prove wortry followers of his."

Congress Party Meeting

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, and Sardar Patel are understood to have exploded rumours that there were differences between them and stigmatised the authors of this whispering campaign as "dishonourable."

There was keen interest and considerable speculation on the outcome of a party meeting held this evening. There was a record attendance of members at the meeting, which took place immediately after the adjournment of the Assembly. Some expected startling developments to follow the meeting, which, however, terminated with a unanimous expression of confidence in the Government.

All members agreed that Sardar Patel made one of the most memorable speeches they had heard. He spoke hardly 40 minutes and, when he came to Mahatma Gandhi's fast and subsequent events, he broke down and then left the meeting abruptly.

The party was meeting for the first time since Mahatma Gandhi's death. There was no specific agenda and presumably the meeting was convened to discuss the overall situation arising out of the assussination of Mahatma Gandhi. The meeting ended, it is authoritatively learnt, with an expression of complete confidence in the Government.

At the outset, the Prime Minister is reported to have reviewed briefly the events culminating in the Mahatma's death. Emphasising the complete unanimity of the Government, especially between himself and Sardar Patel on all major questions of policy, Paudit Nehru characterized as "dishonourable" the rumours spread and the speculations encouraged even by some responsible. Congressmen that there were differences between them. Although admittedly there was a temperamental difference in approach to a few problems, the points of agreements were so many that the others became insignificant. He expressed his disgust that some people should have seized the opportunity to exploit the death of Mahatma Gandhi for narrow party ends,

Sardar Patel, who, it is understood, was pressed by the party to speak, explained the situation for nearly three-quarters of an hour. Declaring that he was one with the Prime Minister on all national issues, he pointed out that he and Pandit Nehru for over a quarter of ascentury sat at the feet of their Master and struggled together for the freedom of India. So far they had no pronounced differences, and it was unthinkable that today, after the Mahatma was no more, they would quarrel. The Socialists

had said he had failed to protect the Mahatma. He denied the charges by giving details of the numerous security arrangements taken to protect Mahatma Gandhi as far as human foresight could provide.

Before the bomb incident, Birla House was entirely ringed by armed guards. After the bomb incident, there was a police officer in almost every room. He knew Mahatma Gandhi did not like it, and he had several arguments with him. Finally, the Mahatma gave way, but sternly insisted that under no circumstances would be permit the search of people who would come to attend the prayer meetings. He had almost a premonition, for he (Mahatma Gandhi) had said that, if anybody wanted to assassinate him, he could do so at the prayer meeting. God's will be done. So there was no question of the police searching anyone coming to join the prayer meeting congregation.

Nevertheless, there were 30 plain clothes police officers who mingled in the prayer gathering, which was about 500 on the day of his assassination. The assassin was said to have knelt down before Mahatma Gandhi and as he rose whipped out a pistol and fired before anyone could apprehend him. This was a calamitous misfortune which could not be guarded against. A further complicating factor was that nearly 80 per cent of the Intelligence Staff consisted of Muslims, who had left for Pakistan, and the Central Government had to go abegging for staff from the various provinces.

They should not give way to hysterical agitation and suppress the Hindu Mahasabha in its entirety, thus laying the Congress open to the charge of wiping out all opposition. While they (the Government of the day as supported by the party) must act firmly, they must also act with fairness and justice.

Referring to certain strong criticisms made against the Home Ministry in particular by the Socialist Party Jeader, Sardar Patel is reported to have emphasised that the Socialist Party as such were offered seats in the Congress Working Committee. They refused to co-operate, They were then offered seats in the Central Government. They refused. He then made the offer to hand over one entire province to them so that they could carry on their experiments without let or hindrance. They refused. And today they exploited the greatest misfortune and calamity of the nation for party ends and the Sardar wondered if there could be any more place for them in *Congress organizations as such.

They ridiculed the Services, despised the police and the entire administrative machinery and yet they wanted to come in and rule the country. How and with what they were going to rule he could not imagine.

Points made by other speakers at the party meeting—were: that at least after this great tragedy the present members of the Government should become security conscious and that Sardar Patel should not go on early morning walks giving interviews to some 200 people on an average a day in an open park; that Pandit Nehru should be careful; they must find out how the RSS or, for that matter, any other body which was nowhere in the political

picture of India when the Congress contested the last and recent elections had now become a menace and whether the whole tragedy was not due to the policy of "appeasement" which the Congress had followed vis-a-vis the Muslim League.

Finally, the meeting is reported to have unanimously endorsed the banning of the RSS in the present circumstances and expressed its unqualified confidence in the Government in the present crisis.

Pandit Nehru's Allahabad Speech

After the immersion ceremony was over (February 12), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a meeting. The vast concourse of people heard him with rapt attention. Pandit Nehru spoke with warmth and feeling which is seldom associated with him.

He made a fervent appeal to the people to carry out the last wishes of Gandhiji and wipe out the poison of communal hatred which was sweeping India and which was the real cause of Gandhiji's death.

Pandit Nehru stressed that the way adopted by some people including some high-placed persons, to oust the present Government from office was wrong. Such methods were adopted only by scheming persons who lack support of the masses of people. It is not by killings of this sort that Government can be changed. People must follow methods of reasoning with their Leaders and Ministers.

Pandit Nehru said: "Today has ended the last journey of the Father of the Nation. For the last fifty years Mahatma Gandhi had travelled all over the country, seeing the people of India in a selfless manner and preaching his gospel of Truth and Non-violence. That great man will walk no more among us, but his message will always live with us."

Continuing Pandit Nebru said that with the immersion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes their relation with him had not come to an end but on the contrary a stronger link in the relationship had been forged.

"It was our fortune that we lived in the same age as Mahatma Gandhi and we saw him in flesh and blood. The next generation will not have seen him but that, too, will derive the same strength from his as we did, because the impact of his personality will last for all times to come.

"Before his death we could, always go to him and benefit from his advice. We shall not be able to do so now, We could not look up to him and ask him to share our hurdens and difficulties. We have to face things now without his help. But what he taught us will always be there to inspire and guide us."

Pandit Nehru said that as Gandhiji led this country towards her freedom, he also preached against violence and communalism. But soon after he had won them their freedom, they stood divided among themselves and a wave of violence was sweeping the country. Freeing a downtrodden people, and the way he did it, was a remarkable achievement unparalleled in the history of the world, but the free India today stood hemiliated abroad and bruised in her own soul.

Of late, Pandit Nehru continued, poison had spread in the country and communalism had the upper hand. Certain sections among the people were getting more and more inclined towards violence and violence had ultimately claimed their "most beloved Bapu" as a victim.

This violence, if not checked, would bring about the destruction of their freedom, and they must return from the banks of the Ganges with a firm resolve to put an end to it. A large number of young men of India had gone in the path of violence and they must now be made to see their folly and retrace their steps.

The very idea of using force against political opponents is distasteful to us and dangerous for our future. We have decided to have in our country a democratic form of Government. Every citizen here has the right to express his views without imperilling the peace and only that Government will function here which enjoys the confidence of the majority of the people. Those who do not like this form of Government and want to seize power by violent methods have no place in the free "India." declared the Prime Minister.

How did the poison of communal hatred and violence spread in the country, asked Pandit Nehru. It had spread, he said, because some people holding responsible places in public life had misled the younger generation and exploited innocent people to achieve their own selfish ends. "Maybe, in the past our hands have been too weak to deal effectively with it, but, after parting with the last remains of our father on the banks of this sacred river today who is among us, who will not pledge himself to put an end to violence and communalism?"

"Today we shall return to our homes with sad and heavy hearts. But mingled with our sorrow is also a feeling of pride at having had a great leader like Mahatma Gandhi to direct our freedom movement. He taught us a novel way of fighting our battles, and our battles became non-violent and peaceful."

"In gratitude for what he has done for us we owe him a duty. It is our duty today to complete the work started by him and establish an India of his ideal. In India we must give equal rights to all persons irrespective of their religions and we have also to extend to the rest of the world that lesson of the equality of all men. If we fail to do all that then it will only mean that the people of India did not deserve so great a leader."

For the last forty years, Pandit Nelsen added, the people had been shouting 'Gandhiji ki Jai'. Gandhiji never wanted his personal 'Jai' In reality India's victory was his victory. He founded India's independence on the sure and sound footings of Truth and Non-violence and they must all endeavour to make that an ever-lasting monument of his 'Jai, Pandit Nehru concluded.

Mountbatten's Broadcast

New Delhi, Feb. 12: The Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, broadcasting tonight said: "The best tribute that we can pay to Gandhiji's memery is to turn our hearts, and our minds and our hands," to building a secular, democratic State in which "all can lead useful

creative lives and in which a genuinely progressive society can be developed based on social and economic justice."

Lord Mountbatten said: "The death of Mahatma Gandhi came with the shock of a personal bereavement to millions of people in every part of the civilised world. Not only those who worked with him throughout his life, or who, like myself, had known him for a comparatively short time, but people who never met him, who never saw him or even read one word of his published works, felt as if they had lost a friend.

"Dear friend: that is how he would begin his letters to me and how I used to reply, because it was so obviously the right way to address him. And that is how I, and my family, will always think of him.

"I met Gandhiji for the first time in March of last year; for my first act on arriving in Iudia was to write to him and suggest that we should meet at the earliest possible moment and at our first meeting, we decided that the best way we could help one another to deal with the tree endous problems ahead, was to maintain constant personal contact. The last time he came to see me was a month ago, a few minutes after the prayer meeting at which he had announced that he would fast unto death unless communal harmony was restored. The last time I saw him in life was when my wife and I went to visit him on the fourth day of the fast. During the ten months we had known one another, our meetings had never been formal interviews; they were talks between two friends and we had been able to establish a degree of confidence and understanding which will remain a treasured memory.

"Gandhiji, the man of Peace, the apostle of Ahimsa, died by violence, as a martyr in the struggle against fanaticism—that deadly disease that has threatened to jeopardise India's new-found freedom. He saw that this cancer must be rooted out before India could embark on the great task of nation-building which lies ahead.

"Our great Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, has set us the high aim of a secular democratic State in which all can lead useful, creative lives and in which a genuinely progressive society can be developed, based on social and occuromic justice; and the best tribute that we can pay to Candhiji's memory is to turn our hearts, and our minds, and our hands, to building such a society upon the foundations of freedom that he so firmly laid during his lifetime. Candhiji will have rendered his last and greatest service of all to the people he loved so well, if the tragic manner of his death has shocked and spurred us into sinking all differences and joining in a sustained, united effort—beginning here and now. Only in this way can his ideal be realised, and India enter into her full inheritance."

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast on February 14

The Prime Minister said:-

"Two weeks have passed since India and the world learnt of that tragedy, which will shame India for ages to come—two weeks of sorrow and searching of heart, and strong and dormant emotions rising in a flood, and

f tears from millions of eyes. Would that those tears vashed away our weakness and littleness and made us a ittle worthy of the master for whom we sorrowed. Two veeks of homage and tribute from every corner of the lobe, from kings and potentates and those in high authoity, to the common man everywhere who instinctively poked to him as a friend, a comrade and a champion.

The flood of emotion will tone down gradually as all such emotions do, though none of us can ever be the ame as we were before, for he has entered in the very exture of our lives and minds.

People talk of memorials to him in statues of bronze or marble or pillars and thus they mock him and belie us message. What tribute shall we pay to him that he would have appreciated? He has shown us the way to ive and the way to die and if we have not understood hat lesson, it would be better that we raised no memorial o him, for the only fit memorial is to follow reverently n the path he showed us and to do our duty in life and n death.

He was a Hindu and an Indian, the greatest in many generations, and he was proud of being a Hindu and an Indian. To him India was dear because she had represented throughout the ages certain immutable truths. But though he was intensely religious and came to be called the Father of the Nation which he had liberated, yet no narrow religious or national bonds confined his spirit. And so he became the great internationalist believing in the essential unity of man, the underlying unity of all religions and the needs of humanity and more specially devoting himself to the service of the poor—the distressed and the oppressed millions everywhere.

Ilis death brought more tributes than had been paid at the passing away of any other human being in history. Perhaps what would have pleased him best was the spontaneous tributes that came from the people of Pakistan. On the morrow of the tragedy, all of us forgot for a while the bitterness that had crept in, the estrangement and conflict of these past months, and Gandhiji stood out as the beloved champion and leader of the people of India, as it was before partition cut up this living nation.

He was the great unifier in India, who taught us not only a bare tolerance of others but of a willing acceptance of them as our friends and comrades in common undertakings. He taught us to rise above our little selves and prejudices and see the good in others. His last few months and his very death symbolise to us this message of large-hearted tolerance and unity. A little before he died we pledged ourselves to this before him. We must keep that pledge and remember that India is a common home to all those who live here, to whatever religion they may belong. They are equal sharers in our great inheritance and they have equal rights and obligations. Ours is a composite nation, as all great nations must necessarily be. Any narrowness in outlook, any attempt to confine the bounds of this great nation, will be a betrayal of his final lesson to us and will surely lead to disaster and to the loss of that freedom for which he

laboured and which he gained for us in large measure. Equally important is the service of the common man in India who has suffered so much in the past. His claims must be paramount and everything that comes in the way of his betterment must have second place. Not merely from moral and humanitarian grounds but also from the point of view of political commonsense, it has become essential to raise the standards of the common man and to give him full opportunity of progress. A social structure which denies him this opportunity stands self-condemned and must be changed.

Gandhiji has gone though his flaming spirit envelops us. The burden is upon us now and the immediate need is that we should endeavour to the utmost of our ability to discharge that burden. We have to hold together and fight that terrible poison of communalism that has killed the greatest man of our age. We must root this out not in any spirit of illwill to misguided individuals but in militant opposition to the evil itself wherever it may be. That evil has not ended by the killing of Gandhiji. It was an even more shameful thing for some people to celebrate this killing in various ways. Those who did so or feel that way have forfeited their rights to be called Indians.

I have said that we must all hold together in this hour of crisis for our nation and must avoid public controversy as far as possible and lay stress on the points of agreement on essential matters. I would make a special appeal to the Press to help this urgent task and to avoid personal or other criticisms which encourage fissiparous tendencies in the country. I would appeal more specially to the millions of my colleagues and comrades in the Congress who have followed, haltingly enough often, the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

It has distressed me beyond measure to read in newspapers and otherwise learn of whispering about vital differences between Sardar Patel and myself. Of course, there have been for many years past differences between us, temperamental or other, in regard to many problems. But India at least should know that these differences have been overshadowed by fundamental agreements about the most important aspects of our public life and that we have co-operated together for a quarter of a century or more in great undertakings. We have been sharers in Joy and sorrow alike. Is it likely that at this crisis in our national destiny either of us should be petty-minded and think of anything but the national good? May I pay my tribute or respect and admiration to Sardar Patel not only for his life-long service to the nation but also for the great work he has done since he and I have functioned together in the Covernment of India. He has been a brave captain of our people in war and peace, stout-hearted when others might waver, and a great organiser. It has been my privilege to have been associated with him for these many years and my affection for him and appreciation of his great qualities have grown with the passing of time.

Recently certain reports about what I said at a private meeting appeared in the public press which were unauthorised and which led people to believe that I had used strong language to criticise my old friend and colleague, Jayprakash Narayan. These reports were incorrect. I should like to say that I have deeply regretted some of the policies pursued by the Socialist Party in India and I think that they have been led by the stress of events or emotion into wrong action and wrong statement. But I have never had any doubt about the ability and integrity of Jayprakash Narayan whom I valued as a friend and I am sure that a time will come when he will play a very important part in shaping India's destiny. Unfortunately the Socialist Party has adopted rather negative policies for a long time and has often ignored wider considerations which must be given priority.

I plead therefore for tolerance and co-operation in our public life and a joining together of all the forces which want to make India a great and progressive nation. I plead for an all-out effort against the poison of communalism and narrow provincialism. I plead for a cessation of industrial conflict and a joint endeavour of all concerned to build up India. In these great tasks I pleader myself and I earnestly trust that it may be given to us of this generation to realise somewhat the dreams that Gandhiji had. Thus will we honour his memory and erect a worthy memorial for him."

Kashmir Question at the U. N. Security Council

The Kashmit Question at the U. N. Security Council is still at the debate stage which has not yet been concluded. A series of Round Table Talks between India and Pakistan have been held but were of no avail due to the usual intransigence of Pakistan to admit truth. Rather efforts have been made to evade the real issue under discussion by trying to convert the Kashmir Question into one of Indo-Pakistan Relation. It is needless to say that this alteration is of much benefit to Pakistan and they are trying for it. The text of Indian proposal on Kashmir is as follows:

First objective to be achieved is the stoppage of fighting and termination of military operations in Jammu and Kashmir State.

For this purpose the Government of Pakistan should use all efforts to stop the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir by persuading tribesmen and others now in the State territory who have invaded Kashmir to withdraw from that territory; they should further prevent the passage through Pakistan territory of such invaders to Jammu and Kashmir State, deny the use of such territory for operations against the State and also refuse supplies and other materials, direct and indirect to such invaders.

- 2. After the fighting has ceased and there are no raiders from outside left in the State and there is no further need to continue military operations in the State, the next objective would be the restoration of peace and normal conditions. For this purpose:
- (a) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the recem disturbances will be invited and

be free to return to their homes and to exercise all their rights as citizens.

- (b) There shall be no victimisation.
- (c) All political prisoners in the State shall be released, and
- (d) No restrictions shall be imposed on legitimate political activity.

It is anticipated that a period of about six months after the termination of military operations will be required for the restoration of normal conditions and for infusing full confidence into the minds of citizens who have migrated from the State to persuade themselves to return to their homes with a sense of security.

It is further recognised that due, among other things, to the present upheaval in Kashmir, the resources of Jamuu and Kashmir State are not at present adequate to maintaining law and order.

The efficient maintenance of law and oredr in the State during the interval between the termination of military operations and the taking of the plebiscite is essentian if the plebiscite is to be free and unfettered.

So long as the State remains acceded to India, the Government of India are responsible for its defence. Although after the cessation of hostilities, the strength of Indian troops in the State will be progressively reduced, it will be necessary to maintain Indian troops of adequate strength to ensure not only protection against possible future attacks from outside, but also for giving support to the civil Power when required in the preservation of law and order.

- 3. The Emergency Administration under the headship of Sheikh Abdullah will immediately be converted by the Maharajah into a Council of Ministers in which Sheikh Abdullah will be Prime Minister and his colleagues will be appointed by the Maharajah on his advice.
- 4. A Commission already decided on should go over to India at once for the purpose of watching and ensuring by advice and mediation that the measures agreed on as necessary for the stoppage of fighting and the termination of military operations are implemented effectively and without loss of time, and of reporting to the Security Council its conclusions,
- 5. The principle is recognised that the new constitution to be framed for the State and determination of the question of accession are matters entirely for the free decision of its people.

It is hoped that the Maharajah of Kashmir and his Government would undertake to ensure this by taking the following steps:

- (a) The Interim Government should come as soon as the restoration of normal conditions has been completed, take steps for convoking a National Assembly based upon adult suffrage and having due regard to the principle that the number of representatives from each voting area should as far as possible be proportionate to the population.
- (b) A National Government based upon the National Assembly should then be constituted.

(c) The National Government will then proceed to have a plebiscite taken on the question of accession. The plebiscite will be taken under the advice and observation of persons appointed by the United Nations.

(d) The National Assembly will then proceed to frame a new constitution for the State based on the principle of full responsible Government.

The following is the text of the Pakistan resolution:

"Whereas India and Pakistan recognised that the question whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall accede to Pakistan or to India must be decided through the democratic method of a plehiscite to be held under international authority, control and responsibility, in order to ensure complete impartiality whereas the parties being both members of the United Nations agree that such a plebiscite should be organised, held and supervised under the authority and responsibility of the Security Council.

The Security Council takes note with satisfaction of this agreement, and being of the view that the establishment of certain conditions is essential for the holding of such a plebiscite, resolves to direct the Commission to set up under its resolution of January 20, 1948, as follows:

The Commission shall arrange for (a) the establishment of an impartial interim administration in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, (b) the withdrawal from the territories of the State of Jammu and Kashmir of the armed forces of the Indian Union and the tribesmen, also all treespassers whether belonging to Pakistan or the Indian Union.

(c) The return of all residents of the Jammu and Kashmir State who have left or have been compelled to leave the State as a result of the tragic events since August 15, 1947, (d) the holding of a plebiscite to ascertain the free, fair and unfettered will of the people of the State as to whether the State shall accede to Pakistan or India.

Calls upon the parties concerned to give full cooperation and assistance to the Commission in carrying out these and such other directions as may be given to it by the Security Council."

The first attempt at an evasion of the real issue was detected when, during the Round Table talks, the following draft resolution was put up by M. Langenhove, President of the Security Council:

Whereas India and Pakistan recognise that the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir must be decided through the democratic method of a preciscite or a referendum to be held under international auspices, in order to ensure complete impurtiality; whereas the parties being both members of the United Nations agree that such a plebiscite or referendum should be organised, held and supervised under the authority of the Security Council, the Security Council takes note with satisfaction of this agreement which it will take the necessary measures to carry out.

In this connection, the commission of the Security Council, established by the resolution of January 20, 1948 shall take into consideration that among the duties incumbent upon it are included those which would tend towards promoting a cessation of acts of hostility and violence and which are of particularly urgent character.

In pursuit of this aim the commission shall use every diligence to ensure that its mediatory action be exercised without delay and that its proposals to the Security Council be submitted as soon as possible.

Such proposals shall include measures designed to ensure co-operation between the military forces of India and of Pakistan with a view to attaining the objectives above-mentioned and to maintaining order and security in future.

The Commission shall also report to the Security Council on the results of its mediatory action as to the fulfilment of such conditions as are necessary to gaurantee the liberty of the plebiscite.

Thus where India had solicited the Security Council's aid in effecting withdrawal of the raiders, who were given passage by Pakistan and were receiving active warlike aids from that Dominion, she was confronted with the plebiscite question first with the inevitable corollary that, instead of the raiders, India would have to withdraw troops from Kashmir which now forms an integral part of India and the responsibility of whose defence rests on Indian shoulders.

So, when the debate opened and when the President suggested that the Security Council might concentrate its attention first on the question of holding a plebiscite, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyengar pointed out that the urgent matter was to stop hostilities. The question of a plebiscite could be taken up last. Sir. M. Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan's representative, supported the President's suggestion that a plobiscite was the most urgent question to be discussed. Mr. Ayyengar intervened and again emphasised that it was the end of fighting in Kashmir that should be given precedence over all other questions in the dispute. The suggestion of M. Langenhove, supported by Pakistan, was defended by Mr. Noel-Baker, the British representative. It became clear even at the early stage of the debate that Pakistan was concentrating on two points, namely, the withdrawal of Indian troops from Kashmir and the removal of Sheikh Abdullah's Administration. The plebiscite resolution virtually concedes both of these unfaire demands of Pakistan which holds that only a "neutral" administration can operate "an entirely free" plebiscite. The India Government claims that it cannot consent to withdraw Indian troops until law and order has been restored. The Indian delegation pointed out that as regards the Abdullah Administration it is a constitutionally recognised Covernment for the State and any imposition of a so-called "neutral" government would be an unprecedented action by the United Nations in interfering with the domestic affair of India. Mr. Neel Baker's plea for an Interim Government in Kashmir "free from smell of brimstone" as nearly "impartial" as India and Pakistan could make it for arranging plebiscite in the State came as a surprise and was considered as extremely diabotical by Indian and Left-wing British circles in London. In their view, the British Delegation was prescribing the same kind of Interim Government in Kashmir as India had before partition in the expectation of similar results.

Hyderabad

The reign of terror let loose in Hyderabad continues with its fury unabated. Swami Ramananda Tirth, President of the State Congress, has been taken into custody. Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister and Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, Minister of Finance and External Affairs, accompained by a number of officials of the Hyderabad Government, reached New Delhi on January 30, for a talk on the Standstill Agreement. Mr. K. M. Munshi, India's Agent General in that State, also arrived with the State party in the same plane.

The stage is thus set for the opening of the vital talks between the Governor-General and officials of the States Ministry of the Government of India on the one hand and the Hyderabad Government on the other regarding the recent conduct of Hyderabad in respect of the implementation of the Standstill Agreement. As a preliminary to these discussions, the Hyderabad Premier, Mir Laik Ali saw Sardar Patel immediately after his arrival.

The India-Hyderabad talks will, Hindustan Times reports, be divided into two parts. For the first day or two attention will mainly be concentrated on the differences between the two Governments on financial matters and the breaches of the Standstill Agreement which Hyderabad is alleged to have committed in this respect. These fall under three heads:

- (1) The so-called loan of Rs. 20 crores of Hyderabad to Pakistan;
- The banning of the Indian rupce in Hyderabad;and
- (3) The banning by Hyderabad of the export of all precious metals and precious stones.

· The India Government's view is that all these three things constitute grave breaches of the Standstill Agreement. While it is admitted that Hyderabad's ban on the export of precious metals and precious stones is not a very serious matter as India is never an importer of precious metals and precious stones from Hyderabad, an extremely serious view of the conduct of the Nizam's Government on the first two subjects is taken in New Delhi.

Consolidation of Indian States

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for States, addressing a press conference at New Delhi, on January 29, on the complication of Indian States, said that the movement for merger, by which he meant either merger with the provinces to suit geographical situations or amongst themselves, was progressing rapidly, such a move not had the support of both the Rulers and the Ruled.

Sardar Patel's statement gives a graphic summary of

this historic achievement and is reproduced below in full as served by the A. P. I.

As you are all aware, on the lapse of Paramountcy, every Indian State became a separate independent entity, and our first task of consolidating about 500 Indian States was on the basis of accession to the Indian Dominion on three subjects. Barring Hyderabad and Junagadh, all the States, which are contiguous to India, acceded to the Indian Dominion. Subsequently, Kashmir also came in.

With the birth of independence in India, the urge for enjoyment of similar freedom naturally inspired the people of the States. Here the process of democratisation of administration had not made anything like the same progress as was made in the adjoining provinces. The result was agitation on the part of the people and occasional clashes between the Rulers and the Ruled.

Some Rulers, who were quick to read the writing on the wall, gave responsible Government to their people, Cochin being the most illustrious example. In Travancore, there was a short struggle, but there too the Ruler soon recognised the aspirations of his people and agreed to introduce a constitution in which all power would be transferred to the people and he would function as a constitutional Ruler.

Similarly, in Mysore, there was a struggle for a short time in which the popular will triumphed eventually, and we know that there has been a complete transfer of power from the Ruler to the people.

with popular movements, the smaller States were not able even to maintain law and order with their limited resources and with the people in opposition to the administration. This was particularly evident in the Eastern States, in one of which States, namely, Nilgiri, the situation had so deteriorated as to result in the Ruler leaving the State.

In another State in this area the Ruler could not return to the capital and had to approach the Ministry of States to advise the local Praja Mandal to keep quiet as the Ministry was about to take up the question of consolidation of States. These States had formed a superficial union which could not last as it was not based on linguistic, cultural and economic affinities.

The law and order situation in some of the States was so bad as to cause apprehension to the adjoining administrations of Orissa and the Central Provinces. You know the sequence of events thereafter. I went there in the middle of December, met the Orissa Rulers at Cuttack and the Chattisgarh Rulers at Nagpur, and it was decided that the best interests of the people as also of the Rulers lay in administrative integration of the States with the adjoining provinces.

As early as 1930 the Simon Commission recommended the integration of these States with the adjaining provinces but nothing came out of the proposal.

The transfer of administration from the Rulers to the Provinces was smooth and peaceful and has been warmly welcomed by the people of the States except in

one or two places where ugly incidents occurred. But I shall not refer to them as they were not of any consequence and do not affect the main theme, namely, that the marger of the States was carried out willingly and has caused satisfaction all around.

The merger of Eastern States electrified the whole atmosphere. The people of the States found that here was a remedy for their difficulties arising out of their limited resources and narrow outlook.

The eight Deccan States, which formed the United Deccan State by merging their sovereignties into the new State, a step which was then considered to be revolutionary, felt that even in the new State their life would be cramped and that they would not have the same amenities and benefits as the people of the adjoining province of Bombay would have with all the resources of Bombay.

The people who had assembled to frame a democratic constitution for their new State changed their minds and asked for the merger of their States into Bombay. The Rulers, who have always been known for their progressive outlook, appreciated the weight and soundness of this view and agreed to abide by the decision of the people.

The Constituent Assembly of the new State met only three days ago, i.e., on January 26, and passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority in favour of merger into Bombay Province. The merger will thus be given effect to within a few days.

There are some others in the Decean which had not joined the Union but in these States also the movement for merger had become so strong that the Rulers could not maintain law and order and have had to approach the Central Government to take over charge of law and order pending the merger of the States into the province of Bombay.

These States are Akkalket and Jath. The Ruler of lamkhindi merged the State into Bombay. There was thus to trouble in his State and the people have welcomed by decision and the action of the Ruler. Thus all the States in the Deccan, except Kolhapur will shortly take heir place in the Province of Bombay to the mutual udvantage of both, and to the particular advantage of the Decople of these States.

Next came the problem of Kathiawar. Kathiawar is a vertible jigsaw puzzle of different jurisdictions. The states in Kathiawar comprise 13 salute States, 107 imited jurisdictional States and 329 non-jurisdictional states and talukas making up 449 units altogether. The trea involved is more than 22,000 square miles with a population of between 3½ and four million.

The administration of the States is complicated by he fact that many of them have scattered islands of teritory all over the place. The salute States of Nawanagar, and and Junagadh, for instance, have respectively 9, 18 and 24 separate areas of territory. Added together, these units divided the map of Kathiawar into about 860 ifferent areas.

Because the jurisdiction changes every few miles, mmunications are in a primitive condition. Internal

trade is rendered difficult by the export and import duties and the octrois which the various units levy, and this encourages extensive smuggling and black-market operations.

The administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order under these circumstances are greatly handicapped. The economic development of the region which has great potentialities is hampered by its political fragmentation. This state of affairs is good neither to the State nor to its people.

The late Political Department tried in its own way to solve the problem, but its measures were necessarily half-hearted and did not serve the purpose of unification. Its solution was that some of these smaller units should be attached to the bigger States. This scheme was tited out, but at least it was never a good working arrangement. In any case, the lapse of paramountcy brought this to an end.

Since I took charge of the States Department, the unification of Kathiawar has been one of the major tasks to which I have devoted myself. In the altered circumsances the Rulers of the Kathiawar States have fully recognised the difficulties in continuing the present system, and I am glad to announce that it has now been possible to work out a scheme and get the agreement of the States to it by which the whole of the Kathiawar region will be integrated into a new State of Kathiawar as a single bloc of territory.

Sardar Patel then briefly described the main features of the new set up. He said: "The new State of Kathiawar is known as the United State of Kathiawar. There is a Presidium of Rulers consisting of five members, each of whom shall be the Ruler of a covenanting State.

One member is elected from amongst themselves by the Rulers of the covenanting non-salute States. The other two members are elected by the members of the Council of Rulers consisting of the Rulers of the salute states other than Nawanagar and Bhavnagar.

The Council of Rulers elect one member of the Presidium to be the President or the Raj Pramukh and another to be the Vice-President of the Presidium. The first election has already taken place, and H. H. the Jam Salub of Nawanagar, who played a notable part in bringing these negotiations to a successful conclusion, has been elected as the Raj Pramukh with H. H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar as the Vice-President. The term of office of the Raj Pramukh and the Vice-President is five years.

There will be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Raj Pramukh.

We have provided for the formation of an interim Ministry, as follows. There is already an electeral college in Kathiawar which elects representatives to the Constituent Assembly of India. Our plan is that the same electoral college should meet not later than the 20th February and choose the leader of the Interim Ministry. It will be his task to constitute this Ministry.

The Covenant also makes provision for the summoning of a Constituent Assembly. The details will be worked out by the new Government of the United State of Kathiawar. It is our intention that when this Constituent Assembly has been set up the Ministry should be reconstituted so as to reflect the majority opinion in the Constituent Assembly. Thereafter it will be for the Constituent Assembly to frame a permanent constitution for the new State within the framework of this Covenant and of the Constitution of India.

The privy purse of the Rulers has been fixed, and the amount shown against each is contained in schedule 1 to the Covenant.

This Covenant, as you will have noticed, applies only to the salute States and non-salute States. There are in addition a number of talukas and thanas which are administered by the Government of India through its Regional Commissioner in Kathiawar. We have prepared a separate Instrument for their signature which we hope to complete by the end of January.

You must have observed that recently the Rulers of Bundelkhand met at Nowgong and adopted a resolution for the creation of a United States of Bundelkhand in which all the Bundelkhand States and Rewa are likely to participate. It would be a State fairly large in area, but very substantial in mineral, forest and natural resources.

Mr. Menon is hoping to go there on or about February 8, 1948, to have further discussions with the Rulers and the people and to help them in bringing about a State based on complete transfer of power and somewhat on the model of the State of Kathiawar.

Another region where the Rulers and the people are thinking on similar lines is Central India or Malwa. I have just received information that the Rulers of this region are forming a unitary State on the lines of the State of Kathiawar based again on full Responsible Government, that is, Executive being fully responsible to the Legislature and Legislature being fully representative of the people of the area.

There is a similar move in Rajputana where all the smaller States and some of the bigger ones are hoping to join hands to form a State of Rajasthan which will help to preserve the tradition, culture and peculiarities of the life of the Rajputs.

I welcome all these moves as they solve the problems of consolidation as well as Responsible Government at one stroke and it is particularly gratifying to note that these moves are not impositions from above but joint and willing proposals of the Rulers and the Ruled.

There will still be a number of large States unaffected by the movement for merger or union. In these States there is a definite movement for full Responsible Government. As I observed before Cochin led the way and Travancore soon followed suit and the Interim Government introduced in Mysore has become a model for many States to follow such as Kashmir and Gwalior. I have reason to believe that the leading Rulers of Rajputana are thinking on the same lines and will not lag behind the other Princes in trusting their people and giving them full Responsible Government thus enabling them to shoulder the responsibilities of their own Government. I

expect similar constitutional changes to be introduced very shortly in Bikaner and Jaipur. It is obvious that if any State lags behind it will only do so to its own disadvantage and to the disadvantage of its people.

Nobody could have visualised this transformation in the country six months ago. Mr. Menon will tell you that a very senior officer of the Political Department told him just before the transfer of power that he was wasting his time over accession and standstill agreement and that not one State will accept the accession as proposed by the newly formed Ministry of States. Those officers are still alive and must be wondering how the changes, that have occurred since they left, have really been brought about.

While I give plenty of credit to the people for this bloodless revolution in nearly one-third of the country, I have nothing but praise for the manner in which the Rulers have co-operated with us, and with the people, in bringing about this development.

None is nore conscious than myself that all this could not have been achieved but for their willing cooperation and their intense patrictism which was latent but which has just blossomed forth in all its fullness with the acquisition of independence by the country.

One State remains which is still causing us some anxiety. It is the State of Hyderabad. Its geographical situation, the composition of its people and its cultural and traditional ties with India are such that it cannot but be an integral part of India tied to it by the same bonds which characterise the relation-hip between India and the acceding States.

Accession in the case of Hyderabad is inevitable and will I hope come before long. Similarly democratization which will characterise the whole country cannot be delayed or withheld in Hyderabad. The people there must get their due, and I would only appeal to His Exalted Highness the Nizam to appreciate this situation and to do the right thing in time.

Linguistic Provinces

The question of the reconstitution of the West Bengal Province, although an extremely urgent one, still hangs fire. Both the B.P.C.C. and the West Bengal Government seem to be unconcerned about this pressing problem and refuse to move. Meanwhile, the Andhra agitation has borne fruit and it is going to function as a separate province from April next. Without waiting for the verdict of the Constituent Assembly on it, the new Andhra province has been created by means of an Order-in-Council. The demand for the creation of a new Karnatak province has also gained strong momentum. A deputation on behalf of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee and the Karnatak members of the Constituent Assembly and provincial Legislatures waited on a deputation on the Congress Working Committee at its last Delhi Session and urged the immediate termation of a new Karnatak province. Nothing similar has as yet been done by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly, Public demand is there in Bengal which finds' expression in the

press and on the platform but bears no fruit on account of the extreme sloth that has overtaken the self-appointed men at the top of the Provincial Congress and the Government. The Karnatak members who waited on that deputation, stated, in a memorandum submitted to the Congress Working Committee, that if the Committee failed to move immediately into the matter, "We regret we shall have no other alternative but to seek your permission in terms of the resolution passed by the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee on January 14 to resign from our seats in the Central and Provincial legislatures."

The memorandum added: "The question of a separate province is important from the point of view of dayto-day existence for the suppressed people of Karnatak. Freedom by itself means nothing if it cannot also show the much needed change and improvement in all that goes to make up the daily life of the masses of these areas. Already in the composite areas of Madras and Bombay the voices of their representatives in the legislatures count for little or nothing. But with and upon the immediate separation of Andhra the day-to-day administration in these areas will become impossible particularly in the large and scattered border areas of Karnatak, if Karnatak is also not immediately separated. Areas like Nilgiris, South Kanara, the Kannada areas in the districts of Coimbatore, Salem and Bellary cannot continue their existence in the residuary province of Tamilnad where the people of Karnatak will have no voice at all. Our vital problems such as that of education, food, irrigation, industrial and cultural development cannot be planned or tackled. This will become possible only if and when we have a province of our own.

The Congress had, the memorandum said, "under the wise guidance and leadership of Gandhiji the foresight to form linguistic provinces in 1920 for its own organisation and for the fight for freedom. This foresight has been amply rowarded but the logical sequence of the formation of linguistic provinces for the purposes of administration is yet to come. We regret to note that our efforts in this behalf should be mis-understood in some quarters as fissiparous. We would like to point out that we believe with large numbers of eminent Congressmen that it would be a great act of constructive statesmanship to form linguistic provinces immediately so that they may develop to their full stature as live units of the Indian Union."

Dr. Kumarappa's Suggestions for increasing Food Production

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa of the All-India Village Industries Association at an informal conference of the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture discussed various problems relating to the programme of making India self-sufficient in food. Dr. Kumarappa said, "So far the researches carried out on problems of agriculture have been mainly for the benefit of the rich. We must now reverse the process and undertake research schemes which will benefit the poor cultivators. Swaraj will have no meaning unless we realise that the masses are our masters

and their needs should be paramount." He emphasised that India was an agricultural country and any shortage in food should not last for more than six months or for more than a year at the most. The Agricultural Department can be an insurance against food shortage. Dr. Kumarappa continued, "We have to tackle this question of food shortage on various fronts, such as the production, distribution, preservation and consumption of foodgrains. We have also to examine the possibilities of instituting reforms and changing conditions by which we can reduce the grain requirements of the people. The Agriculture Department is one of those Departments which must benefit mainly the producers."

One method of solving the problem was to give top priority to the production of food crops, such as cerealsoil-seeds, fruits and vegetables in preference to commercial crops. For this it would be necessary to plan on the basis of small self-contained village units. A group of 30 or 40 villages, for instance, with a population of about 50,000 could be grouped for such a purpose, and it would be easier to work out a balanced diet for the people in such an area. It would probably be necessary to introduce crop planning by legislation. We must have a regular plan of production not in regard to money crops but for food crops.

On the question of distribution, Dr. Kumarappa said that the primary aim should be to feed the local village population. That would also solve to some extent the problem of long distance transport, because long distance transport was necessary only to meet the requirements of deficit areas. If groups of villages were made self-sufficient in food, it would also be possible to eliminate, to a large extent, middlemen.

The Government should also develop multi-purpose cooperative societies which could help avoid the wastage which now results on account of untimely sowings. Cooperative Societies could also supply the needs of the villagers, such as seeds, implements and manure. The aim should be to help farmers to overcome their various difficulties.

India is a food-producing country and there is no need for imports from abroad. Dr. Kumarappa felt that there had been a diversion of land under food which had been diverted to money crops. Dr. Kumarappa expressed hinself against any preference to money crops over tice.

To meet the villagers' need for manure, Co-operative Societies could be organised to arrange suitable subsidies for the manufacture and distribution of compost from night soil. Artificial manures might be utilised where farmyard manure was not available, but it should not replace natural manure.

Valuable researches in agriculture have been madeduring the past years; it is now necessary to fit these
into the farmer's economy. Dr. Kumarappa referred to
his recent visit to England where he had found the
younger generation in better health than during the war.
One explanation of this was the greater intake of fruits
and vegetables and milk products than before, since England had less cereals than before the war. He did not

ree any reason why, as in England, people here too should not take more to vegetables. The intake of cereals need not be as much as it is now. There is no doubt that Dr. Kumarappa's suggestions are very weighty and deserve most careful consideration. We fully agree with him in his view that India can and must be self-sufficient in food. Due care and honest attention can accomplish this.

D, V, C,

The Bill for setting up the Damodar Valley Corporation is now before a Select Committee and it is expected to come up before the Indian Parliament in its current session. The Damodar Valley Project is a multi-purpose scheme. It is designed to control floods, irrigate about 763,800 acres of land and supply power to the extent of 350,000 kilowatts.

It is proposed to set up the D. V. C. on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It shall be the duty of the Corporation to promote the industrial, agricultural, economic and public health development of the area within its operation Aud in order to carry out these functions the corporation may establish, maintain and operate laboratories, experimental and research stations and farms for conducting experiments and research.

The Damodar river is notorious for the frequent flood damages it has caused. The river flows through the province of Bihar and Bengal and drains an area called, on account of its industrial potential, the Ruhr of India. The industries that will be located along the lower reaches of the Valley must be protected from the rayages of flood.

The main lines of communication connecting the important port of Calcutta with the rest of India have been damaged on several occasions due to Damodar floods. This danger, which now threatens to become an annual feature, will be removed when the D. V. C. begins to function. The rice crop of the Burdwan district is subjected to heavy damage due to Damodar floods almost every year; this will also be prevented. Last but not the least, control of Damodar floods will remove a great source of potential danger to the city of Calcutta as well. Flood control is therefore a very important aspect of the D. V. C. project. This will be obtained by constructing a number of dams across the Damodar river and its tributaries, to provide large storage reservoirs which will hold back the floods. These reservoirs will be kept partially empty during the flood season to hold the rushing storm waters which will be released later at a safe rate. The many dams together have a flood control storage of 3,569,000 acres feet. This capacity to absorb floods cis sufficient to reduce a flood much larger than any so far recorded and a peak flow of 1.000,000 cubic feet per second to a harmless 200,000 cubic feet per second.

The flood waters and the annual flow will be converted into a perennial flow and will also be harnessed to develop electric power. Electric power generating stations have been planned at all dams. The total installed capacity of all the hydro-electric

stations put together will be about 200,000 kilowatt. As the amount of this power available varies with the season, a large thermal (steam) generating station with an installed capacity of 150,000 kilowatt will also be built. This hydro-steam combination will not only meet most of the load requirement in South Bihar and South West Bengal but will also form the backbone of the future inter-provincial electric power grid connecting the different provinces. The annual energy available from the hydro-electric stations alone will amount to 800,000,000 kilowatt-hours. Preliminary estimates indicate that the energy will be available for sale at very attractive rates which will rapidly advance industrialisation of the Valley.

At present the Damodar river partially irrigates about 186,000 acres in the Burdwan district. During dry years when the monsoon fails, this area is not assured of sufficient water even in October. No water is available for any summer crop. After the completion of the project sufficient water will be stored for release to meet the irrigation requirement of about 763,800 acres in the districts of Burdwan, Barkura, Hooghly and Howreh Two crops will be assured where only one grows now. Irrigation will also be available to a fairly large acreage in Bihar. To achieve this object, there will, in addition to the dams, be a barrage in the lower reaches of the Damodar from where the water will be diverted into a network of canals on both the banks of the river.

The main irrigation canal will be made navigable for large, low-draft river-craft. This canal will be provided with suitable berthing facilities and lock arrangements to enable through traffic at very economic rates between Calcutta and the neighbourhood of the regional coal fields. This additional means of transport will be a great value to the industrial development of the Valley.

All these have to be achieved and that within a short time. Previously, construction of a single damhas taken as much as 10 years or even more. But the speed will be much faster now. Immediately we want more food, more power and more industries. It is, therefore, proposed to go in for the most modern methods of construction which will enable us to complete the whole scheme itself within a period of ten years, if not earlier. This project, when completed will cost about Rs. 55 crores. Detailed minerological survey of the area has begun. Exploratory investigations to establish useful industries have also been set on foot. But, so far as we know, no load survey of the industries that are likely to spring up on the area served by the D. V. C. has yet been made. A thorough load survey and an industrial plan for the area should immediately be undertaken preferably by men conversant with local conditions.

Economic Development Plan

The Economic Programme Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee under the chairmanship of Pandit Nehru, has accepted the 13commendations

made by the sub-committees, on agriculture, small-scale and village industries, large-scale and heavy industries, and co-operative distribution. These recommendations have been incorporated in a single report which has been submitted to the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and will come up for discussion at the next meeting of the A.I.C.C. It is emphasised that the report is not a blue print, but "an outline programme, the details of which will have to be filled in by the permanent Planning Commission which has been recommended." The members who attended the meetings of the Programme Committee are Pandit Nehru, Dr. John Matthai, Maulana Azad, Shri Shankar Rao Deo, Shri J. C. Kummarappa and Prof. N. G. Ranga.

The Programme Committee's Plan has, as anticipated, roused loud protest from that section of bounty-fed Industrialists who have taken the full advantage of the war years to exploit the very consumers who have made large contributions by way of paying increased prices due to protective duties and have thus made it possible for the industries to come into existence, establish themselves and coin money during the war. The most momentous recommendation of the Committee is the abolition of the Managing Agency System. This is a system which was created by the early British entrepreneurs in this country for a thorough and most scientific exploitation of all the three parties to the industry, namely, the supplier of the raw material, the wage-earner and the share-holder. The Indian Managing Agency system has no parallel in the industrial life of any country in the world. It is therefore only natural that the proposal for its abolition, just at the moment when the Indian Managing Agents are aspiring to reap the full benefits of this pernicious system left here by the departing Briton, will evoke protests.

The aims and objects of the programme are as follows:

A quick and progressive rise in the standard of living of the people by expanding the volume of production. Equitable distribution of the existing income and wealth and prevention of the growth of disparities in this respect. With the progress of industrialisation widest diffusion of opportunities for occupations through an economy based on decentralization and compatible with the requirement of and adequate standard of living and the country's internal and external security, mational and regional self-sufficiency and a proper balance between rural and urban economy.

The main recommendations relating to agriculture are:

Minimum levels of assured production of food, cotton and building materials in every province and every prescribed area on the basis of a scheme of balanced cultivation, removal of all intermediaries between the tiller and the State and replacement of all middlemen by non-profit-making agengies, such as co-operatives, remunerative prices for basic agricultural products and living wage levels and relief of indebtedness for agricultural workers, non-reguring permanent land improvement like anti-

erosion etc. through direct investment by the State, farms to demonstrate efficient and modern methods of agriculture and pilot schemes for experimenting with co-operative farming under State auspices, organisation of co-operative colonies on Covernment unoccupied but cultivable lands. organisation of co-operative multipurposes enterprises and their unions for credit, processing and marketing and supply of manufactured goods from towns to villages land generally to be owned by bona fide, cultivatorfixing the maximum size and placing the surplus above the maximum at the disposal of the village co-operatives, consolidation of small holdings and prevention of further fragmentation, substitution of land revenue system by progressive taxation of agricultural income, organisation of agricultural finance corporations operating through co-operative societies and statutory village Panchayats with well-defined powers and adequate financial resources and machinery of conciliation between landless and landholding peasants.

The main recommendations regarding industry of all types, village, small-scale and heavy are:

Categories and spheres of industries are that industries producing articles of food and clothing and other consumer goods should constitute the decentralised sector of Indian economy and should, as far as possible, he developed and run on a co-operative basis. Such industries should for the most part be run on cottage or small-scale basis. Larger units are inevitable in the case of heavy industries, e.g., manufacture of machinery and other producer goods. The choice of size will be determined by the net balance of economic and social advantage, preference being for smaller as against larger units.

To avoid economic insecurity and destructive competition the respective spheres of large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries should de demarcated. In the conditions prevalent in our country emphasis will be on opportunities for employment of our unutilised or partially utilised man-power and minimising the use of costly capital goods. Large-scale industry should also be utilised to improve the economic basis and the operative efficiency of small-scale and cottage industries. Certain lines of manufacture should be reserved for cottage industries. Cottage industries may be protected from the competition of large-scale industries through State control of competing largo-scale industries, grant of subsidies or some method of price equalisation, control of investment and licensing of new undertakings.

Regional self-sufficiency should be the aim with regard to all types of industries. The location of industry should be so planned as to make a district of average size, having roughly a population of ten lakhs, as nearly self-sufficient as possible in respect of consumer goods supplying the daily needs of the people. Fiscal and other measures may be adopted to foster suitable industries in different regions specially in depressed areas.

The small-scale and cottage industries should be promoted on mon-profit lines through industrial co-operative under the State auspices through non-official promotional bodies. Government being represented in it but not con-

trolling it. The structure that is built up should be a strong federal structure, consisting of primary societies, their regional unions and the allied federation. The industrial co-operatives should do the purchases, sales, arrangement of tools, workshops, guidance, and supervision. The major portion of the produce of these industries should be sold through consumers and multi-purpose agriculturists' societies.

To create the right type of leadership in the development of these industries a cadre of organisers, technicians and secretaries etc., with pay and conditions of service similar to that in public bodies, should be trained.

The Government should encourage the development of cottage co-operative societies in the initial stages, specially in case of losing industries and new industries, by using their products in their departments, organising propaganda and advertisement and arranging the demonstration of and training in the application of better tools and processes and undertaking and encouraging research for the purpose of developing these industries efficiently and for better utilisation of available natural resources through a permanent board of research.

New undertakings in defence, key and public utility industries should be started under public ownership. New undertakings which are in the nature of monopolies or in view of their scale of operations the country as a whole or cover more than one province should be run on the basis of public ownership. This is subject to the limit of the State's resources and capacity at the time and the need of the nation to enlarge production and speed up development.

In respect of existing undertakings the process of transfer from private to public ownership should commence after a period of five years. In special cases, a competent body may after proper examination, decide on an earlier transfer. The first five years should be treated as a period of preparation during which arrangements should be made to take over and run these undertakings efficiently. The progress of transition to public ownership should be controlled so as to avoid dislocation of the economic life in the country. State acquisition of these industries should take place when the excessive margins of profits prevailing in the existing abnormal conditions have declined to a reasonable level, in consequence of the fall in price or under pressure of appropriate legislation or administrative measures.

To secure efficient development and conduct of publicowned industries suitable administrative agencies should be set up, e.g., (1) creation of an economic civil service which will furnish industry with executives of different grades, (2) training of requisite industrial cadre, (3) technical training and general education of the workers, (4) organisation of research and information, (5) control of investment and of shares or strategic resources,

(6) intensive and detailed economic surveys.

Departmental control should be confined to questions of policy. The system of statutory corporations should be developed with necessary adaptations to suit Indian conditions

In private industry the existing system of managin agency should be abolished as early as possible. Privat industry will be subject to regulations and control in the interest of national policy in industrial development.

The recommendations regarding the relations of profit and capital, and labour-capital annuity are:

Return on capital will be computed on employe capital, i.e., capital plus reserves. Distributed profits wil be taxed at a higher rate than undistributed profits. A five per cent dividend in terms of employed capital wil be the maximum limit for distribution of profits. After the date of declaration of the maximum limit the amoun of profits to be transferred to the reserve funds should be limited to such sums as in the opinion of competent authority may be utilised for productive purposes by an industry or industries. Out of the profits earned in any year, the surplus, after setting apart three per cent on employed capital as dividend and another portion to be earmarked by Government for schemes of social welfare and industrial improvement will be shared between the workers and the shareholders in proportion to be fixed by Covernment-the employer's share not exceeding in any year a third of the basic wage or the national minimum whichever is higher.

All resources available for investment should be subject to the control of the State. The State should set up finance corporations. Banking and insurance should be nationalised.

Stable and friendly relations between labour and capital should be maintained through profit-sharing and increasing association of labour with management in industry, and establishment of works committees in each undertaking, regional labour boards with adequate and elected representation of labour in each industry. The Economic Programme Committee has suggested that a Central Planning Commission should be appointed to advise and assist the Congress Governments in implementing the programme.

Honour to a Savant

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has done a singularly graceful thing by making the first award of its newly created Sir Jadunath Sarkar Gold Medal for mediaeval Indian history to Chevalier Panduranga S. Pissurlencar of Goa. The Society had previously instituted meduls for earlier periods of Indian history, archaeology. ethnology and scientific subjects. But last year, thanks to the unfailing enlightened liberality of Dr. B. C. Law (its President) this new medal was endowed for Muslim and Maratha history (1300-1802 A.D.). It is valued Rs. 480. and bears Sir Jadunath's bust in alto relievo on one face and the winner's name on the reverse. Ch. Pissurlencar is the undisputed master of the Portuguese connection with India and the history of the Marathas and the Deccani kingdoms (even Haidar Ali and Tipu) as fag as it can be learned from original Portuguese MS, sources, He has also done some excavations in Coa with surprising results. Bengal has rightly honoured a Portuguese Indian,

ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN*

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A. (West Bengal)

It has always been argued by social interpreters of history that economics is, and has always been, moulded by the bigger process of history and there cannot be, as the, classical economists claimed, a 'pure' theory of economics. If their contention could not be readily appreciated in the days of laissez faire, it has become an obvious truism today. Economic policy, in recent times, is becoming more and more bound to the chariot-wheels of politics and foreign policy and economic warfare has become one of the most potent weapons in the armoury of politicians. It is, thus, difficult to examine dispassionately the present and future economic relationship between India and Pakistan without being drawn into the fust-developing vortex of the politics of the situation. Yet, as objective economists, we should try to have an objective assessment of the economic relationship between India and Pakistan avoiding as far as possible the politics of the matter, though it would be well to remember that all our economic calculations and forecasts ultimately depend on political developments, specially in such matters.

In discussing objectively the economic relationship between India and Pakistan, we shall have to examine the whole range of economic relationship and try to examine the effects of the division of India on every branch of economic relations, such as fiscal relations, budgetary and financial relations, trade and commercial relations, monetary and currency relations and so on. In doing so, it, would be convenient to distinguish between the long-terms and the short-term problems, for they have not got identical bearings and incidence. Let us begin with the short-term problems.

THE SHORT-TERM PROBLEMS: ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PARTITION

What are the short-term problems? We may examine them under the following heads, viz., (1) Division of assets and liabilities; (2) Transfer of capital and capital goods; (3) Flight of capital with its consequential repercussions on the money-market; (4) Transfer of officers and the strain on the Budget; (5) The problem of the refugees, their lost properties and their claim for compensation; and (6) The rehabilitation cost. Let us begin with the division of assests and liabilities.

DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

The principles governing the division of assets and liabilities between India and Pakistan have been made clear in the recent agreement concluded between India and Pakistan. But before we proceed to examine the principles enunciated in that agreement, it is necessary to take note of the two other points.

(a) Principles followed at the Centre are just the reverse of the principles followed at the Provincial level: It is a very curious phenomenon that in dividing the assets and liabilities, no uniform policy has been followed at the Central and the Provincial levels. Rather, the principles followed at the provincial levels are just the reverse of the principles followed at the Centre. As a result of the agreement concluded between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, the responsibility for all undisposed-of claims or the responsibility for all public debts and pensions falls on the Government of India. But in Bengal, it is not the Government of West Bengal but the Government of Eastern Pakistan that has taken over the responsibility for all past claims. Thus the Pakistan Government is not the residual legatee in all-India affairs, but at the provincial level, it is the provincial unit of the Pakistan Government that has become the residual legatee of all provincial matters. We do not know why there has been such a lack of uniformity between the principles adopted by the Centre and those adopted by the provinces and we have yet to work out in whose favour this lack of uniformity works. But this is clearly an anomaly which should be examined into immediately and rectified if possible.

(b) Pakistan getting double help. In the agreement referred to above, the Government of India have agreed to give to the Covernment of Pakistan a loan of some crores to be repayable in a certain number of years. It may be naturally assumed that the total over-all receipt by the Government of Pakistan from the Government of India consist of that loan, besides the assets already divided. But that is unfortunately not the fact. When the partition of India and the partition of Bengal and the Punjab were being given effect to with terrible speed, the Muslim League started having loans and advances not only from the Government of India but from the provincial governments as well. One instance may be cited; when advances from the Government of India to the Government of Pakistan were still being negotiated, the embryonic Government of Eastern Pakistan drew from the still undivided funds of the Government of Bengal, a few lakhs for the construction of capital at Dacca. Plea was put forward that unless some advances were immediately given, the work of capital construction would be stopped and there could be no evacuation of the Writers' Buildings on the 15th of August, 1947. Loans had therefore to be advanced on an Eastern Pakistan Suspense Account and the Government of West Bengal can now claim repayment of all the loans and advances given on this account. But the important point to be noted in this connection is that all such loans and advances are not a part of, but in addition to, the loans and advances given by the Government of India. It has to be investigated whether even now the Government of India have yet been appreciated of these

This paper is based on the points discussed in a speech delivered at the 20th Session (Calcutta) of the All-India Economic Conference on December 23, 1967,

advances by the Government of West Bengal. It would therefore be wrong to assume that the amount of total help Pakistan has got from India consists of the amounts specified only in the agreement at the all-India level. In the terminology of international trade, we may say that the amount mentioned in the all-India agreement is only the "visible" item; the "invisible" item of help that Pakistan has got from India is to be found in the loans and advances made by the Provincial Governments. Unless these provincial loans and advances are immediately included in the all-India accounts, Pakistan will be having it both ways and India will, in reality, he more adversely affected than she would apparently seem to be.

- (c) Principal Features of the Agreement at the All-India Level: After we have disposed of the two preliminary points, we may now turn to examine the principal features of the agreement concluded between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan. The main features are as follows:
- (i) Cash Balances: The undivided Government of India's cash balances as on the date of partition are estimated at a little under 400 crores, inclusive of the securities held in the cash balance investment account. Of these, Pakistan's share has, by agreement, been fixed at Rs. 75 crores. To this amount will be debited the Rs. 20 crores already made available to the Government of Pakistan on the 15th August, 1947 and the expenditure incurred on that Government's account to date. (The whole balance of 55 crores has now been paid as a result of Mahatma Gandhi's fast).
- (ii) Sterling Assets: Under paragraph (3) of part 4 of the Pakistan (Monetary System and Reserve Bank) Order, 1947, Pakistan's share of sterling assets will be of the note circulation after adjusting any expansion against Pakistan securities in that Dominion. It has now been agreed that India should sell to Pakistan, for Indian rupees, additional blocked sterling up to an agreed limit as and when demand is made until the 31st December, 1947 according to a specified formula.*
 - * The formula is quoted below :
- "It is agreed that in addition to the sterling to which Pakistan would be entitled under para 4 (3) of Part IV of the Pakistan (Monetary System and Reserve Bank) Order, 1947, an amount of sterling calculated as below will be made available to Pakistan in the manner specified below:
- (a) The total of the sterling assets in boths the banking and issue departments on the 30th September, 1948, will be taken together;
- (b) From this total will be deducted the lump sum payable to H. M. G. at the time of the final settlement of sterling balance on account of the capitalisation of pensionary liability, for H. M. G.'s millitary stores and fixed assets as on 1.4.47 in India, etc.
- (c) Out of the remaining balance a sum in sterling which taken together with the gold held in the issue department will be equal to 70 per cent of the total liabilities of that department as on September 30, 1948, will be allocated in the manner prescribed in para 4 (3) of Part IV of the Pakfistan (Monetary System and Reserve Bank) Order, 1947.
- (d) Of the remainder, seventeen and a half per cent will be allocated to Pakistan.
- (e) The difference between the total of what will fall to the share of Pakistan under (c) and (d) and what Pakistan would obtain

- (iii) Liabilities of the old Government: The Government of India have assumed initial responsibility for all the liabilities of the old Government lin the province, the case has been just the reversel, subject to an equitable contribution by the Pakistan Government. It was agreed that Pakistan's share would be made up of the value of assets, physical and financial, which lie in Pakistan or are taken over by the Pakistan Government plus the share allocated to Pakistan of the uncovered debt, namely, the excess of liabilities over the assets of the undivided Government, less the liabilities assumed directly by the Pakistan Government. Pakistan's share of the uncovered debt has now by agreement been fixed at seventeen and a half per cent.
- (iv) Valuation of Assets: For the valuation of the assets taken over by the two Dominions it has been agreed that book-values should be accepted in all cases. In the case of strategic railways however the book-value by agreement is being written down arbitrarily by about 50 per cent.
- (v) Payment of debt by Pakistan: With regard to the payment of debt by Pakistan to India, it has been agreed that the total amount will be paid in Indian rupees in fifty annual equated instalments for principal and interest combined. The instalments will be payable on the 15th August each year, but no instalments will be payable for the first four years from the date of the partition. The rate of interest adopted will be the same as the average yield over a period of two years preceding the date of partition of the rupee and sterling securities of the Government of India with an unexpired currency of 15 years or over, rounded to the nearest one-eighth of one per cent.
- (vi) Pensions: Each Dominion will continue to disburse the pensions now in payment in its territory, India continuing to pay the overseas pensions. The value of all pensions, both partly earned pensions and pensions in issue, will be capitalised and the liability shared in the ration agreed upon for sharing the uncovered debt to the extent that the capitalised value of the pensions disbursed by a Dominion is more or less than its share thus determined, an appropriate adjustment will be made in the financial settlement.
- (vii) Military Stores: Pakistan's share of the military stores will be a third of the stocks held in India and Pakistan on the date of partition or a third of the maintenance and reserve requirements of the two Dominions calculated on an agreed basis, whichever is less. The balance, if any, will fall to India's share.
- (viii) Ordnance Factories: As for ordnance factories, no physical division will take place, the Indian Dominion taking full liability for their book-value. India has however agreed to make available to Pakistan a sum of Rs. 6 crores to be drawn and when required by way of assist-

under para 4 (3) of Part IV of the Order is the amount of the additional sterling to be made available to Pakistan.

(f) In regard to the amount of the additional sterling, India agrees to sell to Pakistan, from its amount No. II or similar account, sterling for Indian supers on demand being made by Pakistan up to the 31st December, 1947."

ance towards the setting up of ordnance factories and a few other essential institutions like a Security Printing Press. This amount will be added to Pakistan's debt to India.

- (ix) Division of Railways etc.: Division of the railways, telegraph lines, post-offices, mints, etc., was decided on a territorial basis. Moveable stores have been divided on different principles. Thus, the railway rolling stock was divided on the basis of mileage traffic, while other stores were divided, broadly, on maintenance requirements.
- (x) Central Revenues: In regard to central revenues accruing in the two territories after August 14, 1947 it was decided by the Partition Council that each Dominion would retain the amounts collected in its territory. India agreed however to discuss, at a later date, if Pakistan so decided, for pooling and sharing the revenues collected up to March 31, 1948. Arrangements have also been made for avoiding double taxation.
- (xi) Trade and Economic Controls: As regards trade and economic controls, it has been agreed that until March 31, 1948, status quo should be maintained as far as possible and modification in and removal of controls should not be affected except by consultation between the two dominions. It has also been decided that during the interim period terminating on February 29, 1948,
 - (a) No customs barriers should be raised between the two Dominions.
 - (b) Existing import and export policies should be continued.
 - (c) Existing customs, tariffs, excess duties and easies should be left unchanged.
 - (d) No restrictions should be imposed upon free movement of goods and remittances including capital equipment and capital.
 - (c) No transit duties or taxes should be levied on goods passing from one territory to another and the existing trade channels or patterns of trade should not be interfered with.

Pakistan has reserved the right to revise her attitude in these matters, in view of the fact that her proposal that the customs revenue should be polled and shared during the interim period had not been accepted.

- (xii) Armed Forces: Armed Forces have been divided on a territorial-cum-communal basis.
- (4) Possible Effects of the Agreement: We reserve our observations on the possible effects of the above agreement till we have examined the other short-term problems as also the long-term problems. It is however important to note for the present the immediate effects of some of the clauses of the Agreement. Space will not permit me to examine the effect of each clause in detail, but it has, I believe, been made clear above how in certain matters at least Pakistan has got more than she could legitimately claim. The division of the armed forces and of their equipment, including the division of the navy, is a case in point. Then again, as we shall have occasion to refer later, Pakistan has no liability for the present except on paper and she will have nothing to pay immediately. It has become, under the agreement, the entire responsibility

of the Government of India to make payment on Pakistan's behalf,-for instance, to the security-holders, to overseas pension-holders, to claimants of all old liabilities and so on. But though saddled with this heavy responsibility on the one hand, the Government of India have no immediate prospect of obtaining payment of the dues which other countries owe her. Pakistan has been given a moratorium for four years; the very slender hopes of getting back our sterling assets are fast fading away; even if we get some sterling, that will be badly needed for nationalising foreign industries here as also for importing capital goods from abroad. India's balance of trade had already been an adverse one in 1945 and, with the elimination of the foodsurplus areas from the territories of Iedia, her balance of trade would continue to be adverse in future. If we keep these facts in view, it not a very encouraging phenomenon to find India saddled with the heavy responsibilities she has been actually saddled with and compelled to undertake the burden of putting Pakistan on her legs when she herself would have to make the most strenuous effort if she has to get out of the economic morass of the second world war and just start along the road of economic recovery and reconstruction. Brufly speaking, the agreement has not been helpful; rather, it has put further hurdles in the way of economic progress when that way was already difficult enough.

These are likely to be the probable effects of the agreement. We now proceed to examine the other short-term problems.

TRANSFER OF CAPITAL AND OF CAPITAL GOODS

The division of India is likely to lead, even in the short period, to many other economic difficulties besides those arising out of the Agreement. One of such difficulties that will materially affect the economic relationship between India and Pakistan will be the transfer of capital and capital goods from one dominion to the other. I do not refer here to the panicky flights of capital and the abnormal capital transfers that must accompany any transfer of population, but I am discussing here the more normal and more inevitable transfer of capital and capital goods consequent upon the division of India's economy. It is necessary to note the following more important points:

(1) Capital being more scarce in Pakistan, and therefore fetching a higher return, it would be more profitable to invest capital in Pakistan, provided the investors are prepared to take the necessary risk. In this situation, businessmen who had business in both the dominions but more business in Pakistan than in India, will naturally like to concentrate, if political conditions so permit, on business in Pakistan. Conversely, there will be a section of businessmen who would be shifting their capital from Pakistan to India. Such transfers will relate not only to capital but also to capital goods. To take one instance; it is quite natural and understandable that some of the jute-mills which were hitherto localised, for some reason or other, nearabout Calcutta, will have to shift to Eastern Pakistan by the sheer logic of partition. As we shall show later, India has sufficient jute to feed about shalf the total capacity

of the existing jute-mills; it is only natural that the other half would, instead of being located here while depending completely on Eastern Pakistan's jute, find it more profitable and expedient to move to Eastern Pakistan.

(2) These remarks apply also, in a modified degree, to foreign capital. Some of the foreign capital now invested in India may move to Pakistan if possible. New capital issues too by foreign countries will henceforward be influenced by these considerations and if there is no question of transfer of capital here, there will be at least a diversion of capital.

In assessing the economic relationship of India and Pakistan these factors should be taken into consideration. As necessary figures are not available, it is not possible to estimate, even roughly, the probable extent of such transfer of capital and capital goods.

PANICKY FLIGHT OF CAPITAL AND REPERCUSSIONS ON THE MONEY MARKET

We have referred above to more or less normal transfers of capital and capital goods that must come in the wake of partition. But that is not all. Any study of the economic relations between India and Pakistan will be unreal and incomplete if we do not refer also to the panicky flight of capital and its repercussions on the money market. Any very accurate assessment of the magnitude of the problem is not possible in the absence of necessary figures. But it is well-known that the cataclysmic political upheavals in Western Pakistan led to such a great flight of capital that restrictions had to be placed on such flight. Fortunately, there has been, as yet, no such cataclysmic upheaval in Eastern Pakistan, but it is also well-known that in spite of the comparative peace, there has been considerable flight of capital from Eastern Pakistan to India, particularly to West Bengal. Those banks which had their assets mainly locked up in the Eastern Pakistan had a most difficult time and some of them have virtually collapsed. Repercussions of these flights of capital, such as runs on banks and their consequential failure have been great, on the money market and they have upset all the normal transactions and have produced most undesirable and unwanted effects, though to a limited extent.

TRANSFER OF OFFICERS AND THE STRAIN ON THE BUDGET

The Government of India asked all their officers to indicate their choice for India or Pakistan with an option to revise their choice within six months. This was agreed to by the Pakistan Government. At the Provincial level, a similar option was given by the West Bengal Government to all the servants of the provincial Government, with the difference that, because of the objection of the Muslim League, there could not be given here any option of revising the choice within six months. The result has been that most of the Hindu officers have opted for West Bengal and the Government of West Bengal, and not the Government of India, have been compelled to take over a large number of surplus officers. Information is not available as to what extent officers have been surplus so far as the Govern-

ment of India are concerned, but the strain on the finances of the Government of West Bengal on account of the surplus officers will be apparent from the fact announced in the Press that out of an estimated budget surplus of approximately Rs. 3 crores during the period of 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, Rs. 95 lakhs had to be paid each month for the two and a half months of 15th August, 1947 to 31st October,—the period during which most of these surplus officers could not be absorbed and therefore had to be given leave with pay.

REFUCEE PROBLEM

The last, but not the least, point to be discussed is the refugee problem. This problem has now assumed such great magnitude that the expenditure necessary for their reception and rehabilitation will run into crores and crores of rupces. This problem has two aspects. First, time has come to enquire as to who should be made responsible for the lost properties and belongings of the refugees. Though it is primarily a political question, still, in the economic sphere, it may not be unreasonable for the Government receiving the refugees to claim compensation on their behalf for the losses they have sustained from the Government from the territory of which the refugees have to come away. The same principle also applies to the expenditure incurred on rehabilitation. As a master of fact, this is no new principle. After the Bihar disturbances, the then Government of Bengal claimed that the cost of maintaining and rehabilitating Bihar refugees in Bengal should be borne by the Government of Bihat. When this matter was referred to the Government of India, the then Government of India, headed by Pandit Nehru and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, accepted the proposal and introduced it on an all-India basis. Now if that formula had been agreed to at that time by both Congress and the Muslim League, there is no reason why it should not be revived again in the context of Indo-Pakistan population transfer. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that huge expenditure by the Government of India on refugees from Pakistan is eating up all the reconstruction funds so hadly needed for developmental purposes. If those funds are thus eaten up, there will be a very severe blow at the root of India's economic recovery and progress. In discussing, therefore, the economic relations between India and Pakistan it is impossible to ignore this point. Time has come to find out a way out of this sad state of affairs and to see to it that there is no death-blow, because of this problem, to all our prospects of economic reconstruction and progress.

SUMMARY OF THE SHORT-TERM PROBLEM

We have discussed some of the important shortterm problems. What are our main conclusions? Unfortunately, facts of the situation compel us to be a little pessimistic in our conclusions. We find that

(1) Pakistan has been getting double help from India and having it both ways in her favour.

(2) The Agreement that has been concluded is likely to place a heavy burden on India without any appreciable corresponding benefit.

(3) Over and above this, there is bound to be a more or less normal transfer of capital and capital goods.

(4) In addition to all these, there has been a panicky flight of capital which has made the moneymarket unstable and uneasy if it has not led to an actual big-scale trouble.

(5) The burden of surplus officers has also

been, in some cases, a heavy one.

(6) Lastly, the huge expenditure on refugees as eating away the little surplus we could gather as our blood-price and any talk of economic reconstruction will be a pure myth if our surpluses are eaten up in this way.

This is indeed a gloomy picture, but it is not an unreal picture. Instead of trying to have a show-down let us face facts and try to tackle them boldly and properly.

We now pass on to the long-term problems.

THE LONG-TERM PROBLEMS: ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

As we tried to emphasise at the very beginning, long-term problems are dependent more or less on two factors. The long-term economic relationship between India and Pakistan must ultimately depend on the economic make-up as also on the economic objective and policy of these two States. These are the most important factors which condition long-term developments and set the limit as well as the direction of the economic development of any country. Secondly, however, long-term development depends, though in a lesser degree, upon how we make a start now. In other words, though long-term developments may change and correct the short-term factors, yet they, in their turn, are dependent, at least partially, on the short-term factors themselves.

• Viewed from this angle, ultimate economic relations between India and Pakistan will depend on their respective economic make-ups and their economic objective. But economic objective again is the result of a number of complex factors arising out of the economic framework of the country. Now, what would be the likely trends of economic policy in these two States? Any reply to this question would depend largely on an objective assessment of the economic framework of these two States and their probable economic needs. Let us, therefore, try to evaluate the economic strength of each country and find out in which direction they are deficient. It is not possible here to go into every possible detail and we shall therefore examine the main items.

(1) Food: Food is the basic necessity of life and India has recently been importing food annually to the extent of the value of about 100 crores of rupees. According to the calculations of the foodgrains Policy Committee (1943), the normally deficit provinces were: Assam (Deficit 14000 tons) Bengal (Deficit 5,17,000 tons) Bihar (Deficit, 2,75,000 tons), Bombay (Deficit 7,64,000 tons) Madras (Deficit 6,48,000 tons) and N.-W.F.P. (Deficit 38,000 togs). The normally surplus provinces were: Punjab (Surplus 7,54,000 tons), United Provinces (Surplus 69,000 tons), C.P. and Berar (Surplus 2,34,000 tons), Orissa (Surplus 1,82,000 tons), Sind, Br. Baluchistan and

Khairpur State (Surplus 3,28,000 tons). It will thus be seen that apart from the partitioned provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, India has, on the account of other provinces, a net deficit of 14,16,000 tons whereas Pakistan has, on a similar calculation, a net surplus of 2,90,000 tons. Now if we correct these figures by taking into account the surplus or deficits of the two Bengals and two Punjabs, we shall find that the relative position of India and Pakistan will still remain unchanged. If West Bengal is expected to be a just self-sufficient province, East Punjab is going to be a deficit one. Similarly, if East Bengal happens to be a deficit area, West Punjab will have some surplus to spare. So, apart from actual figures of tonnage, it is quite safe to assume that for some time to come India will be a deficit country with regard to food-stuffs, whereas Pakistan will be a surplus one in this respect.

(2) Important money-crops and raw-materials: Apart from food, we shall have also to consider the respective position of these two Sates so far as the important money crops and raw materials are concerned. We concentrate on jute and cotton.

Jute*: There was introduced in Bengal a jute restriction scheme in order to keep up the price of raw jute by limiting the supply. This was an artificial restriction on the acreage of jute. In our calculation about potential jute production we should take the figures before the introduction of the restriction scheme. We therefore take the figures for the year 1940 when the restriction scheme was not introduced. On that basis we get the following figures:

JUTE ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION IN 1940

| | Jute Acreage | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | Area | Per cent of | Per cent of all |
| | (1000 acres) | Bengal Total | India Total |
| West Bengal | 391 | 7.9 | 6.9 |
| Eastern Bengal | 4,548 | 92 · 1 | 80·2 |
| Total Bengal | 4,939 | 100.0 | 87 · 1 |
| Bihar | 282 | | 5.0 |
| Orissa. | 28 | - | 0.4 |
| Assam (excluding | | | |
| Sylhet) | 309 | | 5.5 |
| Total Indian Union | 1010 | _ | 17.8 |
| Total East Bengal | | | |
| and Sylhet | 4,595 | | 81 · 1 |
| Others | 64 | | 1.1 |
| Total India | 5,669 | | 100.0 |

| | Jute Produ | iction | |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| | Lakh Balos | • Per cent of | Per cent of all |
| • | | Bengal Fotal | India Total |
| West Bengal | 9.04 | 7.9 | 6.9 |
| Eastern Bengal | 105· 6 1 | 92 · 1 | 80 · 1 |
| Total Bengal | 114.65 | 100.0 | 87∙0 |
| Bihar | 5.71 | | 4.3 |
| Orissa | 0.52 | | 0.4 |
| Assam (excluding | | | |
| Sylhet) | 7.87 | | 6.0 |
| Total Indian Union | 23 · 14 | | 17.6 |
| Total East Bengal | | | |
| and Sylhet | 106 93 | | 81 · 1 |
| Others | 1.79 | - | 1.3 |
| Total India | 131 · 86 | _ | 100∙0 |
| | | | |

Calculations in this paragraph have been made by Shri Bimal
 Comer Ghosh, M.L.A. (West Bengal) to whom my thanks are due.

of the existing jute-mills; it is only natural that the other half would, instead of being located here while depending completely on Eastern Pakistan's jute, find it more profitable and expedient to move to Eastern Pakistan.

(2) These remarks apply also, in a modified degree, to foreign capital. Some of the foreign capital now invested in India may move to Pakistan if possible. New capital issues too by foreign countries will henceforward be influenced by these considerations and if there is no question of transfer of capital here, there will be at least a diversion of capital.

In assessing the economic relationship of India and Pakistan these factors should be taken into consideration. As necessary figures are not available, it is not possible to estimate, even roughly, the probable extent of such transfer of capital and capital goods.

PANICKY FLIGHT OF CAPITAL AND REPERCUSSIONS ON THE MONEY MARKET

We have referred above to more or less normal transfers of capital and capital goods that must come in the wake of partition. But that is not all. Any study of the economic relations between India and Pakistan will be unreal and incomplete if we do not refer also to the panicky flight of capital and its repercussions on the money market. Any very accurate assessment of the magnitude of the problem is not possible in the absence of necessary figures. But it is well-known that the cataclysmic political upheavals in Western Pakistan led to such a great flight of capital that restrictions had to be placed on such flight. Fortunately, there has been, as yet, no such cataclysmic upheaval in Eastern Pakistan, but it is also well-known that in spite of the comparative peace, there has been considerable flight of capital from Eastern Pakistan to India, particularly to West Bengal. Those banks which had their assets mainly locked up in the Eastern Pakistan had a most difficult time and some of them have virtually collapsed. Repercussions of these flights of capital, such as runs on banks and their consequential failure have been great, on the money market and they have upset all the normal transactions and have produced most undesirable and unwanted effects, though to a limited extent.

TRANSFER OF OFFICERS AND THE STRAIN ON THE BUDGET

The Government of India asked all their officers to indicate their choice for India or Pakistan with an option to revise their choice within six months. This was agreed to by the Pakistan Government. At the Provincial level, a similar option was given by the West Bengal Government to all the servants of the provincial Government, with the difference that, because of the objection of the Muslim League, there could not be given here any option of revising the choice within six months. The result has been that most of the Hindu officers have opted for West Bengal and the Government of West Bengal, and not the Government of India, have been compelled to take over a large number of surplus officers. Information is not available as to what extent officers have been surplus so far as the Govern-

ment of India are concerned, but the strain on the finances of the Government of West Bengal on account of the surplus officers will be apparent from the fact announced in the Press that out of an estimated budget surplus of approximately Rs. 3 crores during the period of 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, Rs. 95 lakhs had to be paid each month for the two and a half months of 15th August, 1947 to 31st October,—the period during which most of these surplus officers could not be absorbed and therefore had to be given leave with pay.

REFUGEE PROBLEM

The last, but not the least, point to be discussed is the refugee problem. This problem has now assumed such great magnitude that the expenditure necessary for their reception and rehabilitation will run into crores and crores of rupees. This problem has two aspects. First, time has come to enquire as to who should be made responsible for the lost properties and belongings of the refugees. Though it is primarily a political question, still, in the economic sphere, it may not be unreasonable for the Government receiving the refugees to claim compensation on their behalf for the losses they have sustained from the Government from the territory of which the refugees have to come away. The same principle also applies to the expenditure incurred on rehabilitation. As a master of fact, this is no new principle. After the Bihar disturbances, the then Government of Bengal claimed that the cost of maintaining and rehabilitating Bihar refugees in Bengal should be borne by the Government of Bihar. When this matter was referred to the Government of India, the then Government of India, headed by Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, accepted the proposal and introduced it on an all-India basis. Now if that formula had been agreed to at that time by both Congress and the Muslim League, there is no reason why it should not be revived again in the context of Indo-Pakistan population transfer. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that huge expenditure by the Government of India on refugees from Pakistan is eating up all the reconstruction funds so badly needed for developmental purposes. If those funds are thus eaten up, there will be a very severe blow at the root of India's economic recovery and progress. In discussing, therefore, the economic relations between India and Pakistan it is impossible to ignore this point. Time has come to find out a way out of this sad state of affairs and to see to it that there is no death-blow, because of this problem, to all our prospects of economic reconstruction and progress.

SUMMARY OF THE SHORT-TERM PROBLEM

We have discussed some of the important shortterm problems. What are our main conclusions? Unfortunately, facts of the situation compel us to be a little pessimistic in our conclusions. We find that

(1) Pakistan has been getting double help from India and having it both ways in her favour.

(2) The Agreement that has been concluded is likely to place a heavy burden on India without any appreciable corresponding benefit.

(3) Over and above this, there is bound to be a more or less normal transfer of capital and capital goods.

(4) In addition to all these, there has been a panicky flight of capital which has made the money-market unstable and uneasy if it has not led to an actual big-scale trouble.

(5) The burden of surplus officers has also

been, in some cases, a heavy one.

(6) Lastly, the huge expenditure on refugees is eating away the little surplus we could gather as our blood-price and any talk of economic reconstruction will be a pure myth if our surpluses are eaten up in this way.

This is indeed a gloomy picture, but it is not an unreal picture. Instead of trying to have a show-down let us face facts and try to tackle them boldly and properly.

We now pass on to the long-term problems.

THE LONG-TERM PROBLEMS: ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND PARISTAN

As we tried to emphasise at the very beginning, long-term problems are dependent more or less on two factors. The long-term economic relationship between India and Pakistan must ultimately depend on the economic make-up as also on the economic objective and policy of these two States. These are the most important factors which condition long-term developments and set the limit as well as the direction of the economic development of any country. Secondly, however, long-term development depends, though in a lesser degree, upon how we make a start now. In other words, though long-term developments may change and correct the short-term factors, yet they, in their turn, are dependent, at least partially, on the short-term factors themselves.

- Viewed from this angle, ultimate economic relations between India and Pakistan will depend on their respective economic make-ups and their economic objective. But economic objective again is the result of a number of complex factors arising out of the economic framework of the country. Now, what would be the likely trends of economic policy in these two States? Any reply to this question would depend largely on an objective assessment of the economic framework of these two States and their probable economic needs. Let us, therefore, try to evaluate the economic strength of each country and find out in which direction they are deficient. It is not possible here to go into every possible detail and we shall therefore examine the main items.
- (1) Food: Food is the basic necessity of life and India has recently been importing food annually to the extent of the value of about 100 crores of rupees. According to the calculations of the foodgrains Policy Committee (1943), the normally deficit provinces were: Assam (Deficit 14000 tons) Bengal (Deficit 5,17,000 tons) Bihar (Deficit, 2,75,000 tons), Bombay (Deficit 7,64,000 tons) Madras (Deficit 6,48,000 tons) and N.-W.F.P. (Deficit 38,000 togs). The normally surplus provinces were: Punjab (Surplus 7,54,000 tons), United Provinces (Surplus 69,000 tons), C.P. and Berar (Surplus 2,34,000 tons), Orissa (Surplus 1,82,000 tons), Sind, Br. Baluchistan and

Khairpur State (Surplus 3,28,000 tons). It will thus be seen that apart from the partitioned provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, India has, on the account of other provinces, a net deficit of 14,16,000 tons whereas Pakistan has, on a similar calculation, a net surplus of 2,90,000 tons. Now if we correct these figures by taking into account the surplus or deficits of the two Bengals and two Punjabs, we shall find that the relative position of India and Pakistan will still remain unchanged. If West Bengal is expected to be a just self-sufficient province, East Punjab is going to be a deficit one. Similarly, if East Bengal happens to be a deficit area, West Punjab will have some surplus to spare. So, apart from actual figures of tonnage, it is quite safe to assume that for some time to come India will be a deficit country with regard to food-stuffs, whereas Pakistan will be a surplus one in this respect.

(2) Important money-crops and raw materials: Apart from food, we shall have also to consider the respective position of these two Sates so far as the important money crops and raw materials are concerned. We concentrate on jute and cotton.

Jute*: There was introduced in Bengal a jute restriction scheme in order to keep up the price of raw jute by limiting the supply. This was an artificial restriction on the acreage of jute. In our calculation about potential jute production we should take the figures before the introduction of the restriction scheme. We therefore take the figures for the year 1940 when the restriction scheme was not introduced. On that basis we get the following figures:

JUTE ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION IN 1940

| | Jule Acreage | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--|--|--|
| | Area | Per cent of | Per cent of all | | | |
| | (1000 acres) | Bengal Total | India Total | | | |
| West Bengal | 391 | 7.9 | 6.9 | | | |
| Eastern Bengal | 4,548 | $92 \cdot 1$ | 80 ⋅2 | | | |
| Total Bengal | 4,939 | 100.0 | 87·1 | | | |
| Bihar | 282 | | 5∙0 | | | |
| Orissa | 2 8 | | 0.4 | | | |
| Assam (excluding | | | | | | |
| Sylhet) | 309 | | 5.5 | | | |
| Total Indian Union | 1010 | _ | 17.8 | | | |
| Total East Bengal | | | • , | | | |
| and Sylhet | 4,595 | **** | 81·1 | | | |
| Others | 64 | | 1.1 | | | |
| Total India | 5,669 | _ | 100.0 | | | |

| , | Jute Produ | ction | | |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| | Lakh Bales | Per cent of | Per cent of all | |
| | | Bengal Total | India Total | |
| West Bengal | 9·0 4 | 7.9 | 6.9 | |
| Eastern Bengal | 105·61 | 92 · 1 | 80 · 1 | |
| Total Bengal | 114.65 | 100.0 | 87.0 | |
| Bihar | 5.71 | - | 4.3 | |
| Orissa | 0.52 | - | 0.4 | |
| Assam (excluding | | | | |
| Sylhet) | 7.87 | | 6.0 | |
| Total Indian Union | 23.14 | | 17.6 | |
| Total East Bengal | | | | |
| and Sylhet | 106 · 93 | | 81 · 1 | |
| Others | 1.79 | | 1.3 | |
| Total India | 131 · 86 | | 100.0 | |
| | | | | |

* Calculations in this paragraph have been made by Shri Bimal Comar Ghosh, M.L.A. (West Bengal) to whom my thanks are due.

It would appear from the above table that Indian Union is at present capable of producing annually about 23.4 lakh bales. It is estimated that the capacity of the existing mills is about 60 lakh bales each year. According to certain calculations, it would be sufficient for the purposes of the Indian Union if she gets 30 lakh bales annually. If these calculations are correct, the shortage of jute bales in the Indian Union will be to the extent of 6.8 lakh bales annually. If some of the fallow lands and cultivable wastes in Wost Bengal and other jute-growing provinces in the Indian Union can be brought under jute cultivation, the deficit can easily be wiped out. But the limiting factor in this respect will be the supreme demand for more food. Extension of jute cultivation in these circumstances will depend on to what extent land can be released or diverted from food crops. The prospects of such release or diversion do not appear to be very high at the present moment. It would therefore be safe to assume that India will be short in her jute resources, but certainly not to the extent she is generally supposed to be.

Cotton: Detailed figures are not available, but it appears that India will be more adversely affected in cotton than in jute. In 1939-40, the Punjab produced 10,17,000 bales (400 lbs. each) of cotton, Sind 3.09 000 bales and the N.-W.F.P. 3.000 bales. The area under cotton in the three provinces was 26,41,105, 8,54,390 and 17,351 acres respectively. These three provinces thus produced 13.29,000 bales out of a total 33.81,000 bales produced in India, or about 39.3 per cent of the total. After the partition of the Punjab, the resources of Pakistan will be less, But the same difficulties arise in the case of cotton as of jute. Cotton Textile Mills are mainly in India; of 380 cotton textile mills with over 10 lakh spindles and over 2 lakh looms that were in existence in India in 1938-39. no more than 7 mills with about 72,000 spindles and less than 2000 looms were in the Punjab and Sind, there being none in the N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistan.

(3) Industrial Resources and Industries Potential: A detailed discussion on this point is perhaps unnecessary. It will be generally agreed that though certain raw-materials, including minerals, are available in small quantities in Pakistan, an overwhelmingly major share of industrial resources and industries potential has come to India. In fact, this great difference in the industrial resource and industrial potential makes the economic structure and economic framework of the two different States entirely different. This is also the main reason why the economic development of India and the economic development of Pakistan will not proceed along the same lines, for the two States are not at the same stage of economic evolution,

Possible Lines of Development: Economic Facts and Economic Policy

As we have already indicated, the economic relationship between India and Pakistan will ultimately depend on the basic economic framework of the two countries and the fundamental economic policies they would be compelled to follow in order to develop their resources fully. This leads us to the following questions:

- (1) What would be the basic economic framework of the two States for some time to come?
- (2) Would their economies be complementary or competing?
- (3) What would be the effects of the short-term economic consequences of partition on the long-term policies?
- (4) What should be our economic policy?
- Let us examine these questions.
- (1) The Basic Economic Framework: It is not possible to discuss here, except in the briefest outlines, the basic economic frameworks of India and Pakistan. As we have tried to indicate above, India and Pakistan are not at the same stage of economic developments. Pakistan is poor in raw-materials, industries and capital---poor at least in a relative if not in an absolute sense - while India is. at least comparatively speaking, in a better position. While Pakistan is yet in that agronomic stage where rawmaterials and food-stuffs have to be sent abroad to get capital, capital goods and even consumption goods, India has just emerged out of that stage and is on the threshhold of an industrial regeneration. As we have tried to analyse above. Pakistan will have some food-stuffs and perhaps some raw-materials to sell. But India, for some time to come, will have hardly anything to spare. As already indicated, India will have shortages all round. She is now a food-importing country and she shall continue to be so for some time to come; she shall be needing capital goods without importing foreign capital. This means that if she does not get her sterling dues, she shall have to further tighten her belt to secure capital goods from abroad. There is thus no possibility of importing large quantities of consumers' goods abroad, for with our scanty resources of foreign exchange, capital goods will certainly have priority over consumption goods in the list of our imports. Whatever consumer goods are manufactured in India are not even sufficient for her own purpose and she has hardly anything to spare. In these circumstances, India herself will be in all-round want with practically nothing to spare. Pakistan, on the other hand, has not yet reached this stage of economic development and she will he willing to import foreign capital for developmental purposes, even in a controlled manner; she shall have to be dependent, at least for some time to come, not only for capital goods but also for consumers' goods; she shall also be compelled to import those raw-materials from other countries which she is in absolute need of.
- (2) Would the economies of India and Pakistan be complementary?: Having regard to the above facts, it would be clear that the economies of India and Pakistan will not be complementary. India has almost nothing to give to Pakistan, for she has not much to spare and the little she may have to spare may be required by her for obtaining goods, specially capital goods, from abroad. Pakistan can sell her surplus food-stuffs to India, but having regard to the fact that food-stuffs will practically be her only saleable commodity in the international mar-

ket, it is doubtful whether Pakistan will not be more anxious to sell that food-stuff to a highly industrial country which can give her capital and manufactures rather than to India which is in far greater difficulties. Chances therefore are that there will be very little common field of transactions and inter-change between Pakistan and India in their pursuit of policies of economic development and as such it is futile to expect that their economies will be complementary, at least for some time to come.

(3) Effects of short-term events on long-term policy: We have tried to indicate above the basic economic structure of the two States and the basic features of their economy. Before we proceed to pass a final judgment on this matter, it would be necessary to examine the possible effects of short-term events on long-term policy. In our discussion of the short-term problems we have analysed the main features of the recent agreement as also have discussed certain other immediate problems. Apart from the huge burden they would immediately place on the shoulders of the Government of India, they would produce one result which will very vitally affect our longterm position. It will be noticed that during the war, the huge, though artificial, purchases from India resulted in a very favourable trade balance for India; but with the cessation of hostilities those purchases have stopped and the trade balance is gradually going against India. The following table, selected from data in the Reserve Bank Report on Currency and Finance, 1946-47 would make the trend clear:

| Balance of Trade | (in lakhs 1944 | of rupees) 1945 | 1946 |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|---------|
| Imports | 1,80,90 | 2,37,54 | 2,62,58 |
| Exports (excluding re-exports) Balance (excluding | 2,18,84 | 2,18,13 | 2,77,55 |
| | +37,94 | 19,41 | +14,97 |

This means that India is already in a position of relative disadvantage and if she has to secure a surplus for making payment for further imports without depending on more foreign capital, she would have to make tremendous efforts to secure that surplus. Now, the agreement that has been concluded, as also the other events that have happened, have combined to make her difficult position more difficult, even from the long-term point of view.

Professor Vakil of Bombay has, in a recent statement made the following calculations:

"For the next few years Pakistan will have no responsibility for making any payment regarding its agreed liabilities. In the meantime the Indian Union will continue to pay interest to the holders of Government securities in Pakistan. The gross payment on account of interest on all kinds of debts as budgeted for undivided Ind.a for 1947-48 was more than Rs. 68 crores. Even allowing for a most conservative estimate that only one-tenth of the holders of Government securities are in Pakistan, the payment of interest to such holders will be about Rs. 7 crores a year. This means that the Indian Union will have to export to Pakistan goods and services worth this amount during the coming years without any equivalent. Now after four years, Pakistan will begin payment to India. It is estimated that the habilities of Pakistan will be about 400 crores, and the repayment of the amount over a period of 50 years together with interest will mean paying annually about 15 crores."

In Professor Vakil's opinion there will then be a net receipt by India of Rs. 8 crores, but for the present there will be unilateral payment by India to the extent of Rs. 7 crores. But having regard to the fact that inter-governmental debts are hardly repaid (India has not yet received her dues from Burma), it is very doubtful whether the dues from Pakistan will ever be received.

As we have not got the details of Professor Vakil's calculations, it is not known how he has arrived at the figure of Rs. 15 crores. But if Rs. 400 crores be the total liability of Pakistan and if this has to be paid back in fifty equal annual instalments with some interest charges, say at two or three per cent, chances are that the annual instalment will be more in the neighbourhood of Rs. 8 crores than of 15 crores. If this be true, then the position will be that India will be paying Rs. 7 crores and getting only Rs. 8 crores which will be a very narrow margin indeed. Now whatever be the actual figures, the main conclusions are obvious. The economic relationship between India and Pakistan for some years to come will be one of undateral payment by India, and that at a time when she will probably have an adverse balance of trade even without her payment to Pakistan. Secondly, even when instalments will begin coming in-if they begin to come in at all-India will not have any margin worth the name with which to ease her difficult trade position. This problem would be more and more aggravated because of the nature of their economic structures. As their economics are not complementary, India cannot receive from Pakistan, if she can receive anything at all, any commodity which will be helpful for her economic development. As in the case of German reparations, two sources would only remain open for India. First, she can take, only for the sake of taking, such commodities as would either be of no real value to her, or would actually damage her own raw materials market, or she shall have to continue giving fresh loans to Pakistan just to enable her to make her annual payments to India. In either case India would be the loser.

(4) What should be our economic policy? What should then be our economic policy with regard to Pakistan? We have already tried to indicate the nature of the problems, both short-term and long term. The nature of the policy to be followed both in the short-term and in the long-term becomes clear from the nature of the problems themselves. The main items of policy may be enumerated briefly as follows:

Short-term:

- Adoption of a uniform policy both at the Central and Provincial levels;
- (2) Inclusion of all assistance given by the Province to Pakistan within the scope of the All-India agreement;
- (3) Settlement regarding the cost of maintaining refugees and the cost of their rehabilitation, if possible, ac-

cording to the formula agreed to by the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Cabinet;

- (4) Careful control of panicky flights of capital and assistance to all banks which are in difficulty on this account;
- (5) Avoidance as far as possible, of unilateral payments in the coming years; if possible, arrangements should be made so that the Pakistan Government mobilises the securities of the Government of India held by her nationals and exchanges them for Pakistan securities of equal value. The Pakistan Government should then hand over the Government of India securities to the Government of Indian Union, the liabilities of Pakistan to that extent being treated as cancelled. This should be done immediately, before the economic conditions in Pakistan become something very different from the economic conditions here.

Long term :

- (1) Decisions about monetary policy. As the Pakistan Government is going to have a separate currency, what would be the relation of our unit of account with their unit of account?
- (2) Decision about fiscal relations, particularly fiscal policy. A customs union has been suggested by some economists, but that would not work in view of possible political relations as also of the difference in the economic structures and possible economic policies.
- (3) Realisation, if possible, of all dues within a shorter period.

Conclusion

We have tried to discuss above the main features of the economic relationship between India and Pakistan and we have also tried to indicate certain lines of policy in view of the immediate and ultimate problems. In doing so, we have tried to confine ourselves to an objective economic analysis of the situation. But in conclusion we may again point out that all economic calculations and forecast in the matter may be upset by political developments. The recent controversy over the imposition of a customs duty on jute by Pakistan or over the promised financial assistance to Pakistan are cases in point. We cannot forget that the State of Pakistan has been born, not out of a spirit of friendship, but out of spite. Just as man has to suffer from the original sin, it is too much to expect that Pakistan will be able, at least for some time to come, to escape the limitations of its birth. At least recent events do not give us any ground for such expectation. Economic policy is bound to be linked up, in these circumstances, with political factors and we must always remember that even if what is justified in normal economic theory, may not be sanctioned, in this case, by political prudence. The usual flight of abstruct economic ideas therefore cannot but remain anchored here to the hard ground of realism. And in these days of historical interpretation of every aspect of life, we would not lose anything--rather we would gain everything-by having economic theory conditioned by possible social trends.*

 This paper was written long before the writer's assumption of office as Minister, West Bengal Government, and presents his individual views only.

TWO NATIONS?

A Peep into the Racial History of the Population of North-Western India

BY NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, MA.

India has been divided on two nations theory. Without discussing the question what are the different elements that compose a nation it may be conceded that race is one of them. After the division of India on two nations theory it will be instructive to analyse briefly the racial composition of the population of North-Western India comprising territories now included ¹ⁿ Pakistan, Kashmir and the tribal belt between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

A brief reference may be made at the outset to the infiltration of foreign racial elements into India from the rise and expansion of Islam up to the time of the establishment of the power of the Mughals in India.

Two great victories, first at Kadisiya (637 A.C.) and next at Nehavend (641 A.C.), made the Arabs masters of Persia and the fugitive last Sassanian emperor suffered the same fate as did the last Achaemenian emperor. After the loss of their freedom the Persians suffered the suppression of their old religion. Persia became an Islamic country. Within 644, when Khalif Omar died, Misopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt had fallen to the Arab arms. This marked for

the time being the westward expansion of the victorious Arab forces.

After the battle of Nehavend the Arab army spread eastwards from Persia. Western Afghanistan was occupied and Herat became one of the principal cities of the Moslem world. Further eastern expansion through Afghanistan towards India was blocked first by the Buddhist Shahi kings of Kabul who were succeeded by the Hindu Shahi kings of Ohind. The Barenis rock inscription in Mastuj records that about 900 A.C. the inhabitants of the surrounding country were Buddhists and under the sway of Jaipal, king of Kabul. The Arab plan of conquest of India through the northern passes did not materialise.

The tide of Arab expansion to the east checked in the north of India tried to effect a breach in the wall of India's defence in the west. It reached Mekran in Baluchistan about 643 but was resisted by the Jats of Jhalawan. Jhalawan formed a part of the kingdom of Sind which extended from the sea to Multan and from the desert to the hills of Baluchistan, By 705 an outpost was established in Mekran. After sepested

attacks from the sea against Sind had failed an army was sent under one Budmeen to attack Tutta. This army was defeated. In 711 Mahomed bin Kasim at the head of a body of Assyrian cavalry launched an attack on Tutta proceeding by the route of Shiraz and Mekran. King Dahir with his big army composed of Mooltanis, Sindhis and Rajputs fell fighting and the Arabs penetrated into the country as far east as Multan. The Arab power did not extend beyond this limit in the west. Thus Arabs were expelled from Sind by Mahmud of Ghazni. Next it became a part of the Delhi empire. Early in the 14th century Yadubamsı Sumra Rajputs of Sind established themselves in power in the country. The Sumras were succeeded by the Samma Rajputs. According to Ferishta, the Sumra dynasty ruled for five centuries. This would mean that they rose in power about a century after the Arab conquest. The Samma dynasty lasted till 1520.

The Arabs did not succeed in penetrating far into or getting an effective foothold in India during the centuries of their biggest conquests. Arab merchants later established a colony at Quilon but the Mapillas whose origin is traced to these settlers are confined to a small strip of the West coast.

The north-western gates of India were opened with the rise of the Turkish dynasty of Ghazni. The defeat at the battle of Lumghan (979) cost king Jaipal of the Punjab all the territories west of the Indus. Peshawar became the seat of the government of the conquered territories. Afghans and Afghnaised Turks known as Khaljis began to enlist in the army of Subuktugeen. In the second battle of Peshawar (1908) king Anandapal of Lahore was defeated by Mahmood with an army composed of Arabian horse, Turks, Afghans and Khaljis. In 1020-21 Lahore fell and a Moslem governor was appointed there. Towards the end of the century the Suljook Turks drove the descendants of Mahmood of Ghazni from their ancestral kingdom and Lahore became the capital of the last Ghazni kings.

With the victories of the Ghori Afghans who were converted to Islam after the seizure of Ghor by the house of Ghazni (1010) the whole of northern India including the Gangetic plains, western India and parts of central India were opened to the mixed hordes of military adventurers of Afghan, Turkish, Persian and Mongol origins, whom the pressure of the Mongols forced out of Transoxiana and Afghanistan.

During the reign of Altamish, the Mongol hordes burst upon India for the first time under Chengiz Khan and Lahore was sacked. This marked the beginning of intermittent forays by the Mughals or Mongols across the borders of India which increased in frequency and volume as time passed. To the court of Gheias-ood-deen Bulban flocked the dethroned kings of Turkistan, Transoxiana, Khorassan, Irak Ajemi, Azarbaijan, Ifan and other countries whom the arms of Chengis Khan and his successors had forced to flee from their countries.

Towards the end of the reign of Gheias-ood-deen

Bulban, Mughal soldiers of fortune subceeded in establishing themselves at the court as a jival in power to the Khaljis.

The rise of the Khaljis to power opened the Deccan to the Central Asian adventurers who commanded the mixed armies of the Delhi kings. During the reign of Alla-ood-deen Khalji, the Mughals made furious onslaughts in great strength again and again, pushing up to the gates of Delhi in some of these attacks. By the order of the king, 15,000 Mughals, who were in the following of the king at Delhi, were massacred in one day. All the same, the power of the Mughals increased and the ameer juddedas or newly converted Mughal officers in the employ of the kings of Delhi proclaimed their independence in different provinces. There was a considerable body of Mughals in the army of the first Lody Afghan king of Delhi. It is interesting to note that these mercenaries took service under Shahbani Beg, the Uzbeg chief, who drove Babur from his ancestral kingdom and they also fought Babur on several occasions. The quarrels and rivalries among Afghan provincial governors paved the way for Babur who had both Turkish and Mongol blood in his veins.

After the battle of Panipat (1526) Babur announced his determination not to quit Hindusthan as his ancestor Teimur had done. The rival Afghan' war lords realised the situation a little too late.

Large-scale infiltration into India of Central Asian hordes of military adventurers of miscellaneous origins practically ceased with the establishment of the Chagatai power in India. Akbar had to reconquer the country from mixed Afghan, Turkish and Mughal war lords and he turned to the children of the soil for support and assistance.

Later invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durrani were of no consequence in respect of race infiltration.

There is no record in history to show that during the long period covered by the survey above there was any considerable, systematic race movement from Central Asia to India. The invasions of the Ghazni and Ghor kings were of little importance from the point of view of the racial history of the people of India. The invaders withdrew to Ghazni and Ghor with their armies composed of Tajiks, Turks and various Afghan tribes, occasionally with a sprinkling of Arab horsemen, carrying away huge loot and a large number of captives including females as slaves. There were of course large-scale conversions affecting entire tribes or communities such as the conversion of the Gukkurs of Western Punjab, the Mewatis or Meos of Gurgaon, Alwar, etc., but these conversions had political objects, namely, gaining local allies, raising local recruits and sowing the seeds of disruption among the enemy ranks. There is nothing to show that there was any change in this state of things after Babur settled down in Hindusthan. The monarchs of this house freely recruited troops from amongst Hindus and Indian Moslems and

the recruitment of foreigners to their armies decreased proportionately.

It is very curious but it is a fact that all the invasions mentioned above and the predominance of Moslem political power for nearly six centuries in the country did not affect the racial character of the populations of N.-W. India and tribal areas. There has been probably some racial mixture at the upper levels of the Moslem society but for the bulk of the converted people it has been no more than a change of religion. This is amply proved by what follows.

The populations of N.-W. India and tribal territories belong ethnologically to one predominant type, the long-headed type. It is mixed in certain areas, namely, Baluchistan, Sind and some territories in the Hindukush with other types. To this predominant type belong the Pathans, the Rajputs, the Jats, the Gujars and the Kashmiris. This type is dominant in the Punjab, in N.-W. India, in the tribal territories; beyond the tribal belt it extends into Afghanistan; south and east of the Punjab it is the dominant type in Rajputana and Western U. P.; it is found also in Baluchistan, Sind, Central India and eastern U. P.

This type has been called Indo-Aryan by Sir Herbert Risley, Indo-Afghan by some others and other anthropologists have their own favourite names. With these different names, with controversies about the origin of the type and proportions of the admixture of other strains with the type it is unnecessary to concern ourselves here.

Tribal territories may be taken up first. The Pathan represents the dominant type in these territories.

It is admitted now that the Pathans or Pakhtuns are aborigines of these parts of India. The Pakhtun people are mentioned by the Greek historians under the name Pactyae and it is possible that the Pakthas, mentioned along with Sibas, Alinas, Visanins, etc., as enemies of the Aryas and described as cattle-lifters in the Rigveda are none other than the Pakhtuns. Of the four divisions of the Pakhtun people mentioned by the Greek writers the Gandarii have been identified with the Yusufzai, Mohmand and other tribes of the Peshawar valley, the Aparytae with the Afridis, Satragyddae with the Khatak and the Dadae with the Dadi. In the early years of the Christian era, it has been said, the Pukhtuna held the whole of the Safed Koh and northern Suleman ranges from the Indus to the Helmond and from Swat and Jelalabad to Peshin and Quetta. The Afghans have spread into their country. The Afridi and the Khatak hold now only a small portion of their original territories, the Dadi have been absorbed by the Kakars held to be of Scythian origin.

The history of the Gandarii is interesting. About 5th century, dislodged from their original homes in the Peshawar valley and the neighbouring hills the Gandarii who were Buddhists at the time, moved in a body to the Helmond valley where they founded a city known

as Gandhar. Here they mingled with the people of Ghor, held by some to be Tajik, by others to be of Turkish extraction. were converted to Islam by Arab missionaries and the mixed people came to be known as Afghans. In the 15th century, the Gandhari represented by the Yusufzai, Mohmand, etc., re-entered their original country. The Yusufzai spread also to Dir, Swat and Buner, driving the original inhabitants of these areas into Dir and Swat Kohistan. The Afrida were converted to Islam by Shahab-ood-deen Ghori.

The Pakhtuns were not, however, the only early Indian people inhabiting these territories. The Tanaoli of the Urash plains or Pakhli and the Dilazaks, now admitted into the tribal fold of the Pathans, were not originally Pathans. The original Swati people regarded as a race of Hindu origin, ruling the whole country from Jhelum to Jelalabad, were driven by the Yusufzais into Kafiristan and Hazara in the 15th century. The Torwis, Garhwis and Gujars now found in the Bashkar of Dir and Swat Kohistan are said to be their descendants. Both the Bashkar and Kashkar (Dir Valley) have a considerable Gujar population. original Swati people are identified with the Degan, the early Hindu inhabitants of N.-E. Afghanistan now found scattered in Kuner, Bajaur, Lughman and Ningrahar. The Waziris and Mashuds, now regarded as Pathans, are held to be of Rajput origin.

Round the nucleus of the original Pakhtun tribes have gathered non-Pathan elements of Indian origin like the above and various tribes of mixed Afghan, Turkish and other origins like the Karlarui of the Kurram agency, the Bhittani, the Kakar, the Pani, etc.

In the N.-W. F. Province, the Pathan is still the dominant tribe but non-Pathan tribes of Hindu origin begin to appear in strength. Hindu castes from the Punjab are found scattered in the districts. In Hazara, the Pathans are far outnumbered by the Gujars, Awans, Kharrals, etc. They are all Moslems. The Awans are held to be of Jat and the Kharrals of Rajput origin. In Peshawar, the Pathans are about 51 per cent of the total population and the rest is composed of Moslem Awans, Gujars, Baghbans, etc., who are regarded as Hindki, and Hindus and Sikhs. The Awans appear in Kohat and Bannu along with Jats and Raiputs (Moslem). In Dera Ismail Khan, the Pathans are about 31 per cent and the rest are Balochs, Rajputs, Awans and Jats. etc. The Rajputs, Jats. Awans are Moslem. Of the converted tribes in the N.-W. F. Province the Awans are most numerous, followed by the Gujars and next by the Rajputs and the Jats in strength.

In Western Punjab in all the districts Moslems are in big majority over Hindus and Sikhs, but this Moslem majority is mostly composed of converted Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, Awans, Arains, Khokars, etc. The river valleys of the western plains and the western hills including the Salt Range were held by Punwar and Bhatti Rajputs. In the 11th century Mahmud of Ghazni fought a hard-won battle with the Bhatti king Bejee Ray who held the Salt Range country. The Sials,

Tiwanas and Ghebs were Punwar Rajputs who were converted by Baba Farid of Pak Pattan. The Khekars, Wattu, Gadun, etc., are held to be of Rajput origin. The Gukkurs of Jhelum and Rawalpindi are held to be of Rajput origin. Mohamed Kasim Ferishta the historian says that they inhabited the country along the banks of the Neelab (Indus) up to the foot of the Sewalik and cut off all communications between Peshawar and Multan, and practised unheard-of cruelties on the Mahomedans. The Gukkurs and "most of the infidels who inhabited the mountains between Ghizni and Indus were also converted, some by force, some by persuasion" at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. Mahmud was murdered by Hindu Gukkurs.

The name of Gujarat in Rawalpindi division comes from the Gujars who form some 15 per cent of the population of the district at the present time while the Jats are about 25 per cent. They are mainly Moslem. In Mianwali, the Jats who form more than 32 per cent of the population and the Rajputs are mainly Moslem while the Awans are all Moslem. In Muzaffargarh, the Jats who form more than 29 per cent of the population and the Rajputs are mainly Moslem, the Arains are all Moslem. In Dera Ghazi Khan, the Jats who form more than 25 per cent are mainly Moslem and nearly all the Rajputs are Moslem. In Gujranwala, the Jats who are 27 per cent are mainly Moslem. In Lahore, Amritsar and some other places the Jats are Moslem and Sikh, in other areas the Rajputs, Jats and Awans, etc., are mainly Moslem. The Gujars, Jats and Rajputs in Sialkot are mainly Moslem.

In Ambala and Jullundhur divisions, the Hindus and Sikhs are in majority and the percentage of Moslems among Jats falls but the percentage of Moslems among Rajputs and Gujars continues to be high. In Karnal nearly 70 per cent of the Rajputs are Ranghar Moslems. Over two-thirds of the Rajputs in Hissar, Ambala. Ludhiana, Ferozpore are Moslems. The Khokars claim Rajput origin and the Awans who observe many Hindu customs are all Moslem. The Meos are found in Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur. After the conversion of the Jadun Rajput rulers of Mewat in the 12th century, the Meos were soon converted en masse. They gave trouble constantly to the Delhi rulers and Ferishta records that Ghias-ood-deen Bulban massacred 100,000 of them in a single battle.

To turn westwards to Baluchistan and Sind from the Punjab.

In Baluchistan, the Med, Jat, Brahui and Baloch are the most important tribes. A number of Afghan tribes and Kakar Pathans have penetrated into the country. The Kakars are held to be of Scythian origin, which means that they are allied to the Baloch and the Brahui, though they have absorbed the Dadi branch of the Pakhtun race. Scythian origin is attributed to the Meds who are found also in Sind and are related to the Mhers, Mahars, Muhanas, etc. They have been converted in Baluchistan and Sind. The Jate, also converted, are numerous in Kacchi and Las Bela. The

Brahuis are a mixed people with very strong Jat elements in some of the tribes. Three largest Brahui tribes are by themselves classed as Jadgal meaning Jat. The Balochs are a mixed people, Iranian elements mixing with the dominant type of North-Western India, probably represented here by the Jats. This Iranian element is represented further south by the Hindu population of Gujerat, South Maratha country, Coorg, Kannada country.

In Sind, the early inhabitants of the country, namely, Sumra and Summa Rajputs have been converted. The Jats have come from Kacchi. The Numrias held to be of Rajput origin have also come from Sind. The Muhanas are identified with the Baluchistan Meds and so are the Mahars of Sukkur and Larkana. The Memans are descendants of the Lohanas converted to Islam at Tutta in the 15th century. The Sodha Rajputs of Thar and Parkar have not been converted and the bulk of the Hindu population of the province is Lohana. The Khojas and Bohras were converted by Pir Sadruddin. Some of the Hindu elements of the population, the Kolis, Dheds, etc., have come from the east. There are Brahus and Balochs from Baluchistan.

The Kashmiris belong to the predominant long-headed type of North-Western India. About 78 per cent of the population of Kashmir are Moslems. There are Hindu Rajputs, the mixed Hindu caste Thakkars, and Sikhs and Khattris from the Punjab. Of the Jats one-fifth of the total number is Hindu and the rest Moslem. The Gujars are nearly all Moslem. Among the Moslem Rajputs are the Jarrals, Bhaos, etc. The Chibs of Chibalhi are mostly Moslem. They are of Rajput origin allied to the Dogra The Bambos and Khakas of the Jhelum valley are of Rajput origin. The Chucks who ruled Kashmir when Akbar occupied it were converted late in the 15th century.

The mass conversion of the people of Kashmir began from the end of the 14th century under Sultan Sikandur (1394) known as *Bootshikun* or iconoclast.

"He destroyed nearly all the grand buildings and temples of his Hindu predecessors. To the people he offered conversion, death or exile. . . . By the end of his reign all Hindu inhabitants of the valley. except the Brahmans, had probably adopted Islam."

About the Brahmans Ferishta writes:

"Many of the Brahmans rather than abandon their religion or their country poisoned themselves; some emigrated from their native homes, while a few escaped the evil of banishment by becoming Mahomedans."

From the above account it will be seen that the main population of N.-W. India is represented by four principal races, namely, the Pathan, Rajput, Jat and Gujar, and their tribes. Historians have their theories about the Scythian, by which they mean Saka, Yuechi and Huna origins, of the last three races but ethnologically these theories are unsound and their historical correctness has not been tested tuly. All the four races belong, according to distinguished anthropologists, to

the same racial type. These races rise into prominence in history at different times.

The Pathan element intervenes between Pashto-speaking and very much mixed Afghans with a strong Indian element in their composition and the Rajput-Jat-Gujar block in the West and East Punjab, Kashmir, Baluchistan and Sind. This block extends east to western U. P., south-east to Rajputana and from Rajputana to C. I. The Gujar has penetrated into the tribal belt, the Gujar and Jat into N.-W. F. Province while the Pathan has pushed to the east of the Indus in Hazara. In the vast tract from the borders of Afghanistan to the Chenab including in the west Baluchistan and Sind, and Kashmir in the north-east, the early inhabitants changed their religion between the 11th and 15th centuries. After the Chenab is crossed Hindu and Sikh Jats begin to be seen here and there but Rajputs and Gujars still continue to be Moslem. The desert to the east of Sind and Sirhind in the East Punjab appear to have arrested the all-out expansion, as it were, of Islam. In Rajputana, western U.P., Central India and Kathiawar the Rajputs, Jats and Gujars follow their old religion.

But in spite of the change of religion, forced or voluntary, on the part of certain portions of the population social relationships, common ties of language, economic conditions, cultural traditions, race and geography have held together the people of India for long centuries; now they have been divided to serve the purposes of the politicians and imperialists. Time alone will show whether the old ties will reassert themselves and defeat both or the artificial division will persist and permanently cripple India at home and abroad.*

THE POSITION OF INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS*

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THERE is a mischievous superstition still governing the systems of our education today which shut out from our class-rooms in the schools as well as in the colleges visual works of beauty, the graphic works of form and colour, in which our best thinkers and workers have incarnated their dreams, and visualized their hopes and fears. There still lingers a superstition which clouds and darkens our educational syllabuses with the fallacy of a belief that education can come only through the medium of the spoken and the printed words, that knowledge can be gathered, with toil and tears, through portly tomes of books, cyclopaedias and dictionaries. The history of our visual arts has demonstrated that some of the finest and loftiest of the utterances of our greatetst sages and savants have been expressed in the silent and more pregnant languages of our visual and figurative arts, in the shapes of our images and icons, in the colours and designs of our pictures and portraits, in the signs, designs, and symbols of our textiles, in the brooding and soaring forms of our temples and shrines, in the visible records of our adventures and negotiations with the invisible Divinity, the Maker of all forms and colours in the Universe-the Supreme Artist and Architect of Nature.

There were periods in our culture-history, when the means of our knowledge and our education were recorded and sought for in the written and the spoken words as well as in the illiterate but stimulating signs and symbols of colour and of form. And through the latter, the most

 The substance of at address delivered at the opening occurring of the Besant Centonary Echibition at Advar on 1st October, 1947. backward and the most illiterate of our brothers and sisters could get an opportunity to come in contact with the best thoughts of our sages and thinkers without spelling out a single line of our learned books, or the musty manuscripts of our Shastras. The visual way, the illiterate way offered the easiest way, the most cheerful way, the cheapest way to the gates of knowledge. And the walls and the niches of our temples and shrines offered, in glorious forms of frescoes, and in moving and inspiring forms of images and statues, the quintessence of knowledge in all departments of thought. The values of visual education, the ways of knowledge without tears have been admitted and recognized in all the latest doctrines and systems of education in the West, and the picture gallery and the museum, the modern successors of our old temples and shrines, have been linked up and related to the studies of our class-rooms in the schools and colleges. And in the western countries, alive to the benefits of visual education, the students are regularly taken to the museums and art-galleries in the cities to visualise, through the masterpieces and monuments of the graphic arts, what they read and study in the pages of their printed books. In the Universities of China, which I had the privilege of visiting two years ago, I was delighted to find a wellorganised department of visual education, offering through the graphic apparatus of the cinema and the slides a rich repast of visual knowledge of most of the happenings of history in the past and the daily doings of the modern man and woman in all parts of the world. I have just now been informed that our Minister of Education here is planning to found and develop a department of visual

[•] Figures and facts have been taken among other works from Provincial and District Gazetteers and Census Reports published by the Government of India.

education to supplement the means of knowledge and education now only available through the narrow lanes and the dark and dingy corridors of class-rooms, through the painful pages of our printed books. This is indeed, a very good piece of news and will help to banish illiteracy through illiterate means and methods, and open out extensive and expansive fields of a democratic education by destroying the privileges and limitations of an exclusively literary education and by demolishing the dubious and arrogant aristocracy of letters.

I do not decry the value of literature as such, both as a vehicle of culture and as the means of dissemination of scientific principles, and their application for the betterment of our life and for the liquidation of poverty by an intelligent use of the means of life and for improving and elevating the general standard of existence.

But in India the spread of literacy has been instrumental in upsetting the balance of the structure of our society by debasing our taste for all the beautiful aspects of life and by destroying our handicrafts and cottage industries. Our appreciation and admiration for the beauties of English literature had unfortunately generated a helief that our Indian literature, the various and variegated expressions of our beautiful provincial languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Hindi, Urdu, Maharastri and Bengali were inferior to the imported products from England. And though we are just now on the point of recovering our national self-respect and our pride in the beauties of the masterpieces of our vernacular literature, our Valmiki and Tulasidas, our Kamban and Manikyavachaka, the mischief that the maya and the infatuation created by the study of English literature led us to a' blind and indiscriminate admiration of all phases of imported culture, destroyed our taste for all our indigenous products, particularly, the beautiful products of our historical handicrafts that at one time, filled, enriched and illuminated every nook and corner of our domestic life. The baneful effects of our debased and anglicised outlook, and our degraded taste was brought about by a domination of English taste and preferences in every phase of our indigenous life. By some unaccountable fatality our vernacular literature, our native arts and craits, our social habits, our mental postures, were not improved or enriched by our contact with the West. And the great advice and warning which Mrs. Annie Besant gave many years ago is still ringing in my ears, when I had listened to one of her stirring orations: "Let our Indian life be enriched but it need not and should not be dominated by the thought and culture of the West." By another stroke of ill-luck, most forms of our Indian culture have been dominated and destroyed, and very little of it has been enriched by our contact with English culture.

Of all forms of domination that the British Rule had imposed on India, the intellectual and spiritual domination of our culture was far worse than the political and economic domination. And if our political destiny has been emancipated from the influences of the evil stars, our cultural emancipation is likely to take some time to

come. For old habits take a long time to die, and the old products of our handicrafts will take, a long time to recover their beauty and their skill, if they at all can be helped to repossess their precious heritage, unless we can make strenuous and well-planned efforts to restore their past glory. Our expert economists have advised us that our poverty can never be liquidated, unless India is industrialized immediately on a large scale, unless we set up large factories, machines and mechanisms and mechanical operatives to produce cheap classes of consumer goods on a very large scale. It has been demonstrated that factory products are the arch-enemies of all classes of handicrafts, and most of our historical arts and crafts have already been driven out and killed by the imported machine-made articles from Europe. And some of our wise economists advise us that our handicrafts and craftsmanship, our precious inheritances from the past, must be saved from the death-dealing competition of the machinemade articles imported from abroad or "Made in India." Many people believe that our precious heritage of heauty and of craftsmanship inherent in our handicrafts could be saved by the generous patronage of the wealthy and by the sentiments and sacrifices of our patriots with a vow to pay more and to use the hand-made products in preference to the machine-made ones. It is by raising the tariff-wall of love and patriotism that we could save our heritage of beauty and of skilful and creative craftsmanship. I do not know if this is a sound economic doctrine and if craftsmanship can be helped to survive its struggle with competitive industries. But I believe that craftsmanship and the cultivation of beauty stands for a spiritual communication between man and man and can invest our life with spiritual and divine values. The weaver who handles the warp and the woof of the silken threads with the skill and mystery of a magician to fabricate a piece of dhoti or sari, caters not only for the needs of our body but also for the needs of our mind and soul. For he very often weaves with his threads as symbols of his good wishes for us auspicious decorations and patterns intended to work as charms to chide away all evil thoughts and to inspire the leading of a clean, chaste, and spotless life. This personal human appeal, this piece of good wish conveyed by the maker of the cloth to the user of the cloth, this sense of spiritual communication between man and man, can never come through the products of dead machines. We are aware that our mill-owners are now employing artists to make designs and patterns for the borders of machine-made saries and dhotics, the designs of the artists being worked out in a scheme of mechanical reproduction. But they have not yet succeeded and it is doubtful if they will ever succeed in importing in their machine-made abominations the finesse and delicacy, the subtle flavour of beauty, the personal touch of the human hand and its spiritual expressivesess which characterize all our hand-made stuffs. Apart from the fact that the products of our handicrafts are superior in many respects to the products of the machine, their supreme quality of beauty is the most valuable spiritual incentive to life.

"Admirable as it may appear to be in many of its achievements, a civilization submitting to the wide-spread and predominant use of mechanical contrivances, whose sole claim to existence is the supposition that by their means things can be made in greater quantity for the same expenditure of time and money, is a civilization wilfully denying itself the possession of things of beauty, and destroying in itself both the power to produce such things and the ability to recognize them when they are produced."—Eric Gill.

Those of us who are concerned for the existence of beauty in the world are often accused by so-called practical men of business of a lack of disinterestedness and of selfish motives. It is supposed that we desire beauty because we are artists and lovers of Art, and that were we not artists and connoisseurs of Beauty, we would be as indifferent to the matter as they are. It is supposed that as the cocoa-manufacturer wages war against the drinking of beer, because he may thus hope to increase the sales of his cocoa, and it is not to be supposed that he can have any other motive, so the artist wages his forlorn hope against commercialism because thus he may hope to increase the sales of works of art. The fact is, however, that we are artists because we believe in beauty, and not that we believe in beauty because we are artists.

Roughly speaking a work of art, a creation of an artist, is simply "a thing well made", ultimately it is the

sensible expression of man's love of God, and, in every work of man, beauty is its essential perfection. Beauty is, therefore, a thing of religious significance, ineffable, independent of fashion or custom, time, or place, and not to be judged by the material criteria of a commercial civilization or by the threadbare culture of job-hunters and place-hunters.

We have become so accustomed to regard the artist merely as a purveyor of the lovable, the poet or the priest as a moral policeman, the philosopher as a sort of "young-man's guide to useful knowledge," that we are incapable of viewing justly the work of men who regard the artist, the priest, the poet and the philosopher as prophets of God. Beauty must be cultivated and kept alive in all the appliances and apparatuses of our daily existence, if we are to maintain a right relationship with our Creator. And this can be very effectively done by keeping alive our handicrafts as living expressions of beauty.

As our scriptures say, "Atma-Samskritir Vaba Silpani," the handicrafts are the surest means of the salvation of our souls,"

If our society is to preserve its human and spiritual values, we must take steps to secure the place of the artist and of beauty in our schemes of life, in our social structure, and our handicrafts must be preserved against their fatal fight, against their competition of the cheap machine-made objects of our factories.

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INDIA'S FREEDOM IN DANGER Need for Mental Re-armament

By PROF. BALKRISHNA

"The way things have been shaping themselves," observed Pandit Nehru recently, "it is evident that India is faced with grave dangers from all sides." He went to utter the warning that "unless we are adequately and immediately prepared to meet that critical situation, our freedom may prove short-lived." This warning, coming from Indie's Prime Minister and foremost thinker, must be immediately heeded by all Indians, be they administrators or soldiers, workers or peasants, professionals or producers.

No one can fail to see the dangers that stare India in the face. They are both internal and external, Internally India is sitting on the verge of a volcano. The economic situation is extremely explosive. Prices are mounting. Essential commodities are in short supply. Black market is flourishing. Millions of people are uncertain of their morrow's meal. Many do not have the necessary clothes. Thousands are homeless and houseless. Naturally the intensity of the struggle for existence is daily increasing. All these are the presymptoms of a serious revolutionary upheaval. These

are, in any case, alarming signs of the break-down of human values. The communal conflicts, the railway crimes, the lust for loot—all these indicate a gradual break-down of the society, civilisation and culture of the people. The psychological front is thus in a danger of collapse. This danger is heightened by the seriously disturbed political situation of the country. The conflicts between the princes and the people, between Hindus and Muslims, between one linguistic group and another show no signs of abatement. India is in the threes of a political revolution, the consequences of which few people are able to visualise today. If the internal situation is explosive, the external situation is alarming. The great power blocs, Western Democracies and the Eastern Soviets, are moving towards a titanic conflict—a conflict which would engulf all the countries and peoples of the world. This state of potential war between the two power blocs is keeping the world in a condition of economic collapse and a psychological hysteria. India feels, in her economy and in her spirit, the echoes of this distant war. Nearer

home, the policies of Pakistan are proving to India a source of constant anxiety. No one is sure of what Pakistan may do tomorrow. Driven to frenzy by its inner maladies it may madly throw its uncivilised hordes on India. Again it may encourage a civil war—communal or princely—in the dominions of the Indian Union. It may adopt any other devilish trick to injure India simply out of spite against her.

The Indian people have to prepare themselves to meet these dangers. The most important aspect of this preparation is to build up the morale of the Indian people. It implies that the people are to be made aware of their situation and resources. Further it involves the creation of confidence in the Indian people about their ability to meet and overcome all these dangers. It demands the suggestion of the ways in which they can successfully meet this challenge of their history and destiny. In short, it implies a tremendous drive for the intellectual and emotional discipline of the Indian classes and masses.

This building up of the morale of the people and the fortifying of their spirit can be achieved only through a susiained and intelligent propaganda, propaganda carried through the radio and the cinema, the press and the literature, the school and the university. It is unfortunate that many people fear propaganda on account of its misuse by the Nazis. They feel that propaganda is the tool of dictatorships, and that once this is made use of on a large scale India would also become a dictatorship. But this is an altogether incorrect view of its nature and significance. The truth is that it seeks to create a collective will in the people of a country. In its nature, therefore, it is opposed to dictatorships which essentially rest on force and not on persuasion. It is really the life-breath of Democracy, the government which lives and moves by popular will. It is but another name for mass education carried on with the instruments that science has placed at the disposal of man.

Propaganda is then the need of the hour. It will enable us to fight the powers of darkness—both in India and abroad. We shall be able to fight with it the psychological war which Pakistan is waging against us in the different parts of the world and specially in the Middle East. It will enable us to extricate our people, especially the Punjab refugees from the slough of despond into which they have fallen. It will help us in fighting the ignorance and superstitions of which our millions are passive victims. It will re-establish the human values in the breasts of those who have today forgotten the living God in their heart. It will enable us to recapture our soul and face the world with confidence.

But such a propaganda implies a tremendous effort on the part of our Government and professions. It is somewhat disappointing to find that there are no signs, as yet, of such an effort being thought of, not to speak of its being organised. It is no doubt true

that the dynamic personality of Sardar Patel has made its impression on the Information and Broadcasting Department of India. But even now it can be said with out any fear of contradiction that the Department has not succeeded in galvanising itself into vital activity. The department unfortunately suffers from the original sin of its being begotten by the alien rulers of India. They organised Publicity not to give India her soul, but to enslave her mind and body. Their objective was not to educate the Indian people about their spiritual and physical powers but to opiate their minds and paralyse their will. The Department was the issue of their ideal. It grew in this atmosphere. It, therefore, failed to develop the tradition of ceaseless effort for the education of the mind and the heart of the people. It was satisfied if it succeeded in keeping the people chained to amusement. It is no doubt true that many members of the service were not in sympathy with this exploitative mission of the Department. But they could not effect any change in it. They consequently became passive tools of the Department. In any case this objective had a blighting influence on the service personnel. They became passive and complacent. This tradition of complacency, it is to be feared, still dominates the service personnel. It is because of this tradition that they are unable to take the initiative to make the psychological front invincible and unbreakable.

Another shortcoming that weakens our effort in this sphere is the lack of co-ordination. It is no doubt true that Democracy is opposed in its nature to a totalitarian effort or organisation. But co-ordinated effort is not necessarily totalitarian in character. merely implies the harmonious planning of the themes and the timings of the various branches of the Publicity organisation. It implies, for example, that at a time like the present, the Broadcasts, the Publications, the Press Information, all echo and explain 'the secular state policy' of the national government as the solvent of the political problem of India. It is not suggested that other aspects of life should be altogether ignored. What is suggested is merely that the central problem facing the Indian people today should be kept the central theme of Publicity. The songs, the dramas, the lectures, the publications-all should be connected with this theme, It may be urged against this view that this would take away all attraction from the publicity programmes. But this danger can be avoided with a little imagination. It is not necessary that Art should teach by sermonising. But all the same it can be made so enchantingly suggestive that it leaves the desired effect even though the effect is not directly indicated or pointed out. Moreover, as stated above, the other themes are also to be kept, but they are to be kept only as side ones.

This points out the thrrd drawback in our Publicity. It is not well integrated to the external situation. It is no doubt true that the external world forces itself on the publicity organisation, and it has to give a

grudging recognition to it. But on the whole, there appears to be no conscious attempt on the part of the Publicity organisation to keep its ears to the ground and hear the least rumblings of the popular mind. Probably this is because of the old tradition of the Department when it was not expected to keep itself alert to popular opinions and trends. But in the present context it will not do. The Publicity Department has to provide for 'listening posts' that will keep it into contact with all the aspects of the Indian situation. The Publicity organisation must realise that it is not only the national entertainer, but also the national teacher and the national sentinel. It can give the proper guidance and it can fight the forces of evil, only if it has a clear view of these and knows how to counter them.

The Publicity technique also requires to be improved. The film is not being used as a means of education and publicity. The alien government compelled the cinema houses to show the information films in order to carry on its war propaganda. There is no reason why the film should not be used now to carry on the educative propaganda essential for economic reconstruction and social peace. The publicity organisation can very well link its activities in this respect with that of the Agriculture, Health and Education Departments of India. Funds can be pooled for the preparation of films having for their main theme the rural life in its different aspects. These can be shown to rural audiences by mobile squads organised for this purpose. The necessary mechanical and electrical appliances are already there that can be provided to the mobile squad. Again posters are not being used to any appreciable degree. Further, suggestive pictorial insertions in the daily and the periodical journals can be very usefully adopted for this purpose. Further, the Publicity organisations can have central rural listening stations. These listening stations can well be the Panchayat homes of the village circles, each of ten villages. In villages having a fairly good population separate listening stations may be provided. With the progress of electrification there would not be any difficulty in making this arrangement. Even now these stations can be established and provided with battery sets. The funds for these sets can be provided partly by the Central Government, partly by the Provincial Governments, partly by the District Boards and partly by the Village Panchayats. The teacher of the Panchayat school must be given training to handle such sets and can be employed as a person in charge of it.

Even today such stations can be established in all such villages where such arrangements can be made.

The Publicity organisation also must be hauled. In the first place, it appears to be necessary to make the region, rather than the function, the basis of organisation. For example, there should be a section for the Hindustani Region which deals with all the aspect of publicity for the Hindustani-speaking areas. The Broadcasts, the Publications, the films, the pamphlets, the Press insertions, the listening station organisations, the mobile squads for the Hindustani region should be under the control of this section. It should be divided into various sub-sections, but the items of the programmes should be correlated to an over-all plan. Of course, this relationship should be flexible and dynamic. The plan itself should be the function of the national weal and the changing environment it encounters. It is no doubt difficult to make the necessary adjustment between the two, but it can be secured with imagination and prevision. This regional organisation will secure organic unity in the programmes and activities of the Department and will consequently enable it to function much more effectively.

The outlook of the service personnel needs a radical change. They have to realise that they are no more the passive tools of an alien imperialism but the missionaries of the new gospel. They have to make their contribution, howsoever little it may be, in the creation of a new, happy, healthy, prosperous and glorious India. They must realise that they are the soldiers of India who fight not with machine guns but with the microphone. They must remember that like soldiers and sailors they have to keep an eternal vigil on the frontiers of India; only the frontiers they guard are not of the soil but of the soul of India. Unlike the enemies the army men have to fight, their enemies are invisible but more deadly. They have to save from these cruel enemies the health and happiness, the peace and prosperity of their generation and of the posterity. Their struggle is more glorious for it does not leave in its trail death, desolation and destruction. They wage an incessant struggle to create and not to destroy, to bring joy and not sorrow, to enlighten and not darken the soul of a people. They should have the faith that propaganda alone can save the soul of India. Therefore, it is their duty in this hour of darkness to fill the mind of the Indian people with the light and their heart with the determination that will lead them to save their freedom and future and to march on from success to success and from glory to glory.



SOME EARLY BRONZES OF SOUTH INDIA

By BRAJA NATH GHATAK, MA.

The art of casting metal images of gods and goddesses, all over India, retains an interesting history of development. Our Silpasastras have mentioned the specified merits of different metals, in which bronze occupies an important position. In the collection of Hemadri, an author of the sixth century A.D., bronze and metal images are referred to as being superior to stone ones (sailajad lauhajam sresthum). Though we cannot be certain, and as the problem remains still undecaded, whether there were images for worship in the Vedic 'period, we have little doubt of their existence in the pre-Buddhist period, and it is reasonable to conclude that some such images must have been cast in gold and other metals Moreover, both in the Buddhist and Brahmanical texts, the act of donating images of gods (devadanam) has been always held pious. Such an act of donating to the God was a time-honoured custom in India, and early references of this can be found in the stupus of Bharhut and Sanchi, where the act of donation of pillars and architraves (suchidanam and thaladanem) were considered meritorious from the religious point of view, in an age when the image of Buddha had not yet been idealised. With the idea of develepment of Buddha's representation in human form, this act of donation was usually through an image and such images were, as a rule, of bronzes and other metals, gold being very rarely used. Similar was the case with other gods and goddesses, both Buddhist and Brahmanical.

In the south, Aryanization of which was a much later event, and where Vedic religion, though basically mixed up with the local habits and customs, beliefs and practices seldom being completely independent in any country, was undoubtedly a northern penetration, the development of this art of bronze and metal casting went on lines almost similar to those in the north. But as the rigours of religion had greater stringency and were more severe in the south, and so the necessity to satisfy the religious ardour of the lower people, who had no access to the central sanctum of the main temple, was more keenly felt, the development of this branch of art was slightly on a new direction. The practice of setting up of metal images of deities and saints, the reason for which was the inability of the masses to approach the main deity of worship, must have had an earlier origin. It must have begun from the time when the system of "moving images" (chalam) introduced. The deity in the central shrine, inaccessible to many who could not even step into the temple, gave the idea of its being represented through s replica, which could "move" and be shown to the public. Thus were introduced the "moving images" which were otherwise known as bhoga-mu.tis or utsava murtis as distinguished from the Dhruvabera i.e., the

fixed or achala images. The purpose of these images, which could be carried in front of processions on feestive days, was to satisfy the religious hunger of all and sundry who longed to see their God throughout the year, but could not approach Him, nor could even have a look at Him owing to his chance of birth! These festive or ceremonial images (utsava murti) were cast in metal, generally in copper and bronze (but rarely in gold and silver) and thus, in a way offered ample scope for the development of this art of metal-casting and the growth of skill and eraftsmanship of the artists in this branch, which has special significance in South India.

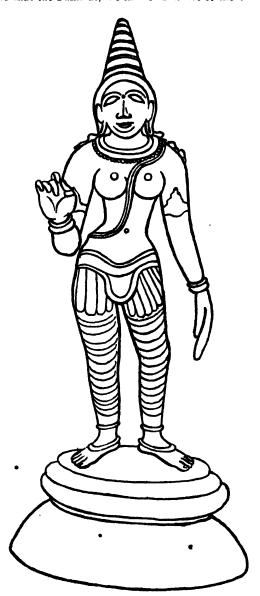


Siva with Uma, Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden

The date of South Indian bronzes is notoriously difficult to estimate. Usually their dates go back to the Chola period, but by no means they are the earliest. According to Coomaraswamy, so far as the internal evidence can establish, the earliest images are those in which the aesthetic quality is the highest. But the measure of aesthetic quality cannot afford any criteria for time—aesthetic quality transcends all age. The earliest images are those, in most of which the archaic element is the highest and where the roundness of form and the plasticity of volume are most pronounced and clearly felt.

The art of image-making in copper and other

metals must have flourished earlier than the Cholas. In the legendary account of the conquest of Kanchipuram of the Pallava by the Chola king Adondai Chola we have a reference to a bronze gate which was taken as trophy by the victorious Chola king. This surely indicates that the Pallavas, the master-builders of the South,



Siva-Kama Sundari (Siva's Desire)
Treasurywalla Collection

had special training and taste for metal-casting. Those who could patronise the erection of gates, made of solid metal, must be responsible for other sorts of art productions of the same metal. Thus this art may not have been unknown in the Krishna-Godavari region (Vengi) under the Andhras which was a seat of Buddhist ulture for more than five hundred years. The heritage

of the South Indian art, specially under the Pallavas of Kanchipuram, was a strongly influenced culture of the Krishna-Godavari region, and there cannot be any doubt that the art of the Pallavas was much indebted to the art of the school of Vengi. This is supported by facts of history too. The Hirahadagalli plates (3rd century A.D.) of Sivaskandavarman refer to the grant of a vi'lage in Satahani-Ratha (in the Bellary district). This fact when associated with the reference to a place named Satavaghanihara in an Andhra inscription of the second century A.D. discovered in the same region indicates the probable identification of the two places and the political succession of the Andhras by the Pallavas of Kanchi. The Prakrit grants of the Pallavas also show that their kingdom extended right up to the Krishna river. The Andhra King Pulamai II embellished the famous white marble stupa of Amaravati, which was known under the Pallavas as Dhannakada, on the bank of the Krishna river, and the Pallavas, as we know, succeeded them in this region shortly after this event. Metal images of Buddha have been found from the sites at or near Amaravati. Throughout the Buddhist period this art was widely practised so much so that images, of purely Indian tradition of comparatively early period, have been found in many faroff places outside India, in Java and in Ceylon. The famous Dong Duong Buddha, discovered in Java, 18 said to have been taken from India by Fa-hien, on his homeward voyage from this country, when it was shipwrecked. In style and modelling, it has been said to have belonged to the school of Amaravati, and may be compared with a figure of Gautama Buddha from Buddhapad near Bezwada, which may be taken to have belonged to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Similar figures of bronze have been found in Ceylon too, which was India's sister island, and which, in many respects, was influenced by culture from South India. The Simhalese figures of Avaloketisvara and Pattini Debi of the 7th or 8th century A.D., are indications not only of a perfection of the art of metal casting, but of a wide range and extensive sphere of this branch of South

The earliest of the Buddhist bronzes in South India have been found at Buddhavani or Buddhapad,* about twenty miles westwards from the right bank of the river Krishna and 30 miles from the nearest mouth of its delta. That this place was of immense importance to the Buddhists can be known from the descriptions of Hiuen Tsang who visited this region in about 639 A.D. He says that in his day the temples where Buddha was worshipped numbered only 20 whereas there were 100 temples erected to the Brahmanical gods in the vicinity. He also says, "For a hundred years past no monks have been residing here." Hiuen Tsang visited these places when Vengi had already been conquered by Kubja Visnuvardhana in about 605 A.D. More than that the region had lost its Buddhistic

* Sowell: Some Buddhists and Relics of Buddha, J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 617-37.

significance long ago, about "a hundred years past" in about the early sixth century A.D. Curiously enough it is well corroborated by the images which convey a style so crude that from it the dates can be ascertained earlier than the sixth century. The standing images, varying in size from one to two feet, which apparently



The Buddha from Buddhapad

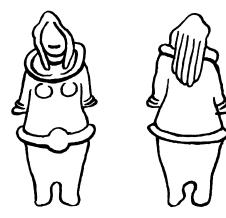
seem to be of Buddha (Fig. 3) with their heavy torso, fully rounded faces and comparatively stunted physic-gnomy, together with the peculiar arrangement of the garment, remind us of the Gupta formula of Indian sculpture. Besides the standing figures, a seated figure, similarly formulated stylistically, is important from the standpoint of iconography too, in representing a serpent in relief in the front side of the pedestal. The independent heads, with curly hair, so characteristic of early Buddha images, bump of wisdom and the eyes half-closed, have plastic qualities in them.

It cannot be said that the early bronzes from South India were mainly restricted to the Buddhist pantheon. In fact, of the earliest evidences that we have, very few are Buddhist. The greater number consists of the Brahmanical gods or some other variety. In later period, however, kings and queens of royal dynasties and frequently religious personages were represented in this metal.

Of a quite different variety is a bronze figure from Adichanallul, Tinnevelly district (Fig. 4). This figure presents a very curious and archaic character. Its special features are the tunic, the trousers and method of dressing up of the hair. The workmanship does not seem much advanced and the style suggests some

primitive elements. It resembles in many respects the features of a terracotta work and cannot be connected in any way with any principal cult images prevalent in South India. It is undoubtedly a feminine figure, suggestive perhaps of the earth goddess or the mother cult, prevailing most probably among the people who were still uninfluenced by the developed cult worship. There is no reason to regard this figure either as a "foreign" importation or belonging to the 'non-Hindu" group.

A very old collection of bronze images is found in the south and west flanks of the rock-cut temple at Trichinopoly, which is said to have been built by Mahendra Varman I, the Pallava King, the great and reputed patron of art and architecture, and who adopted and popularised a completely new style. These images, however, cannot be definitely said to have belonged to the period of Mahendra Varman I, but some of them have got sure marks of antiquity. Some panchalauha specimens of Subrhamanya and Somaskanda have been found in the Kailasanatha temple, which is taken to have been built in the early part of the sixth century A.D.



Bronze figure from Adichanallur, Tinnevellev District

The Brahmanical group of early bronzes from South India does not form a large part. Of these, again, images of Siva are conspicuous. The history and development of the South Indian art in bronzes is very intimately connected with the phase of the religious development of the country. The development of the Saivite religion beginning from Mahendra Varman I in the sixth century was closely associated with the art of the period, reflected through the medium of both stone and bronze. By the ninth century, the wave of Saivism swept large over Southern India and guided the old art of bronze founding in a new direction, giving birth to a new school of unique distinction and quality. The artistic activities under the Pallavas had laid the foundations for a great school of Saivik sculpture of Mamallapuram, and it appears to have been left to the Cholas to inspire and develop the school of bronze sculpture as a parallel and complement to the stone sculpture.



Arjuna (?), Madras Museum

An image of bronze, very archaic in character, is now in the Madras Museum (Fig. 5). It has been identified as Arjuna, which does not seem to be corroborated either by internal or external evidence. The pose is graceful. The left hand being broken it cannot be said what attribute it did assume, but it may not be improbable that the hands were in the pose of dhanurdhari hasta. The style of workmanship though not so crude as the bronze from Adichanallur, is not very much refined. The face, with narrow and slightly bulging forehead is differentiated from its outline by the long curves of the cycbrows and stretched lips. The eyes which are broad open, are not marked by pupils. The flatness of the cycbrows and mouth have given the whole face a rounded appearance. It is very sparingly ornamented but the folds of drapery, rounded and heavy, fully balance the deep-cut marks of the heavy necklace and ornaments of the leg.

The Siva-kama-sundari (Fig. 2) or "Siva's Desire" figure of Gauri in the bronze collection of Mr. B. N. Treasurywala is interesting from more than one point. Broad shoulders and heavy arms, the comparatively shorter neck in proportion to the large head carrying the Karanda Makuta, characterise the figure. The figure is also marked for its rounded limbs, which denote a comparatively early date. The face itself is featured by large open eyes, not containing the pupils, which have assumed a sort of flatness. The flatness of

the whole face is again balanced by the same quality of the eyes, the whole being relieved by the incised lines of the eyebrows, etc. Viewed from the back, the figure presents various ornaments sketched in only and treated without the least care and effort; the love of details is not desired for at all. A sure and unfailing organic composition, together with the bold simplicity and general flatness of modelling, has endowed the image with a sense of primitiveness to be marked only in early Saivite bronzes of South India. This figure is typical inasmuch as it represents some of the important features, both of stone and metal, either of the Pallava or the Chola period, and may be classed, in its relative simplicity and heaviness, its plastically organic conception of the body, in its roundness and lack of exhuberance and details, with the early stone sculptures of the Mamalla school. It is not very difficult to see the tradition of this bronze as translated into the stones of Mahabalipuram.

We have already referred to the intimate connection of the artistic tradition between South India and Ceylon, between Indonesia and the early sculptures of the Krishna-Godavari delta. The Saivite image from Java in the Ethnographisch Museum at Leiden is probably one of the earliest surviving bionzes of the South. In style and pose, in general characteristics, which represent very archaic features, the image of Siva with his consort Uma upon his thigh (Fig. 1) points to a period much earlier than the advanced school of Chola bronzes. The provenance of this image so far from the Indian soil, is an important factor in the development and expansion of the Saivite religion of the South. The existence of inscriptions and other sorts of artistic evidences have proved beyond any doubt that Java got her Hinduism from Telingana and the mouths of Krishna, and the Indian immigration suggests a connection with the Pallavas rather than with any other part of India. This image, which was undoubtedly carried from South India, may be assigned to the earliest period of Saivite activity under the Pallavas, which got the starting impetus from Mahendravarman I who was in the beginning of his career a Jaina, but later on converted to Saivism by Appar. This conversion of Mahendravarman which might have taken place in the middle of his reign marks an important epoch in the history of Saivism of the South and this event seems to have been referred to in the king's life in the Trichinopoly rock inscription, From the standpoint of style as well as iconographic interest also this Uma-Sabita-Mahesvara cannot be approximated with any other known specimens. The form of Siva with his consort over the thigh has been superseded by other conceptions where Parvati is commonly represented as seated at a little distance from Siva.

U. S. LABORATORY STUDIES

Waterways Control

The U.S. Waterways Experiment Station in Vicksburg, in the eastern state of Mississippi, is a 245-acre Government laboratory which was designed for the study of problems involving the control and improvement of the Mississippi and other U.S. rivers and waterways. Within the boundaries of the Station are special laboratories, shop facilities, warehouses, an 80-acre lake and numerous miniature reproductions of rivers, bays and harbors. Working from plans submitted by engineers in the field, station specialists construct scale models of existing or proposed projects, conduct experiments and approve or after plans under consideration according to the results of their research.

The Mississippi watershed includes all or part of the 31 States from the Rocky Mountains to the Appalachians, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, or 41 per cent of the total area of the United States.

To represent this great area the station has under construction at Clinton in the state of Mississippi, a model occupying about 200 acres—measuring 4,500 feet east and west, and 3,900 feet north and south. The model is being built to a horizontal scale of one foot representing 2,000 feet in nature and a vertical scale of one foot to 100 feet.

Besides the Mississippi River, the Ohio, Missouri, Arkansas and Red Rivers and other principal reservoirs, about 200 in number, levees, dikes, flood-walls and other pertinent works will be reproduced. Floods of known magnitude will be introduced into the model according to scale, following data obtained from the stream in nature. The course of the floods will be recorded by some 1,500 gauges installed in the model streams. Upon completion of the model, viewing towers and a road around the model will enable visitors to see it in operation.

In Oregon, the North Santian River, together with the Willamette and Willamette's other tributaries, is subject to floods almost every fall, winter and spring. A recurrence today of the 1861 record flood would inundate 7,000 farm units, including 3,000 villages and suburban homes and stores. In addition some 18 cities and towns would be partially flooded.

To assist in controlling these floods seven reservoirs will be constructed. Part of the project is the Detroit Dam, in Oregon. The dam was designed by the U.S. Army Engineers of Portland District. The plans were sent to the Vicksburg Experiment Station, where a scale model was built so that the proposed designs could be checked and undesirable conditions corrected.

Tests were run of the design of the spillway, stilling basin, outlet conduits and power perstocks.



This miniature, built at the Vicksburg Experiment Station, is a model of the Detroit Dam, to be constructed on the North Santian River

The value of a preliminary check through the construction of scale models was shown in this case, for the tests resulted in several major changes in the designs. One of these was in the spillway. The model showed that water flowing over the spillway, as originally designed, had a tendency to enode a large hole in the stream bed below the dam.

An example of the care and detail that go into the construction of a model at the Vicksburg Experiment Station is the reproduction of the St. Johns River as it runs from Welake, Florida, to the Atlantic Ocean, A portion of the Atlantic Ocean and the stream and lakes that effect the tides were included in the model. Elaborate electric and mechanical equipment reproduced the tides. Salt water of the same saline content as the Atlantic Ocean was used in the coastal region

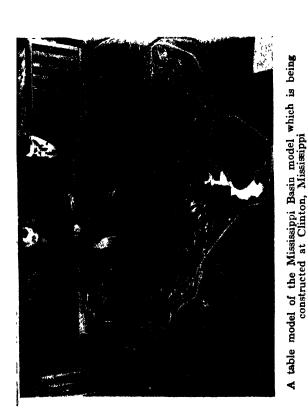
THE MODERN REVIEW FOR FEBRUARY, 1948



Rough grading of a portion of the Alleghany River channel, part of the model of the Mississipi River and its tributaries being constructed by the U. S. Waterways Experiment Station



This model, built at the Vicksburg Experiment Station, reproduces the St. Johns River as it runs from Welake, Florida, to the Atlantic Ocean



A portion of the Vicksburg Experiment Station model of the Birds Point—New Madrid Floodway



water.

of the model, while the upstream end carried fresh nature and checked preventive measures under double the flood effects on them. Even the effects of overbank



This model of Brady Creek, Texas, was built to study the flood problem at Brady

which in 1938 suffered the highest flood on record, was for by the construction of stucco and bent screen wire sent to the Station. The engineers went one better than arrangements.—USIS.

A flood problem facing the Texas town of Bradv. growth, which tends to retard the flow, were provided

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WHERE FRONTIERS MEET

BY AJUDHAYANATH DAR

Every summer brings with it hundreds and thousands of visitors from almost every corner of the globe into Kashmir. During winter too Kashmir is visited by many visitors who love to go up and down skating over the snow-clad ravines of this happy val'ey. It you care to go through the glorious and colourful chistory of Kashmir, you will find that it was in Kashmir where the greatest of all monarchs, Asoka the Great, held his court with the object of enlightcuing the suffering humanity with the light of Asia. You will also find that Kashmir was the pleasure-ground of the great Moghul emperors. Lust but not the least important was the evolving of the Cabinet Mission Plan in this land of lotus and saffron. The three ministers of the British Government, while enjoying Easter holidays here far from the din and bust'e of Delhi got their inspiration here and thus was born the May 16th, 1946 declaration advising Indians not to divide their land.

NATURAL BEAUTY

Jammu and Kashmir is one of the premier states of India. It covers about 84,471 square miles and extends between 32.17 and 36.58 North latitude and 73.26 and 80.30 East longitude. It is at this place where the frontiers of Russia, China, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan meet. Also being in the middle of Asia, Kashmir commands a great strategic importance in the world. In natural scenery Kashmir resembles Switzerland. But some people who have visited both these beauty spots, have told me that Kashmir can surpass Switzerland, if only it is a little cared for. Sir Francis Younghusband has said:

"The country with which one is most apt to compare it is, naturally, Switzerland, And Switzerland, indeed, has many charms and combination of lakes and mountains in which, I think, it exects Kashmir, But it is built on a smaller scale There is not the same wide sweep of snow-clad mountains There is no place where one can see a complete

circle of snowy mountains surrounding a plain of anything like the length and breadth of the Kashmir valley, for the main valleys of Switzerland are like the side valleys of Kashmir. And above everything there is not behind Switzerland what there is at the back of Kashmir, and visible in glimpses from the southern side—a region of stupendous mountains surpassing every other in the world."

Great poets and philosophers, emperors and actors, scientists and statesmen, politicians and patriots,



The Eve of Kashmir
Photo: Biggs & Co.

men of excellence and of brilliance, and architects and artists have talked, written and sung in praise of this Eastern Eden. Any person who comes to Kashmir is greatly thrilled by its towering mountains, vast stretching lakes, babbling brooks, huge glaciers, thick pine forests and beautiful gardens like Nishat and Shalimar. It is because of such beauty spots that a visitor never wants, to leave Kashmir till snow makes it all white. It is flattering to find Sir Francis Younghusband beginning his book on Kashmir with the following words:

"Bernier, the first European to enter Kashmir, writing in 1665, says: 'In truth the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warmest imagination had anticipated'."

This is all that Nature has provided for us. Now let us see what Man has made of it. A visitor when he roams about the Sminagar Bund, Srinagar Golt grounds and the Dal Lake finds Kashmir all the more beautiful. But have you gone into the Srinagar slums? Have you seen those thatched roofs over those mud huts? Have you seen small school-going-aged children working barefooted and bareheaded as labourers both

in winter and in summer? Have you seen the 'Eve of Kashmir,' as some other Eve has put it, having been deprived of education and all that matters in life? Had you all studied these unwelcome facts, I am sure, every one of you would have repeated in unison the words of a reputed writer that "Kashmir is a hell for its inhabitants and a heaven for the outsiders."

ITS HISTORY

Men like Kalhana, the great historian, R. S. Pandit, the great scholar, Dr. Stein, the great explorer and such other eminent men have tried their utmost to unveil the past of Kashmir. I do not want to repeat here what they have written. All that you know. But it will be interesting to mention that Kashmir was a vast lake for many ages. This lake was known as Satyasar. It is said, as the legend goes, that a great saint whose life was dedicated to the cause of a few Kashmiris who lived on the hills above, meditated and worshipped for a long time, till one day one of the mountains was broken and the lake was cleared off of its water.

MONUMENTS OF THE PAST

Remains of the past of Kashmir can be found at the temple of Sankaracharya which bears a glorious



A smart Kashmiri
Photo: Mahatta & Co.

look over the city of Srinagar; the Martand ruins from where the man-made sun dazzled all the night and made day of the night at Srinagar, are but forty miles from that place, and the fort of Hari Parbat which still stands, bearing testimony to the art and skill of the Kashmiris of those days. But they are known places. Let me take you to an obscure place, probably even unknown to the Archaeological Department of Kashmir. This place is known as Bugibiari (originally

called Boj Behari). I visited this place in 1943 with a party of eight friends. To our surprise we found there a spring on the top of a mountain. It is surrounded on all sides by a thick pine forest. All sides of the spring are lined with beautifully carved stones, the like of which can not be found even today except at



A Kashmiri mother

a few old ruins. People hving there told us that the water of this spring is hot in winter and cold in summer, and in winter the snow at once melts over the banks of the spring. As we were loitering there we found in the middle of a thorny bush a very bigarred stone. In the middle of the stone was the image of Lord Siva and on either sides we found the two images of Ganesh. This carved stone has been standing there for ages. Seen perhaps by only a few of us, it will witness many more events till one day again the eyes of the world will turn towards that side.

NOT ONLY BEAUTY BUT BRAINS TOO

Culturally Kashmir is much advanced. Kashmir can boast of a galaxy of talents that it has given to India. Kashmir has produced men like Pandit Motilal Nehru, the late Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, a lawyer who rose to be the President of the Indian National Congress and others. Let me quote Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a great contemporary Kashmiri, and, a great lawyer, who will ever shine on the political horizon of India:

"Who has not heard of the great Rai Rayan Anand Ram Mukhlis, who not only occupied some of the highest positions in the Mughal empire, but also wrote a very valuable history of the Mughal dynasty? Who has not heard of the name of Pandit Daya Shanker Nasim, the immortal author of Gulzar-is Nasim? Where is the Indian who will challenge today the fame of my late lamented friend, Brij Narayan Chakbast of Lucknow and who does not know that one of the founders of Urdu fiction was a Kashmiri Pandit, the never-to-befogotten Rattan Nath Dar 'Sarshar'? I can multiply

instances but I refrain. Let me not overlook the names of travellers and diplomats like Pandit afterwards Mirza Mohan Lal, of judges like Pandit Shambhu Nath, the first Indian to take his seat in the Calcutta High Court, of lawyers and leaders of public opinion like the late Pandit Ajudhya Nath, the late Pandit Vishambar Nath, the late Pandit Prithi Nath Chak, Jagat Narayan Mullah and Sheo Narayan Shoman."

While quoting this distinguished Kashmiri, I cannot forget the name of my own grandfather, the late Pandit Ram Chandra Dar who was the first graduate of Kashmir, the proud possessor of many decorations of various Indian educational institutions and who travelled far and wide to awaken the common and the forgotten man of his land.

Here comes to my mind one of those immortal literary prodigies who swayed four hundred million people of India by his ever-ringing poem: Sare jahan se achha Hindostan hamara (The finest country in the world is our India). He was a Kashmiri—a Kashmiri who takes pride to be called a Kashmiri, who longs to be back to his land of honey and flowers, music and poetry, beauty and joy; a Kashmiri to whom the mountains of this valley always haunt in his imagination, I mean, Alama Iqbal, the great poet and philosopher.



Nishat Bagh, Kashmir

I need not remind you of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, one heading the great dominion of India and the other leading all the Indian States as President of the All-India States Peoples Conference.

This is something about my country and my people. This is the Eden of the East, Switzerland of India and the Marseilles of Asia. This is Kashmir,

MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES

Music is one of the spontaneous native arts in the after season with successive generations of well-known United States reaching deep into the lives of the families. The galleries have resounded with the bravos



Interior of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City as seen from the stage

people with the spirituals, folk songs and popular music which are America's own contribution to the world's store of music.

If not csentially a musical people, Americans are at all times music-conscious, and in recent years the great music of the ages, as well as contemporary rhythm, has been flooding homes of all types through the widespread use of the radio as well as phonograph records. From this familiarity is growing wider appreciation of music and a keener critical sense.

The Metropolitan Opera House in New York has for decades been the goal of the greatly gifted singer, like La Scala in Milan, Covent Garden in London and the opera houses of Paris and Vienna. The voices of all the

great singers of the world from 1883 on have soared through the gird and crimson plush interior of the Metropolitan. The boxes have been filled season

of music-loving Americans of many national origins, faithful always to their operatic traditions. The Metropolitan performances are of uniformly high quality, presenting every type of European opera from Wagner to Verdi, and occasionally featuring

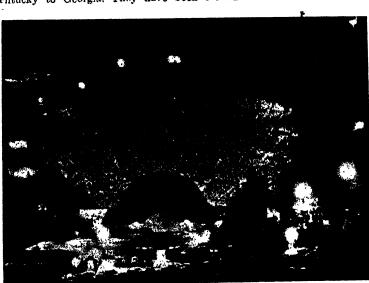
American opera.

A development in the musical field which has been called "the most vital folk music of our time" is jazz, whose beat and rhythm has set feet tapping from Paris to Siberia and from Africa to New Guinea Au outgrowth of the Negro spirituals and "blues", it has made tremendous advances in technique since its "discovery" in the southern city of the New Orleans, when wandering Negros, seeking work away from plantations, set themselves up in cafes and dance halls. Today jazz and swing music at their best receive serious critical attention



The audience at the American Music Festival concerts in the National Gallery of Art in Washington

and several symphonies in this "popular" vehicle of musical expression, such as the late George Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue," have found widespread acclaim. Britain from 100 to 200 years ago has been quite many as 3,000,000 persons monthly. general in remote parts of the U.S. highlands from Kentucky to Georgia. They have been carried down in the north central United States, American high



Illuminated view of a symphony concert at Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles, California

by oral transmission frontier cabins to the hearth of the present day home. One of the earliest of Kentucky's social and educational activities was the singing school,

usually held in the church or

schoolhouse. The folk songs of America have been assembled in permanent form in recent years. As a result of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, which has enabled it to establish a complete recording laboratory, the U.S. Library of Congress is supplying duplicates of its folk song records to other libraries, schools and colleges and to the public.

CHILDREN MADE MUSIC-MINDED

American children are being trained systematically

evaluate and share in good music. This is now a recognized part of the educational system. The High School of Music and Art, in New York City, trains hundreds of young composers and performers. Federal work projects organized and developed many community music activities, and concerts and other musical

The preservation of ballads and folk songs of events given by its musicians have been heard by as

Deep in the woodlands of the state of Michigan,

school boys and girls each summer study music at a unique summer workshop called the National Music Camp. The camp, which was founded in 1928 by the National High School Orchestra Camp Association, lies between two small lakes a mile south of the village of Inferlochen, Michigan, and covers 500 acres of thick woodland.

While living a healthy outdoor life, the students study symphonic work by playing in a complete and well-balanced symphony orchestra-an unusually advanced type of training for students of high school age. The orchestra members receive special instruction in the various sections in which they play-strings, wood-winds, brasses, percussion, etc., under symphony orchestra artists.



On the shores of the lake at Interlochen, Michigan, students of the National Music Camp practise for many hours each day

OPEN-AIR MUSIC FESTIVALS

Open-air music festivals have become popular in the United States within recent years, Outdoor summer concerts by outstanding orchestra includes those given in the Robin Hood Dell in Philadelphia; at Tanglewood, Massachusetts; at the Lewisohn Stadium of



Hillbilly band plays folk songs in the Kentucky mountains



James P. Johnson (piano) and other well-known American jazz figures

New York City, which draws huge crowds; in the Hollywood Bowl at Los Angeles, where audiences of 25,000 persons attend the six-week series of symphony concerts held each summer under the stars; and on the Patomac River in Washington, where the National Symphony Orchestra is conducted from a barge moored close to the Lincoln Memorial and the audience assembles in canoes and small craft as well as on the steps leading down to the river.



This little boy playing a big horn indicates the growing interest in music in the United States

The United States today has about 1,000 radio stations—nearly a third of the world's total. Ninety per cent of homes own at least one receiving set. Stations are on the air seventeen and eighteen hours a day and half of that time they offer musical programs. Most U.S. musical programs consist of popular music but there is a considerable amount of radio time devoted to serious music. With four coast-to-coast networks and twenty-five regional systems, few important musical events now take place without being broadcast. The weekly broadcasts of New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera reach an audience of 12,000,000 or more regularly. The other symphony orchestras appear on coast-to-coast regional hookups, too. And in the past few years the broadcasting companies have been developing important orchestras of their own, like the first-ranking National Broadcasting Company Orchestra, conducted by Arturo Toscanini,-USIS.

THE FATHER OF ENGLISH POETRY

By J. H. B. PÈEL

GEOFFREY CHAUCER, who was born in London in 1340 and died there in 1400, has been called the father of English poetry—not because he was the first English poet, but because he was the first English poet to write in a style and a language which are readily recognisable today.

Chaucer, as it happened, was also the first of a long line of English writers, including Lamb, Trollope, and Humbert Wolfe, who were at the same time servants of the Crown.

Of Chaucer's life we know a good deal. We know, for instance, that in 1367 he received a pension for his services in the King's personal household; that he subsequently became a servant of the Duke of Lancaster; and that one of his first poems was an elegy on the death of the Duke's wife, "The Death of Blaunche the Duchesse."

IN ITALY

He travelled to Italy on the King's service, and while there he read widely in current Italian literature, acquiring therefrom a polished technique which placed him, as it were, head and shoulders above all other English poets of his day. He was appointed to many important official positions—notably that of Comptroller of the Customs of Wools, Skins and Leather—and received various other marks of royal favour.

But with the death of the King he fell upon hard times, and we find his presenting a petition—a complaint to his purse, he called it—begging assistance from the Court. This appeal was answered, and we know that Chaucer, on Christmas Eve, 1399, took the lease of a large house in the garden of the chapel of Saint Mary, in Westminster. The lease is still in the Muniment Room of Westminster Abbey.

His wife, whom he married while he was a young man. was Phillipa, a lady of the chamber to Queen Phillipa. The number of his family is not known, but he has a pathetic reference to his "little son Lewis" to whom, indeed, he dedicated one of his prose works, a long treatise on the Astrolabe. In his fatherly pride he opens the treatise with the words, "Little Lewis my son, I have perceived well by certain evidences thyne ability to learn science touching numbers and proportions." The treatise is written in English, "for of Latin thou canst know yet but small my little son."

MOST REMARKABLE MAN

After a life of action in the King's service, of long travels on the Continent, and of financial ups and downs, this most remarkable man acquired a fame

which for the times was unparalleled. His work was known in France, in Spain, and throughout the Low Countries, and in England he was accepted as the greatest living writer, either in prose or in verse.



Gcoffrey Chaucer

It is not to be expected that a poem written seven hundred years ago should be identical in form and language with modern poems, yet Chaucer's writings—and especially his famous Canterbury Tales—remain as alive today as when they were composed; indeed, it is especially because of this life in them that they are so popular. The spelling, of course, varies from our own in some words, and the syntax is often inverted, yet an educated Englishman can, with the aid of a glossary, enjoy all of Chaucer's works at a first reading; and with a little patience he will read them as fluently as he would read a modern newspaper, and with more profit and delight, maybe.

Altogether, Chaucer wrote some six or seven major poems; a number of shorter ones; and several translations into English of famous works, among them the Consolation of Philosophy by Boethius.

By far the greatest, and certainly the best-loved, of his works is the long poem Canterbury Tales, in which we are introduced to some typical pilgrims en route to the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral. These pilgrims, who include a Knight, a Miller, a Cook, a Prioress, and a man of Law, amuse one another by telling tales as they traverse the time-honoured Pilgrims' Way to Canterbury—a way, incidentally, whose scenery and travellers Chaucer must have known intimately, for his duties as a high Customs official took him often along the Kentish banks of the Thames, and sometimes no doubt into Kent and her seashore as well.

WITHOUT PEER

As a sidelight on English men and manners toward the end of the Middle Ages, the Canterbury Tales are without peer, for Chaucer introduces us to most of the stock types of the times—to merchants, to nuns, to friars, doctors, parsons, manciples, and housewives.

Some of the tales are broad, with a hearty Rabelaisian humour about them; others are dramatic; a few are sad; all are imagined and retold with the verve of true poetic genius. The poem opens with as pleasing a view of the English scene as is to be found in the literature of any century, be it new or old.

When that Aprille with her shoures sole
The drought of Marche hath pierced to the role...
When Zephirus cek with his swete breath
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
The tendre croppes, and the vonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe cours y-roone,
And smale fowles maken melodye...

Then we have masterly sketches of the various pilgrims; the Knight, for instance.

A knighte there was, and that worthy man

That fro the tyme that he first bigan To ryden out, he loved chivalry,

Trouthe, and honou, fredom, and courteisye.

It is impossible to summarise this superb poetic panorama of mediaeval England; those who read it for themselves will find there an oblique portrait of the poet himself—of a man, that is, who held chivalrous views upon womankind, upon the elementary virtues of truth and kindliness, and upon the delights of good humour.

Chaucer has never lacked panegyries. In his own age, Caxton wrote of him, "In all his works he excelleth all other writers in our English." And in a later age, Lowell wrote, "We find more and more as we study him that he rises quietly from the conventional to the universal, and may fairly take his place with Homer in virtue of the breadth of his humanity."

PROF. DHARMANAND KOSAMBI A Profound Pali Scholar and a Sincere Nationalist Worker

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By Prof. P. V. BAPAT, Ph.D., Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

Props Dharmanand Kosambi was born on 9th October, 1876 at village Sakhwal in the district of Sasast in the Portuguese territory of Goa as the youngest of seven children—five sisters and two brothers.

He had no great opportunity to receive any education except at the primary stage in the village school, and he had to depend upon self-education by reading all the Marathi books he had access of in his native village. The life of Tukaram, the great Maratha saint of the 17th century and his gathas as well as a casual article on the Buddha (printed 1897) in one of the Marathi journals left a great impression on his mind. The last-mentioned article was responsible for his passion to acquire knowledge of Buddhism.

After several futile attempts to leave his home for further education, finally, with a firm determination never to return unsuccessful, and being disgusted with the life he was forced to live in ignorance (when he had a keen desire to study Sanskrit to know of the Buddha), he left his home towards the end of December, 1899 in search

of a place where he could get increased facilities for further education, especially in Sanskrit. He went to Poona, where he met the great savant Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar who gave him encouragement, and he set himself earnestly to study Sanskrit, but not being satisfied with the opportunities available there, he started for Benares, the traditional centre of Sanskrit, learning. There he had the opportunity of studying Sanskrit at the feet of the famous Maharastrian Pandit, Nageshvarpant Dharmadhikari, a disciple of Vedasastra-Sampanna Gangadhar Shastri Telang. He studied Kaumudi though he had great difficulty in earning his livelihood. He had to depend upon one free meal given in a free annachhatra (charity-house) conducted by the Maharaja of Gwalior.

But his sincere love for Buddha and his passionate zeal for acquiring the knowledge of Buddhism impelled him to set on a journey to Nepal with a fellow student from Nepal who was studying with his teacher. He started from Benares on 2nd February, 1902 with this Nepali friend Durganath. After enduring great hardship on the

way, he reached Kathmandu. He stayed there for about ten days but he saw the very unsatisfactory state of Buddhism prevailing there, and where he could not meet any learned Pandit or Sadhu who could explain to him the real teachings of the Buddha. So, in disgust, he left that place and went to Buddha Gaya where he met a Buddhist Bhikkhu, who drew his attention to Pali Texts, which, he said, could be learnt best in Ceylon. So he went to the Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta and with the help from some members of the Mahabodhi Society he started for Colombo in the latter part of March, 1902.

In Colombo, he studied Pali in the Vidyodaya College under the guidance of Shri Sumangalachary, who was very favourably impressed by his passionate zeal for the study of Pali. His proficiency in Sanskrit made a very favourable impression not only upon him but upon all the Sinhalese scholars with whom he came in contact. He studied Pali very zealously for about ten months during which time he also became a novice (Sramanera). His becoming a Sramanera enabled him to get in close touch with the life of the monks in Buddhist Viharas and this increased his opportunities for the study of Pali literature. In the later period of his stay he started studying English. But the non-vegetarian food in Ceylon did not agree with his stomach and he had to decide to leave Ceylon for India. He wanted to go to India and stay at a quiet place of pilgrimage where he could practise meditation and trances. But he could not procure enough money to take him back to a place like Kusinagar (Pali-kusinara) the place where the Lord Buddha breathed his last. The little money that he could secure could take him only as far as Madras.

*He stayed in Madras for a few months. There was a small Buddhasrama there, a meeting-place for lovers of Buddhism, where he came in contact with Prof. Narsu, who was very helpful in turning his attention to comparative study. Though he continued to study English, the work there never satisfied him. He wanted to go to the holy places of Buddhism in North India but he had no money to go there.

In Madras he came in contact with some Burmese students, who were willing to help him with money to enable him to go to Burma. There on account of his knowledge of Pali already acquired by him, he was ordained as a mendicant (Bhikkhu). In Burma he studied Visuddhimagga, which was later to be his life-work. During his stay in Burma, he came in contact with a German violinist, who later on became a Buddhist monk under the name Rev. Nana-triloka. He has now become a great Pali scholar and is now staying in Ceylon. But here again Burmese food which did not agree with his stomach was a great stumbling-block which he could not overcome and he had to leave Burms. He came back to India early in 1904, although his spiritual Guru did not like his leaving Burma, where, as he said, a new Bhikkhu is expected to stay with his master for at least five years.

He came back to India and spent about two years in travelling, often going on foot and sometimes begging for his food if he could not get money for purchasing his railway ticket or food. He travelled from Calcutta to Bombay and then to North India—Ujjain, Gwalior and Sarnath near Benares, and from that place to Kusinagar (Pali—Kusinara) in Gorakhpur district. This last place was the holy place where the Buddha breathed his last. It was here that he often passed his days and nights in open verandahs or under trees or in cemeteries and practised meditation, sometimes he practised the meditation of love for all beings, including animals. On the whole, he enjoyed the new spiritual experiences at this place.

He visited Sravasti (modern Sahet-Mahet) where the Buddha spent several years of his life. He came to Benares again, to see Rev. Dharmapala (whom he had already met in Ceylon) who was fighting out in a court of law the case against the Mahanta of Buddha-Gaya for the possession of Buddha-Gaya for the Buddhists. He went to Buddha-Gaya and there he spent the afternoons in meditation on the bank of the river Nairanjana. He visited Rajagriha (modern Rajgir) also. The case that was filed against the Mahanta of Buddha-Gaya was won by the Mahanta. Kosambi desired to retire into the magnitude and spend some time in meditation.

With the help of a Burmese Bhikkhu, he again went to Burma where he wanted to stay in the solitary mountains of Sagain. There he again met Rev. Nana-Triloka and went with him to Sagain and stayed in the wihara of U. Rajendra. After staying there for some time he went to Mandalay and stayed in the vihara of the monk U. Triloka. But soon on account of the excessive summer heat of Mandalay, he made up his mind to go to Moulmein where the rich merchants lavished great gifts of charities on Buddhist monks who had to engage coolies to carry their burden of gifts given to them. He taught Sanskrit grammar to a Bhikkhu Pannasami who taught him Abhidharmarthasangraha. But all along the difficulty of getting proper vegetarian diet still persisted. He again changed to a place called Beelouchoun but there was no improvement. He came to the conclusion that he would leave Burma and thought of reverting to a layman's life, as it was impossible, he thought, to observe the rules of a monk in India. But his teacher advised him to revert to a layman's life after returning to India, as after all he would not like a Bhikkhu reverting to a layman's life in his presence. He came back to Calcutta from Rangoon in January, 1906.

After coming back to Calcutta he was sought by Prof. Harinath Dey of the Presidency College, who wanted to appear in the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University in Pali. Prof. Dey wanted the help of a real, good scholar in reading one of the prescribed volumes, Atthasalini, Cm. on Dhammasangani, the last volume of the Abhidharmapitaka. Soon after he also undertook the work of teaching Pali in the National College, Calcutta. Later, with the help of Justice-Mukherjee, Prof. Dey succeeded in securing for Prof. Kosambi an appointment as a lecturer in Pali in the University of Calcutta. But the students were more eager to pass the examination than acquire knowledge in Pali. So he resolved to leave Calcutta.

The Maharajah of Baroda extended him his patronage on condition that he should go to Maharastra and write one book every year. Before he went away from Calcutta, he again went to Burma where he was presented a whole set of Pali books printed in Burmese script by Hon'ble Maung Ba Tu, whose acquaintance he had already picked up in Calcutta. He went to Moulmein to see his revered teacher, who received him with great hospitality.

After his return from Burma, he soon went to Bombay where he met Dr. V. A. Sukhthankar. He was staying at Borivli at the house of his friends, Madgaonkars. There, through Mr. Sukhthankar, he met an American Professor from Harvard University, Prof. Dr. J. H. Woods (whom afterwards he used to teach Pali) which event gave an altogether unexpected turn to his life. This Professor after his return to America probably spoke about this great scholar to Prof. Lanman of the Department of Sanskrit. Prof. Lanman was at that time working upon the Manuscript of the Visuddhimagga, an encyclopaedic work in Pali by Buddhaghosa, left behind by the late Mr. Warren. Prof. Lanman keenly felt the need of a scholar who would be helpful in guiding him in he editing of this Text. So in 1910. Professor Woods sent an urgent letter to Prof. Kosambi requesting him to go to Harvard University where Prof. Lanman would need his help.

After all the necessary preparations were made, he went via England to U.S.A. and began to work with Prof. Lanman. For some time Prof. Lanman did not realise the value of his help, but with the progress of work he began to realise the invaluable help given by Prof. Kosambi. But, on the whole, he was not satisfied with Prof. Lanman's dealings with him. As there had been no previous contract made with the University authorities before he came to U.S.A., there were clashes over financial matters with Prof. Lanman, who allowed him not very substantial allowances. So he had to insist on some letter from the President of the University on the financial provision for him. Another clash with Prof. Lanman was about the title-page of the book. Prof. Lanman wanted to put on the fitle page, as the name of the editor, his own name, with the addition of "from Warren's Manuscripts and with the co-operation of D. Kosambi," Prof. Kosambi insisted on the name of Warren as well as his own name along with that of Prof. Lanman, or said he, the name of Mr. Warren alone may be mentioned. Warren had, for years, worked on these Manuscrip's and left behind him his whole estate to the University for the necessary expenses of the publication of this work. Over this last matter they could not arrive at any agreement. So Prof. D. Kosambi thought it best to leave Harvard University and come back to India.

After coming back to India, he was thinking of a centre where he could work for the spread of Pali and Buddhist studies. He was already acquainted with Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkur and as soon as he came to Poona, the authorities of the Fergusson College, secured, through Sir Ramkrishna, the services of Prof. Kosambi as a Professor of Pali. Professor Kosambi was keen on securing every opportunity to spread the knowledge of Pali and he worked

in this College from 1912 to 1918. The writer of this account had the good fortune of being a student of Prof. Kosambi during this period. He left again in 1918 for U.S.A. for his work on the Visuddhimagga. There he worked on the text for about four years and came back to India.

Soon after his arrival in India, he began to take active interest in the institutions of the Congress workers under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and soon joined the Puratativa Mandir at Ahmedabad. He was getting more and more interested in the Congress movements and had by then completely come under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi.

While he was thus working in the camp of Gandhi's followers, again he had an invitation from the U.S.A. to complete the work of the Visuddhimagga. This time he was fully entrusted with that work and Prof. Lanman had no hand left in the same. He completed the work and the printing also was finished before he came back to India in 1927

Although twenty years have now passed by, still, it is surprising to find that the authorities of the Harvard University have not yet seen their way to publish the work.

Thus although the editing of the work was thus completed by Prof. Kosambi, it was thought by the University authorities advisable to publish the translation also of the work. Prof. Kosambi before he left America had arranged for the translation also by recommending the name of the writer of this life-sketch to work on the same in collobaration with Prof. J. H. Woods. The translation was completed by 1932 and a fully revised copy of the typed sheets was also sent to the authorities of the University.

Prof. Kosambi joined actively the Non-co-operation Movement of 1931 and as such he was taken into custody by the British Government. But on reference to the High Court on some technical point, he along with others who were incarcerated with him, was set free.

Before long he was invited again by Prof. Woods of the Department of Philosophy to help him in the translation of the Visuddhimagga, that was jointly undertaken by the writer of this paper and Prof. Woods. The work that lay ahead could not be finished in time, as the writer of this paper had to leave U.S.A. at the scheduled time in 1932, when he had to be back again to join his duties in the Fergusson College, Poona. So Prof. Kosambi continued to work for a few months more after the writer had left U.S'A. Then after finishing his work, he went to Russia on his way back to India, where he was helping the late Prof. Stcherbatsky in his Indian studies, particularly of Buddhism. But in Russia, too, he did not stay long. He soon returned to India and worked for a few months more with the writer of this paper in preparing a final draft of the full translation of the Visuddhimagga, which really formed the life-work of the great scholar stretching over 25 years of his life.

After finishing this work, before he again joined the national institutions of the Gandhian school of politics, he lod for some years a rather quiet life at Bombay or Benares (either at Sarngth or Kashi Vidya Pitha), or at War-

V

dha. He was not keeping in good health and he was not quite at ease. For some time he worked for a Buddhist Vihar at Parel in Bombay. He also wrote a book in Marathi on A-himsa which created quite a stir in the orthodox circle of the Hindu society.

For the last few months he was confined to bed, getting weaker and weaker. All over his body he had an itching sensation and he could not sleep. He thought that his life under such circumstances was of no use to society or himself. He was however, later persuaded by some of his friends to give up abstaining from food to which he had taken recourse. He gradually recovered and when he was brought to Bombay, the writer of this paper could see him in February, 1947 staying with his eldest daughter. The disciple never suspected that this was to be the last darshana of his guru.

Prof. Kosambi was anxious to see Mahatma Gandhi before his death and so he went to Wardha. But Gandhiji had already left that place on his peace-mission in East Bengal and for momentous talks about the Constitutional changes in the political set-up of India. Thus while his last wish remained unfulfilled he passed away quietly in the midst of admiring friends in the Ashram at Wardha on 4th June, 1947.

Not having gone through any regular training in any English school or University College, though he had acquired quite a good working knowledge of English mainly through his own efforts, he prefered to write his books in Pali or his own mother tongue Marathi. His literary and scholarly works well-known to scholars of Pali and Marathi are :

Works in Pali:

Pali Reader, including Asoka's Inscriptions.

Visuddhimagga: A work in the Harvard Oriental Series, ready in print since 1928 but not yet published by the organisers of the Harvard Oriental Series.

Visuddhimagga: Devanagari Edition, published in the Bharatiya Vidyabhavan Series, Vol. I. Visuddhimagga-Tippani: A commentary in Pali on Visuddhimagga.

Abhidhammattha-Sangaha: With Pali commentary on the same. Devanagari Edition. This text was already printed in the Guzrat Vidyapith Series.

Nidanakatha.

Samantapasadika, Bahira-nidana vannana. Works in Marathi :

Buddha Dharma ani Sangha: His three lectures delivered in Baroda. A standard elementary book on early Buddhism.

Buddha Lila Sara-Sangraha: An account of the life of the Buddha with the account of some of the past lives narrated in the Jatakas.

Selected Jatakas for Children.

Translation of Suttanipata: Published in Vivida Jnana Vistara.

Selections from Khuddaka-patha: With Marathi translation for constant reading (nityapatha).

Samadhi-marga.

Bauddha-Sangha-Parichaya.

Ahimsa-Marga (?)

Nivedana: Autobiography up to his return from the first visit to U.S.A.

His autobiography containing an account of the later part of his life was also published by him in a Marathi journal. Besides these, he wrote many articles in leading literary journals. Some of these writings are also translated into Gujarati.

His profound study of the Pali Tripitaka enabled him to trace several of the numerous quotations occuring in the Visuddhimagga, the encyclopaedic work of Buddhaghosa. His wonderful memory amazed Prof. Lanman, who began later to appreciate fully the services of Prof. Kosambi who was trained up in the traditional methods of Paninian grammar. His grasp of the philosophical Abhidharms Texts and the facile pen which gave a lucid exposition in Pali is fully illustrated by his edition of the Abhidhammattha-Sangaha and his own comentary Navanita Tika on the same. His Tippani on the Visuddhimagga also is found to be highly useful by Pali students.

All readers of Marathi will ever remain grateful to him for his great services in the cause of Buddhism. . He has left behind him a group of disciples who are now carrying on the work of teaching Pali in different centres of the University of Bombay-in Poona, Rombay and Baroda.

In his social life, he was always considered to he a man of progressive views and liberal in outlook. He was always kind and genial, and in meetings and conversations he often charmed his audience by telling stories which sparkled with wit and humour. He leaves behind him his widow, one son Prof. Damodar Kosambi, and three daughters who are all well-educated. His two daughters and son had the benefit of their education in U.S.A.

His life is thus a source of great inspiration to many a young man. It is a splendid example of what a young man with no more education than what could be secured in a village school and with no material resources at all to help him, can achieve, provided he has a dogged perseverance to pursue his ideal, in spite of all obstacles that may come in his way. Prof. Kosambi's passionate zeal for the knowledge of the real teaching of the Buddha alone sustained him through all the difficulties he had to face in his period of preparation. May his life kindle a kindred light in diffident hearts!



N. C. KELKAR

BY A. D. KULKARNI, B.A.

THE intelligence of the death of Mr. N. C. Kelkar was received with great sorrow by India in general and Maharastra in particular. It is undoubtedly a great loss to Maharastra, for there are now many perplexing questions and difficult problems facing the country but there is not more that great son of India to solve them. The loss cannot be compensated in a short period. Every Maharastrian feels as if a dear friend, an affectionate elder has left him.

There are so many bright aspects in the life of Kelkar. His unparalleled wisdom and matchless ability have left a permanent stamp in various departments of life. This thing is not very well known outside his own province, for his energies were concentrated mainly upon the working of a great many organisations in Maharastra. He was the President of more than sixty institutions in Poona. All sorts of people were thankful to him for his prudent and self-less advice. In India he is acknowledged as a politician and an ardent disciple of Lokmanya Tilak. But this is a very poor appreciation of his work and therefore 1 intend to deal with some other aspects of his life.

He was born on 24th August, 1872. He had a fairly good educational career and he graduated in Law in 1894. From his early age he was fond of composing poems, writing articles, and playing games. When he was in the Matriculation class he composed a beautiful Sanskrit poem and his teacher who was a learned Shastri was amazed at the boy's brilliance.

Lokmanya Tilak happened to meet him at Satara. Kelkar was practising there as a pleader, he was really gratified to find that he could work with and under Lokmanya, and as desired by him he joined the Kesari and Maratha. Kesari was the voice of all Maharastra. This great paper with its great editor Lokmanya was the cause of 'Indian unrest' in the opinion of the Government. Kesari has retained almost the same eminent position through the passage, of time. And here begins the real work of Mr. Kelkar. He was directly connected with Kesari for about 40 years. He was fortunate enough to work for 24 years under Lokmanya. He was the secretary of the Home Rule League. He attended the Round Table Conference. He was a member of the All-India Congress Working Committee. He was President of the Hindu Mahasabha. These are some of the incidents of his political career. But this political career though great is mot as wonderful as his literary career.

He was not an editor without the artistic genius of a literary man. Most of his writings were contributed to journals and newspapers, but this does not mean that

they lack literary sense. On the other hand every Marathi reader knows that though they were journalistic contributions they always surpassed the writing of other writers. Therein lies the greatness of Kelkar.

He tried his hands at various forms of literature and adorned them most artistically. The present generation of Marathi writers bears a great reverence for Mr. Kelkar's literary genius. He composed poems both in Sanskrit and Marathi. His dramas are translated into Sanskrit. He wrote ossays, short storics, lives of great personalities, historical books, humourous skits and many other things. Kelkar's complete work consists of 16000 pages. Every line that he has written is redolent of literary flavour.

There is one thing worth noting. Poets, novelists and dramatists do not generally possess analytic genius, very rarely they can analyze scientifically the various forms of literature, but Kelkar is an exception to this. He has written dramas and has described their internal structure. He has composed humourous skits and has written a learned volume on humour. His writings are not unequal. They are full of fine sentiments, wit and wisdom. Dr. Javakar says that there is not a single line from the pen of Kelkar which is devoid of good taste. He is a king among litterateurs. His presidential address at the Marathi Literary Conference is one of the finest pieces of literary composition.

Bacon said, "All knowledge is my province." So it is with Mr. Kelkar. To read Kelkar is to forget the world and to wander in the wonder-lands of imagination and knowledge. His style has both simplicity and dignity. His writing is learned without being dull, it has humour but no malice. And because he was such a writer that Kelkar was able to keep the reputation of Kesari intact in the hard days during the forced absence of Lokmanya Tilak on account of his six years' incarceration in British jails. Lokmanya paid a glowing tribute to his ablity and to his wise and capable management after his release.

Literature reveals the life of the writer. You cannot differentiate between Mr. Kelkar as a man and as a writer. To appreciate the work means to appreciate the personality. He was a very simple and generous man. He was always prepared to help others with a smiling face. He was not uncompromising and was doing constructive work. This grand old man, a thorough gentleman, a learned critic, a great writer, a self-less worker is no more. Mr. Kelkar was the greatest personality in Maharastra after Lokmanya Tilak. There might have been many who differed with him in his views but they also loved him and honoured him for his greatness.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE TRIAL OF MAHARAJA NANDAKUMAR FOR FORGERY

By Dr. N. K. SINHA, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University

THE trial and execution of Maharaja Nandakumar is an event so well-known and the details have been so thoroughly discussed by Beveridge and Stephen that further investigation appears to be unnecessary. But in the Mayor's Court and Supreme Court records I have found some papers yet unpublished that may be regarded as valuable indirect evidence.

Howell reproduces the version of the trial that was published by the authority of the Supreme Court in 1776. I am justified in saying on the basis of this authorised version of the trial that Nandakumar was condemned by the jury and the judges because they believed the evidence of Mohan Prasad and Kamaluddin. They either did not understand or would not understand the accounts (exhibit M) and the Kararnama (exhibit R). In his charge to the jury Impey again and again referred to the credibility of the prosecutor, Mohan Prasad and his chief witness Kamaluddin. These are his words:

"Much depends on the evidence of Mohan Prasad. Most of you know him. You must determine how far he deserves credit and how probable it is that he would accuse an innocent man of a capital crime.

"Attempts were made to impeach Mohan Prasad by particular facts of attempts to suborn and by general character. You must judge how far they have succeeded. They totally failed in the same attempts as to Karnaluddin.

same attempts as to Kamaluddin.

"The character of Kamaluddin was enquired into from Coja Petruse and you have heard the answer. Petruse had said in reply to a cross examination, 'ten people speak well of him to four who speak ill of him'."

Beveridge is justified in saying that Impey called upon the jury to convict Nandakumar in order to save the character of Mohan Prasad. He even advised the jurors to rely on their private knowledge of Mohan Prasad. They were asked to depend on Kamaluddin because "Coja Petruse, whom you all know" testified that he was reliable.

As I read the High Court records I was on the look out for papers unconnected with the Nandakumar case which refer to Mohan Prasad and Kamaluddin in order 20 get an idea of their 'general character.' I thought that this would be a more secure evidence on which the historian could depend than the gossip of Calcutta in 1775 on which the jurors were practically asked to rely. Mohan Prasad died in 1777. I have read all the papers of the Mayor's Court and its successor the Supreme Court from 1758 when Mohan Prasad's name first occurs in judicial records. I have seen 14 case records of the Mayor's

unconnected with the Nandakumar case in which fichan Prasad was either a plaintiff or a defendant. There also as many cases whose records could not be found, would thus summarise the evidence I have collected his 'general character.'

Mohan Prasad was a Calcutta broker who acted as the agent of Hazari Mal, executor of the will of Amirchand. Diachand, nephew of Amirchand, Bolaqi Das, banker of Mir Qasim and Gangavishnu, executor of the will of Bolaqi Das. He used also to lend money to the servants of the East India Company for their private trade. Almost all the fourteen cases referred to, concerned his money-lending transactions with Englishmen. This was his principal business. In 1758, shortly after the death of Amirchand, Williamson who was then sub-secretary of the Council, was approached by Hazari Mal for appointment as his banyan. Williamson later deposed in connection with another case:

"Hazari Mal came to me in 1758 hearing I was about to dismiss my banyan and desired I should employ him . . . he told me that he would be the person to transact my business but the ostensible persons would be Diachand and Mohan Prasad was a merchant here. I cannot say whether he was employed in the service of Hazari Mal except from his coming to my house daily on his behalf."

We have also the evidence of one Ratanchand to the effect that in 1768 Mohan Prasad was a prisoner in the Cutchery, which decided disputes between Indians and was out of cash and not then in a position to lend money to Englishmen for their private trade. In 1770, in the case of George Sparks against the executors of Bolaqi Das, evidence was given to the effect that a debt that Meer Ashraf owed to Bolaqi Das was sold by the latter to William Bolts who asked the deed to be drawn up in the name of George Sparks. Mohan Prasad was the go-, between. Mohan Prasad, according to the Banyan of Bolts, asked the latter to get him one quarter share of the nurchase. A gomostah of Bolaqi Das said in his evidence that Mohan Prasad paid 5.000 rupees for his one-fourth share of the purchase. Impey remarked in another connection about this buying of debts, "The most Jewish, the most rapacious practice, this champarty-buying of debts".

Mohan Prasad was thus in the limelight in Calcutta as a litigant in the Mayor's Court as also in the Court Cutchery. He was at least in one case a Banyan's benamidar. His most thriving business was champarty and he shared in the profits of the private trade of the servants of the East India Company. Nandakumar, in one of his letters to the supreme councillors, described Mohan Prasad as a man whose villainy and intrigues were well-known. His heing admitted by the Governor-General to private conference in the town and his gardens must be due to 'his enmity and malevolence to me.' This letter was written in March, 1775 and in May Mohan Prasad stood forth as his accuser in the Supreme Court.

Kamaluddin was described by Clavering as an infamous creature. His name is to be found only in the

Supreme Court records of 1775 and 1776 and in the exhibits of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue of 1772, 1774 and 1775. In one of his petitions to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue in September, 1775 Kamaluddin describes himself as 'a man of no substance.' In 1772 the Calcutta Committee of Revenue brought about a new arrangement of the salt districts and Kamaluddin was accepted as the salt farmer of Hijli. He was to pay 75,000 in land-revenue and he had to furnish a certain quantity of salt at a fixed price and any surplus salt which he might make at an advance of Rs. 25 on the contract price. He was to sell salt only to the Company. He got an advance of three-fourths of the value of the salt. It was not to be expected that Kamaluddin, who was worth very little, would be given this contract unless he had some very influential persons interested in the transaction. His Kutkinadar or under-farmer was Dewan Basant Rai of Hughli. In the course of a cross-examination before the Committee, Kamal referred to Kanta Babu's son as a counter-security of Dewan Basant Rai. Kanta Babu was the well-known Banyan of Hastings. In September, 1775 the Dewan was asked by the President of the Committee of Revenue about the nature of the Tuncaw (tankhwa) in favour of Barwell, who was a member of the Council and a constant supporter of Hastings. Basant Rai sub-farmed in part to Kandarpa Das, whose security was Mohan Babu, an inhabitant of Calcutta, possibly Mohan Prasad. Justice Hyde in his notes wrote in 1776:

"The deficiency of salt delivered by Kamal was due, it was alleged, to his selling the salt to Mr. Barwell it is not impossible."

In one of his petitions Kamal also said that his Thika salt farms were underfarmed by Ramprasad Mukerjee on account of Lokenath Nandi, son of Kanta Babu. Kamal, a poor creature, who had to pay a very considerable amount of the money advanced to him as "Durbar charges" was in this business an instrument of Barwell, Kanta Babu and Mohan Prasad. 'Basant Rai, his principal underfarmer, complained against him in January, 1775 that Kamaluddin changed the standard maund for weighing salt which subjected him to a loss of 32 per cent. But with so many big men interested in his income from the salt farm he found it very difficult to fulfil his obligations to the Committee of Revenue. He became distracted and approached Maharaja Nandakumar whom he knew and who had known his father and grandfather and who had given him protection more than once. He hoped that Maharaja Nandakumar would use his influence with the Francis party to get him back the 'Durbar charges' he had paid. But 'Barwell's Munshi Sadruddin, who was Kamal's friend, must have intervened and advised him to see Hastings. Through the good offices of Sadruddin the 'Durhar charges' paid to Dewan Ganga Gobind Singh were returned to Kamal.

After this we find Kamal giving evidence in the forgery trial that he was Muhammad Kamal in 1765 and that his seal was forged on the bond. Impey asked the Jury to believe him because he was cartified as a good

man by Coja Petruse between whom and the Maharaja according to Farrer, who defended Nandakumar, there was 'a declared enmity.' The party of Francis regarded Kamal as the man whose help enabled Hastings to get Nandakumar convicted. It was Forhaps at their instance that the Committee of Revenue threw Kamal into confinement for non-fulfilment of the terms of the contract. The Supreme Court released him by a writ of habeas corpus. The Committee again ordered him into prison and he was again released by the Supreme Court by a second writ of habeas corpus. His son was shortly afterwards drowned in the Hughli and he himself was heard of no more. This wretched creature described by James Fowke as the scum of the earth, who had helped Barwell to defraud the East India Company, became the instrument of Hastings in his parrying thrust in political fencing.

Warren Hastings has been generally regarded as the concealed prosecutor of Nandakumar. The system of Benami was so widely prevalent in India in those days that Hastings used it in the law-court with Mohan Prasad as his Benamidar. The foreman of the Grand Jury committing Nandakumar for trial was Stewart, acting secretary of the council. The foreman of the petty jury was Robinson, a private friend of Hastings. Elliot, the interpreter before the Grand Jury and the Petty Jury, was the Private Secretary of Hastings. Farrer objected to his interpretation as he was intimately connected with persons whom the prisoner regarded as his enemies. The connection of Hastings with Mohan Prasad and Kamaluddin has already been explained. Sadruddin, another prosecution witness, was Barwell's Munshi. Raja Nabakrishna, who seemed to give evidence against Nandakumar with seeming reluctance that appeared to have impressed the Chief Justice, was connected with Hastings since 1750, when Hastings first came to India, and owed much of his later prosperity to him. Coja Petruse was an old ally and an old creditor of Hastings. The most important witnesses, summoned to give rebutting evidence, were also intimately connected with Hastings. In his conspiracy case against Fowke, Nandakumar and Radhacharan, Hastings was asked later whether he had directly or indirectly countenanced the prosecution against Nandakumar. He replied, "I never did; I have been on my guard. I have carefully avoided every circumstance which might appear to be an interference in that presecution." Hastings must be given full credit for this circumspection. Mohan Prasad was sued for the cook's bill for the dinner and other entertainments provided for the counsel, attorneys and those who were invited during the trial (Legallis vs. Mohan Prasad, 1776). Gangavishnu's will filed on the 23rd January, 1776 directed Mohan Prasad to deduct the expense incurred for the trial from the money of Maharaja Nandakumar, when received. The effects of the Maharaja were never forfeited and neither Gangavishne, nor Mohan Prasad nor their heirs and successors could get anything from the estate of this man who was convicted of capital felony. (In the goods of Maharaja Nandakumar deceased; caveat of Raja Gurudas, 15th November, 1781) Gangavishnu and Mohan Prasad had only to face the prospect of eternal damnation for having helped a sahib to kill a Brahmin.

Collusion between Hastings and Impey has been sought to be proved. There were reasons for suspicion. An indecorous haste marked all the proceedings. Hastings and Varisitart bound themselves over to prosecute Fowke, Nandakumar and Radhacharan for conspiracy on the 24th April. Mohan Prasad was bound over to prosecute Nandakumar on the 7th May, a Sunday. The conspiracy case was tried later after Nandakumar's trial and conviction for forgery. Farrer, in his evidence before the House of Commons, said:

"On the instance of Mr. Fowke I moved that the trial for the conspiracy might be brought on supposing the bills to be found before the trial for the forgery. The motion was rejected . . . The court made no order but that the prosecutors must bring on the trial as should best suit their own convenience."

The evidence of Gangavishnu was very important. He had paid the money and remained silent for a long period and was then hurried on against his will by Mohan Prasad. He was not dying, though he was very ill. The Court had only to go to the ground floor to take his evidence for there was a proposal of hoisting him to the Court room over the ropes. This was sufficient to scare an invalid.

The protest of Justice Chambers at the beginning of the trial that the indictment was not well laid for capital felony on the 2nd George II was brushed aside by the Chief Justice and he was over-ruled. Nandakumar was convicted on the 16th June. On the 22ud a motion in arrest of judgment was moved that failed. Chambers is reported by Farrer to have remarked, "As to the general verdict, had his doubts; but thinks it may be good. That was he alone to pass sentence, doubts would still remain as to the indictment's (?) capital." Though the language and department of LeMaistre were certainly more violent, it was the Chief Justice who really mattered in the trial and there were reasons to think that he was prejudiced by his friendship for Hastings. Impey was impatient and he was perhaps unable to understand accounts. Mohan Prasad admitted that there were debits and credits between Nandakumar and Bolaqi Das to a great amount. The Nagri books were brought but no attempt was made to examine them.

In those days the judges at the end of the session signed the calendar which gave directions to the sheriff. I have not found the calendar of the first session of 1775 in the High Court but I have seen the calendar of the second session signed by the judges in December 1775 with a very significant entry—person confined—Rams prasad Shaw; for what offence—forgery; sentence—Let him be detained. There is also in the records of the High Court a paper signed by the clerk of the crown which is dated 4th March, 1775 in which the judges respited the execution of Michael Tommy for the murder of Rebecca until the 27th day of October, 1776. They were not in

a hurry about any other case except that of Nandakumar and in spite of the fact that one of the judges did not think that he could be accused of capital felony they would not give him leave to appeal.

Why was the Court so prejudiced against Nandakumar? He had accused the Governor-General of having taken bribes and others were following his example. The British inhabitants in Calcutta were incensed and alarmed. These practices were not held in disrepute in Bengal among Englishmen in those days. As Sir Gilbert Elliot said on the occasion of the impeachment of Impey these accusations "did violence to the notions of fidelity and principles of good faith which prevailed." The corruptions and abuses of their English masters were the means that enabled their banians and underlings to thrive. Violent animosity against Nandakumar prevailed in the whole settlement during these months, March to June, 1775. The Jurors as also some of the judges could not be expected to be very much above this prejudice of the average Englishman in Bengal against Nandakumar. Impey, Hyde and LeMaistre, as later events proved, were never conspicuous for moderation or reasonableness. they were obsessed by an eager desire to exhibit the majesty of English law as administered by them.

Was the jewels bond forged? Bolagi Das, according to Nandakumar, gave a conditional bond to him on August 20, 1765. In 1758 Nandakumar had given him some jewels to be sold. He should have certainly sold them by 1763 but he said that he had lost them during disturbances in Murshidabad consequent upon the defeat of Mir Qasim. As he was the banker of Mir Qasim he had to move with him from place to place and did not retiffn to Calcutta until 1765. He was then trying to get back a sum of 2 lakhs 33 thousand rupees which the Company had taken from his Dacca office in 1763. He promised to pay the Maharaja for the lost jewels the sum of Rs. 48021 principal and a premium 4 as upon every rupee when his Dacca accounts would be cleared by the East India Company. The provision of a premium was customary in those days if there was no possibility of an early payment. This bond was witnessed by Silabat, Mahatab and Md. Kamal. Silahat died in 1767, Muhammad Kamal in 1770 and Mahtab in 1773. Bolaqi himself died in June, 1769. By the will of Bolaqi his nephews Gangavishnu and Hingulal were his executors with Padma Mohan Das in charge of his books and papers, debts and dues. There was a general power of attorney to Padma Mohan and Mohan Prasad drawn up in January, 1769 with a list of debts and accounts from his Calcutta account books. It did not specify the amount that the Company owed to him, contained an entry of Rs. 10,000 only in favour of Nandakumar and asked his attorney to pay whatever Durbar expenses might be incurred and "whatever remains after the payment of the Durbar expenses to be paid to whom it may be due."

About six months after Bolaqi's death, Gangavishnu, the surviving executor and Padma Mohan succeeded in getting from Verelst, the Governor, Company's bonds, in

payment of the Company's debt through the good offices of the Maharaja. The widow of Bolaqi, grateful to the Maharaja for securing this payment first settled with him. The Maharaja took bonds valued at 66,320 on account of principal, premium and batta on the jewels bond, (in the statement of transactions of Bolaqi Das's estate submitted to the Mayor's Court the sum entered is 69,630. The difference in accounting was due to the different mode of calculating the exchange of Arcot and Sonnat rupees), 60.000 on account of Durbar expenses, 11,362 on account of a mortagaged house (10,000 and interest) and some other small items, making a total of 1,43,435 (tomassuk bonds). In exhibit M signed by the attorneys Mohan Prasad and Padma Mohan the bonds given are mentioned and the description given agrees with the description of bonds in the Company's accounts. Gangavishnu signed the endorsements. The Maharaja having torn the top of the jewels bond handed it over to Gangavishnu, who asked him to hand it over to Padma Mohan. The whole affair was conducted, as Beveridge points out, with the greatest openness and the executor made no complaint till 21/2 years afterwards. Padma Mohan Das, who according to evidence, was best acquainted with the business of Bolaqi Das died in December, 1771. Bolaqi thus referred to Padma Mohan in his will:

"I had made a power of attorney before this in the name of brother Padma Mohan and Mohan Prasad which I leave to the pleasure of brother Padma Mohan."

Mohan Prasad became now dominant in the affairs of the executor of Bolaqi's will. About the middle of 1772 a civil suit was instituted against Nandakumar in the Court of Cutchery for Rs. 1,29,630 (Jewels bond 69,630 and Durbar expenses 60,000). An amended bill of complaint was filed in February 1774. By that time all who had witnessed the bond were dead. Kamaluddin was never cited as a witness in the civil suit. The civil suit was referred to arbitration. It was never decided.

Evidence could not be given in the forgery case on many essential points because the transaction was stale and the witnesses were dead. There is, however, some indirect evidence which could not be produced at the trial, but which proves that the bond was genuine. The will of Bolagi Das contains the following clear provision:

"After the Company's money is received out of the said money 10 per cent to be paid to brother Padma Mohan . . . and after my debts are paid off the remainder and residue to be distributed."

It is very likely that the significant statement about debts in connection with the Company's dues refers to the jewels bond. According to Impey, Padma Mohan Das must have been privy to the fraud. But he would have in any case got 10 per cent and by committing this fraud with the risk involved, he could not have got more than 25 or 30 per cent. After satisfying other consuirators like the writer of the bond and witnesses, the Maharuja could not have got as his share of the jewels bond more than thirty-five to forty thousand rupees. To give an air of

impartiality Impey said only casually that there was great improbability that a man of Nandaknmer's rank and fortune should be guilty of so mean an offence for so small a sum of money. In 1797 on the death of Nandakumar's son Raja Gurudas, his nephew succeeded to a property valued at 25 lakhs (Ghulam Sufdar vs. Raja Mahanand-Sadar Dowani Adalat). Nandakumar was perhaps worth much more in January 1770 when according to the prosecutors he published the forged document. Moreover, nothing could have prevented his saying that he paid 1 lakh 43 thousand rupecs as 'Durbar charges.' No body conversant with business transactions in those days would believe that anything could be done without 'Durbar charges'; Verelst and his banyan Gokul Ghosal were not the men to let money go out of their hands without levying their toll on it in spite of the Directors' sanction,

It was Padma Mohan's death and the death of all the witnesses that emboldened Mohan Prasad to sue in the civil court. Evidence was conclusive that the papers of Padma Mohan and Bolagi Das were tampered with. Among the exhibits submitted by the defence there was a copy of the Kararnama (exhibit R) the original of which was missing. It reads as a genuine document but it was rejected by Impey. This agreement between Bolaqi and Nandakumar was dated 20th May, 1769, It was to the following effect: If the whole sum due on the Dacca account was paid principal and interest half would be given to the Governor and Mr. Pearson and Nandakumar would get only the principal of the jewels bonds and one-fourth of the interest. If only the principal was paid the Governor and Mr. Pearson would get a lakh and the Maharaja would get only the principal of the jewels bond. In view of the Governor's oath against the receiving of presents he should be assured that the utmost secreey would be observed. Justice T. Ameer Ali in a recent paper proves the genuineness of exhibit M. (Progs. of the Indian Hist. Records Com. 1943). The two together prove that the conviction was a 'legal murder.'

Bolaqi's first petition for the money was submitted in Murch, 1764, his second in August, 1765 and between March and August he offered George Gray a present of a lakh of rupees if he would get him the Company's dues. The jewels bond was executed about this time. Gray failed to secure justice to Bolaqi, who had to send an attorney to move the Court of Directors. When Verelst became the Governor, Bolaqi also approached Nandakumar at this end. The new Governor was known to be a great friend of Nandakumar. According to a letter of Raja Nabakrishna dated 18th November, 1777, the Maharaja had been reinstated by Verelst as the Zamindar of Pargana Radoor from which he had been dispossessed by Clive. In a letter written by Bolaqi, dated 6th June, 1769 exhibit L. Nandakumar was approached by the banker to take up his cause, "The Governor arriving as business will be quickly done you will do it . . . yous are the master . . . who except yourself will do it." The Kararnama of 20th May and this letter of 6th June were apparently related. It was pointed out by Impey that evidence was not given on the loss of jewels. But ricting in

Murshidabad in 1763 was a fact and Bolaqi as Mir Qasim's banker suffered not only at Dacca but also at a very remote place like Rangpur. In a petition of Bolaqi to the Mayor's Court he refers to his loss in 1763 in Rangpur where James Moore, an agent of Henry Vansittart, took by force from his gomasta Arcot rupees 112,874. It was very likely that the jewels deposited in 1758 were sold before the disturbance and Bolaqi Das only took advantage of the disturbance to make the bond conditional

and secure Nandakumar's influential support for inducing men in power in Calcutta to listen to his complaint.

The "unfortunate victim", as Farrer, described Nandakumar in the petition for respite was justified in speaking thus to Clavering with reference to Hastings' plotting with Mohan Prasad, "A number of people saying the same thing though it may not be true, is at least believed to be true. so many people said that the kid was a dog that it was at last taken for a dog."

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ABOUT WAR POETS AND THEIR POETRY

By Prof. WILLIAM EDWARD HOOKENS, M.A.

Whether the war poets differ from the peace poets I am not here to discuss. All that I intend doing is to record—as best as I can—the experiences of war poets as seen through their poetry. The material that I am drawing upon is the material that two books are furnishing me with. I mean Anthology of War Poets edited by Julian Symons in the Pelican book and another entitled Poets Since 1939 by Stephen Spender. For my conclusions, however, I am responsible.

We hear a good deal of war poets, war artists, and I wonder if poets and artists can be segregated into two classes as has been done. I feel revolted when people call Hardy a war poet because he is anything but a war. poet. It is true that he has written a Dynasts but that is because it portrays the Napoleonic war and not the war that he saw with his own eyes. Imagination does make him see good in things evil and distant but at close quarters they are inclined to be foul, as Hardy found to his cost. Take any of Hardy's poems written during war and see whether he has a good word for war or the warmongers. Another man who is usually dragged in among the war poets is T. S. Eliot. It has become a custom with writers of modern poetry to drag in Eliot in season and out of it on the plea that Eliot is the man in today's poetry. That may be, but has Eliot the popularity that Tennyson had among the people? Excepting a small clique of poetasters and scholars in English none knows who Eliot is. I do not intend to be disrespectful, considering as I do the invaluable services of Eliet as critic and poet of no mean order. But Eliot is far from being a poet as I would understand the word nor can I rattle of lines from his poems as I can do of other poets, even of minor ones like Gray and Dr. Johnson, of the procaic eighteenth century. But I will take the cue from writers who have written on war poets or war poetry and dub those as war poets who have said something on some of the various phases of war, including the khaki and the W.A.C.(I). •

During the last war (1914-18) poets sang of war as ley liked, some jovially, some dismally. All, including ting, thought it was the last war that was fought to wars and predicted a happy era after the war. But

human nature continued to be human nature and men fought for money and lands and for women on a greater scale than they had ever done before; and people grew hardened pessimists, looking to God---if there were one--for safety in the shape of early release from life. What the poets and artists thought and wrote can very well be imagined.

Of all literary figures the one that stands prominent is Bernard Shaw because he was the only one to keep his mouth open when everyone had shut his. And the result was that Shaw was told to keep his mouth shut and live as a free man or to talk his head off and be confined for life-long imprisonment. Shaw preferred the latter and made up for his silence in this war when he sent as many articles as he could on the meanness of the Allies and the unhappy state of Slave India. Hence when Britain was an open enemy of India's freedom the man whom India loved as her C. F. Andrews or her Annie Besant was old man Shaw. But Shaw does not write poetry and he is brought in to show the reaction of literary men during the last war, and to some extent, during this war.

In the last war the need for men was not so insistent but in this war it was a pressing one, and therefore all and sundry joined the war. They had to join it because their dear country was going to rack and ruin and they had to save it from the vandalism of the Hitlerites. And so philosophers and scientists, poets and novelists and artists went to the front to fight the enemy of the True, the Good and the Beautiful.

And what gets me thinking is that even during the war the people had the time to paint and draw and to write; and the number of painters and artists and poets during this war is legion. One has only to get collecting their materials to see what they have contributed in the shape of imaginative things. In fact, some of the finest writings and paintings and art are those of war duration; and one wonders how they could devote themselves to escapist things in a war of bombs and tear gas and secret weapons. Human nature has its cure and remedies and God's ways are too infinite for diagnosis. All that one can say is that ideals kept them alive—more so the ideals of the war art academies and museums that inspirited the people to fight with a zeal that was nothing short of

religious. It was not uncommon during the war for people to spend fabulous amounts on art pictures. Newton's booklet Art for Everybody shows the tremendous amount of interest that people took in poetry and novels and art. For once, at least the war-stricken people saw in art their only succour as did Matthew Arnold and his disciple I. A. Richards.

Come to think of it, one wonders if we have any poets at all, crowded as we are with legions of non-poets. I remember reading some of the finest books on modern poetry including the handy and cheap one by C. D. Lewis, entitled *Poetry for You*, and I wonder if he was just being a salesman because the poetry of today is anything but poetry for the ordinary man. What has honestly gone wrong with the poets of today that they cannot think of the dancing daffodils or the rainbow in the sky or the singing nightingales or the soaring skylark! But let that go. And let's come to our modern poets.

Most of our modern poets are young or pretend to be young by ever talking of things that youngsters like. Judged by the photographs of American and English and Dominion poets that I have before me, I would not call the oldest of them a day over fifty years. Of course, I am not thinking of really old poets like Eliot or Lehmann or Walley or Graves or Reed, for the obvious reason that I feel that they are too old to say anything imaginatively strong or invigorating, though Eliot makes strong attempts to be virile and goes on in his "Bang, Bang, Bang" strain, while Lehmann and company, I feel, would make good editors but poor poets; and the reason is that they feel so differently about poetry from what the people are accustomed to.

As I have said, most of our poets are young and some look so terribly young that one feels that they have been dropped out of the cradle because there was no room for them. Dylan Thomas does look a haby and his face is almost babyish. I would not be supprised if one day the advertisers got him for Glaxo feeding! He looks a Milton-Shelfey blend, minus the fire of one and the imaginative flight of the other. But he is modern and does have a following as strong, if not stronger than C. D. Lewis's. Cecil Lewis looks anything but an old man and the looks in his eyes (though not exactly poetic) are far from being prosaic (or materialistic); Louis Macniece looks as though he were making determined efforts to look young (if not sweet) and has not quite succeeded; Vernon Watkins is a frank young fellow and looks it with his mouth slightly open showing two big white teeth; Auden looks a real soldier with a poetic scowl as an additional accourrement; Spender pretends to be marvellously romantic, with his hair tossed about and a smile hovering on his exciting lips. So much for the poets. Let's come to what some of the war poets say.

Thomas Hardy—"the prince of war poets"—sees the muddle that the statesmen and the politicians and the capitalistic class have created and he continues to sing because to stop singing would mean to drive him mad with the report of the guns and the roar of the cannons shatter-

ing his nerves. For days at a stretch he keeps awake, thinking of the ruins of families and houses and culture and wonders whether the Last Day has come for him! How could Man be so cruel, so lustful, so barbarous! Will not anything stop him from this systematic evil? With No Christ but Satan—what will the world come to!

Edward Thomas sees the sun shining brightly but he can no longer walk as he ence did or laugh together with the girl he loved, because something more detestable than disease has begun to upset him, madden him. Rumours of the war awaken untold fears and the cry of the sentry and the debris around remind him of Hades let loose on earth. For him there are now no moonlight walks, no week-end pleasures to look forward to, but barren fields all around and fallen apples to remind him that there is a war. He buoys himself up because he has to live and has to save dear English culture. He has to keep the war going!

None knows during war where men sleep or die. Sympathy is dried. War makes man practical and fit to die. And in Rupert Brooke—the Philip Sydney of the last war—we see the lover-poet turn metaphysical and make a dead soldier on a foreign field a dear thing to England because there in that mound lies the elements of the Englishman elementalised with the Universal consciousness. War poets do turn religious under the strain of war, instead of being Johnny Keats clinging to Fanny Brawne or Byron searching happiness in other people's wives.

W. B. Yeats—the man who showed Tagore as the Universal Poet—thinks it better to keep his mouth shut because he would be saying some very unpleasant truths—as Gandhi has been saying, and as Socrates did to his cost. But as the war has begun Yeats feels it his duty to put his hand to the waggon and he does, massively. By law his country is an enemy to the belligerent nation and he must fight the enemy or what happens to his dear country?

With all war poets the inevitable faces them and they make compromises. Life would be an utter failure if they did not make compromises. Life is too dreadful to be lived—and they cling to some prop, so cling to it that they live and come out of the ordeal braver and happier men. They wonder—as most did during this war—whether war is a purge to the growing evils. Others, like Pilate see in war the monster of Fate let loose before whom all have to succumb, and die without raising a voice to man or heaven. How can they when they see all they love and cherish crumble before their very eyes?

The khaki unifom, grand in its own way, has its responsibilities and the war poets have not been slow to bring this out to the best of their abilities. The constant marching with heavy ammunition boots and a heavy load on the back and a gun or two on the shoulders does make some poets vocal, at times discouragingly, at times spiritedly. The reflection on the long, wearisome, untimed-by-music marches are not too bright when the poet thinks of the fine, comfortable civilian job and his home, family and the



An old bridge, Srinagar



Chenar Bagh Canal, Srinagar

radio. No women for days to see and to feel courage flowing in the nerves! What must the wives be thinking of the soldiers—"having a fine time with the country lassies"! It is a grave thing this war—it irritates the nerves, and women from nowhere have to suddenly make their appearances as nurses or W.A.C(I) and comfort them. Imagine what mad men the soldiers would be if they did not have women fighting side by side with them! The soldiers have their meal and talk over old times when someone reminds them of the dead pal, and they exclaim: "Poor chap, he loved a girl and he has probably given her the baby and his photo, but he is no more to see his hearth and home": The nerves get hardened and friends kill friends in cold blood because "there's no use living in this bloody world of war".

Siefried Sassoon can speak out his mind and say: Why have the memorial tablets and Roll Call of Honour, when Man deliberately kills another for no rhyme or reason. What corruption during war—bastards for children and future citizens, women raped and homes and churches desecrated!

Wilfred Owen sees the fate of the fallen lot—left alone to rot, trampled on or thrown in dust heap without a tear or cememony. No dead march . . . but mass burial with their clothes removed and their ammunition and honours snatched away.

H. B. Mallieu, W. H. Auden, and a host of war poets treat, the subjects of war in a way. Hence it is wrong, nay criminal to call poets "war poets" because they write on war. No same poet has ever bubbled on the good points of war. Only the so-called poets have done. And most of the poets who have written in wild frenzy over the good that comes of war are those poets who have been employed by the state to keep the morale of the people—to be the Voice of the Angels to suffering, disconsolate man. Some have fulfilled their tasks extremely well, while others have limped. Let it be said in favour of the modern poets--most of whom are anonymous and who have died in the battlefield-that they have been outspokenly frank and have brought to war-poetry not only a new technique but alway a brittleness of thought and expression that is the result of deep thinking along the Eliot-O'Neill wave of despair, wastelands and mournings. But they cannot be blamed. They are children of the age—the thermometers of the times—the offspring of Interrogation and Shavian cleverness!

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TWO HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS DURING THE LATER MUGHAL DAYS

By DEENABANDHU DAS

THE view that Hindu-Muslim conflict is an innovation of British rule in India is not altogether correct. Neither is the view that before the British came India had been torn asunder by a perpetual feud between Hindus and Musalmans. The fact is that conflict or rivalry between Islam and Hinduism has been one of the many factors that have determined the course of events in the India of the past. There have been times, indeed, when Hindu-Muslim ill-feeling has been long absent from the minds of the generality of the princes and the people. At such times alliances and rivalries have arisen entirely irrespective of the religion of the parties concerned. Akbar (1556-1605) was the initiator of one of such epochs of profound religiocommunal peace. Factors other than religion counted with him and determined the course of events. In 1564, the ninth year of his reign, Akbar abolished the jisya or poll-tax on non-Muhammadans in his Empire. He also effaced all religious distinctions in the distribution of State patronage, and so on. His two successors, Jahangir (1605-1627) and Sahajahan (1628-1658), particularly the former, continued the liberalism of their illustrious predecessor. The result was a profound religio-communal peace in the Mughal Empire till it was broken by Aurangzeb (1658-1707) who ascended the throne, through a bloody war of succossion, as the representative of the fanatical Muslim

section of the Empire. And he was not slow, after accession, to re-introduce the communal virus in his imperial administration. In 1679, 115 years after Akbar had abolished it, he re-introduced the jizya, the most potent instrument of religio-communal discrimination against the Hindus. The result was a fresh outbreak of religio-communal rivalry. A new époch begins, in which the determining factors of the course of events are altogether different from those of the previous epoch. The two incidents of Hindu-Muslim rioting I shall cite here belong to this epoch.

The first is dated, 1713, 34 years after the reintroduction of the jisya and 6 years after the death of Aurangzeb. But that time the Hindu powers—Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas—have begun to rise, and exercise a moderating influence on the imperial policy. Even during the reign of Aurangzeb some Maratha and Rajput chiefs are said to have been bold enough to prohibit Asan (the Muhammadan call to prayer) at the mosques, and the Muhammadan jisya-collectors were expelled from certain places after plucking their beards out. In 1713, Farrukhsiyyar, who had ascended the throne the same year, abolished the jisya for the first time since Aurangzeb's re-imposition in 1679.

This riot takes place at Ahmadabad in Gujarat some time after Subadar Daud Pani takes charge. A main reason of the outbreak of the riot, according to

Khafi Khan's description, is the discontent in the Muslim mind about Daud Pani's partiality towards the Hindus. The general appearance of the origin, development and end of the riot is so very much like the riots of our own day. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting verbatim the description of Khafi Khan who lived at that time and was an acute and enthusiastic chronioler of Mughal history.

THE FIRST RIOT, AHMADABAD, 1713

Khafi Khan's description of the incident is as allows:

"After Daud Pani became Subadar of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, in the second year of the reign, on the night when the holi of the Hindus is burnt, a certain Hindu, between whose house and the house of some Musulmans there was a courtyard common to both houses, prepared to burn the holi in front of his house; but the Musulmans prevented him. The Hindu went to Daud Khan, who frequently favoured the infidels, and argued that he had a right to do as he liked in his own house. After a good deal of talk and importunity, the right to burn the holi was allowed. Next day a Musulman, who dwelt opposite the house, desiring to give an entertainment in honour of the Prophet, brought a cow and slaughtered it there, on the ground that it was his own house. All the Himdus of the quarter assembled in a mob round the Musulmans, and the Musulmans, being unable to resist, went into their houses and hid themselves.

"The Hindus grew so bold and violent that they seized a lad of fourteen or fifteen years old, the son of a cow-butcher, and according to the statement of one of the citizens who fell within their hands, they dragged the boy off and slaughtered him. The report and sight of this outrage drew the Musulmans together from all quarters; the cry for a general disturbance was raised, and they were ready to do battle with the Hindus. A great concourse assembled, and among them several thousand Afghans, in the service of Daud Khan, eager to defend the honour of Islam, without caring to please their master. The Afghans of the suburbs and the inhabitants of the city assembled together in a great crowd, and went off with one accord to the house of the Kazi. The Kazi seeing the mob, hearing the disturbance, and thinking of the partiality of the Subadar, shut his door upon

"Report says that upon a hint of the Kasi as to the conduct and partiality of Daud Khan towards the Hindus, the Musulmans set fire to the acquaintance of Daud Khan. He got notice of their

dered.

door of the Kazi's house, and began to burn the shops in the chank and the houses of the Hindus. In the riot many shops were destroyed. They then went off with the intention of burning the house of Kapur Chand, a jeweller, and an active infidel, who took a leading part in this business, and was an

intention, and, with a number of matchlockmen whom he collected, he shut the gate of his ward of the town and showed fight. Numbers of Musulmans and Hindus were killed. The riot reached such a pitch that for three or four days all business and

work in Ahmadabad was suspended. A large number of the leaders on both sides resolved to appeal to the Emperor. Daud Khan placed his own seal on the petition of Kapur Chand, and the Kazi and and other officials having certified to the violence of the Musulmans, it was sent to Delhi. Shaikh 'Abdul Azis (and other Musulmans) went in person to Court."

THE SECOND REST, KASHMIR, ABOUT 1720

The second incident which occurred in Kashmir in about 1720, is more in the nature of a regular orthodox Muslim rebellion under a petty chief than an ordinary street riot. "Abdu-n Nabi Kashmiri has a long grudge against the Hindus. He is an ofthodox Muslim to the core, an extreme bigot. He wants Hindus to remain as perfect slaves and parishs. But the Mughal imperial policy is otherwise. Since the abolition of jieva by Farrukheiyyar, he himself had again re-imposed it in 1717, but his short-lived successor Rafi-uddarjat had again abolished it in 1719. In September of the same year, after Muhammad Shah had ascended the throne, he again levied jizya, but next year he himself abandoned it. All this shows the extreme instability of the imperial administration and policy at Delhi. Orthodox Muslim, unorthodox Muslim and Hindu influences alternately act upon the imperial policy and bring forth changes every now and then. After 1719, jisya was never again re-introduced. This shows that orthodox Muslim hold was waning at the imperial headquarters. 'Abdu-n Nabi Kashmiri, in his extreme desperation born of frustration, comes out openly with his gang of fanatics, overpowers the unorthodox Muslim Deputy Subadar of Kashmir, Mir Ahmad Khan, and for some time rules supreme at the city inflicting all sorts of losses and injuries and indignities upon the Hindus as well as upon the unorthodox Muslims and even killing them. The imperial re-inforcement soon arrives and brings the offenders to book, their leader being tactfully and cruelly mur-

Khafi Khan's description of the event runs as follows:*

"Mahbub Khan, otherwise called 'Abdu-n Nabi Kashmiri, had a long-standing quarrel against the Hindus in Kashmir. He had gathered round him many restless Muhammadans, with whom he went to the deputy of the Subadar and to the Kazi, and presenting certain legal opinions, he demanded that the Hindus should be interdicted from riding on horses, from wearing coats (jana), from putting on turbans and armour (chira o yarak), from going out for excursions in the fields and gardens, and from bathing on certain days. Upon this matter he was very virulent. The officials, in answer, said that they would act upon the rules laid down by the Emperor, and by the chief lawyers, in respect of the of Zimmis (protected sunbelievers) throughout the provinces of the Empire. Mahbub Khan was greatly offended, and, being supported by

[·] Elliet and Dowson, The History of India, as told by its own historians, (London 1867-77), Vol. 7, pp. 454-6.

^{*} ElMet and Dowson, The History of India, as told by its own historians, (London 1867-77), pp. 492-5.

a party of Musulmans, he annoyed and insulted Hindus wherever he met them. A Hindu could not pass through any market or street without being

subjected to indignity.

"One day Majlis Rai, a respected Hindu of Kashmir, went out with a party to ramble in the fields and gardens, and they feasted Brahmans. Mahbub Khan collected ten or twelve thousand Musulmans, came upon them unawares, and began to beat, bind and kill them. Majlis Rai cscaped, fled with some others to Ahmad Khan. Mahbub Khan, with all his followers went to the house of Majlis Rai and the Hindu quarter, and began to plunder and fire the houses. The Hindus and Musulmans who interfered to prevent this were killed and wounded. After that they proceeded to the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, where they set to work beating, throwing stones and bricks, and shooting arrows and bullets. Every man they found they detained and subjected to various indignities. Some they killed, others they wounded and plundered. Mir Ahmad Khan for a day and night was unable to drive them from his house or to stop their violence, but had to employ many artifices to escape from them. Next day he got together a force, and, with Mir Shahur Khan Bakhshi and other officials. they took horse and went against Mahbub Khan: The rioters collected, as on the preceding day, and resisted Ahmad Khan. A party got in his rear and burnt the bridge over which he had crossed. They set fire to both sides of the street through which he had passed, and from in front and from the roofs and walls of the nouses they discharged arrows and muskets and cast stones and bricks. Women and children flung filth, and dirt, and whatever they could lay hands on. A fierce fight continued in which . . . and several others were killed or wounded. Mir Ahmad Khan was in a great strait. for he could neither retire nor advance; so he was obliged to ask for mercy, and escaped from his dangerous position amid volleys of gibes and insulte.

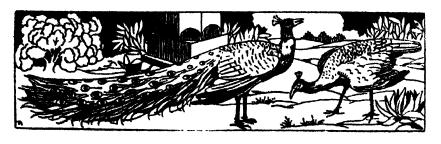
"Mahbub Khan proceeded to the Hindu quarter, and burnt and gutted the houses which remained. Again he proceeded to the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, and dragged out of it with insult Majlis Rai and a number of other persons who had taken refuge there. He and his followers cut off their ears and noses, circumcised them, and in some instances cut off the organ of generation. Another day they went tumultously to the great mosque, degraded Mir Ahmad Khan from his office of deputy of the Subadar, and, having given the prime cause of the disturbance the title of Dindar Khan, they appointed him to act as ruler of Musulmans, and to enforce the commands of the law and the decisions of the Kazis until a new Deputy Subadar should come from the Court. For five months Mir Ahmad Khan was deprived of power, and remained

in retirement. Dindar Khan acted as ruler, and, taking his seat in the mosque, discharged the government business.

"Upon intelligence of this outbreak reaching Court, Mumin Khan was sent to act as deputy of Inayatullah Khan, the Subadar. . At the end of Shawwal he halted three kos from Kashmir. Mahbub Khan was asharaed of his unrighteous deeds. So he went to Khwaja Abdullah, who was highly respected in Kashmir, and begged him to go out with a number of the principal and most respectable Muhammadans to meet the new deputy, and bring him into the city with honour. Khwaja Khan Abdullah advised him in a friendly way to go to Mir Shahur Khan Bakhshi, and apologise for what had passed. If he did so, they would go out with him to meet the deputy. In accordance with his advice, Mahbub Khan went to the house of Shahur Khan, and having made a statement to him, rose to depart, alleging he had some business to attend to. The Bakshi, acting on the Khwaja's advice, had called a number of the people from the Charbeli and Kahkaran quarters of the city, and concealed them about his house. They watched for Mahbub Khan, and fell upon him unawares First, before his eyes, they ripped up the bellies of his two young boys, who always accompanied him, and they killed him with great cruelty.

"Next day the Musulmans went to the Charbeli quarter, to exact retaliation for blood. This quarter was inhabited by Shias. There they began to beat, to bind, to kill, and to burn the houses. For two days the fight was kept up, but the assailants then prevailed. Two or three thousand people who were in that quarter, including a large number of Mughal travellers, were killed with their wives and families Property to the value of lacs was plundered, and the war raged for two or three days. It is impossible to commit to writing all that I have heard about this outbreak. After this destruction, the rioters went to the houses of the Kazi- and the Bakhshi Shahir Khan concealed himself and the Kazi escaped in disguise. They pulled down the Kazi's house to the foundations, and carried the bricks of it away in their hands. Mumin Khan, after entering the city sent Mir Ahmad Khan under one escort to Imanabad, and then had to take severe measures with the people of Kashmir."

In this second riot described above unorthodox and Shiah Musalmans have become the objects of orthodox Sunni Muslims' vandalism quite as much as Hindus, Shiah-Sunni quarrel was a much more living reality in early days than now. But, Hindu-Muslim riots among ordinary villagers and townsfolk, it appears, were much less known in those days than now. The available records of those days do not furnish us many more incidents like the two narrated above.



CONGRESS SEVIKA DAL

BY MANI N. DESAI, G.A.

It has been a common, though sometimes mistaken belief, that women in India have always remained behind their men-folk, confined to hearth and home. The part taken by women in the struggle for freedom pertains to so recent a history that it is not necessary for me to refer to it in details here. However, I propose to deal with one aspect of women's movement, namely, the volunteer movement in this brief survey. In the last phase of freedom, Bombayites saw volunteers in their true colours. On the morning of the memorable 9th August, they bravely faced the clouds of the tear gas. Many of them fainted, but they did not retreat. Police sergeants malhandled volunteers but still they resisted till they were forcibly removed to jail. On the dawn of independence, to which theirs is not a meagre contribution, an article narrating the activities of the Seva Dal of Bombay would not be out of tune but very appropriate.

We find two qualities in human beings, one is that of leadership, and the other that of following.

Years back the Sevika Dal came into existence under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. It had behind it the indomitable spirit of Miss Sofia Somji, a girl hardly eighteen in age, daughter of a well-known Attorney. She had in her the quality of a leader from her childhood. One would be surprised to know that the Sevika Dal was started with four girls on its roll only. It was Sofia's untiring efforts and unwanting zeal that have brought it to its present pre-eminent state. Her everyday new activities have captured the minds of the public, specially of women of the Metropolis of West India.

The civil disobedience movements of the last several years have awakened the sense of duty, civic and political consciousness among men, women and children all alike in India. They have come to fully realise their duties to their nation during the transition period. A call divine came from Mahatma Gandhi that women should stand shoulder to shoulder with men in the service of their motherland. Their duties to their country are no less pieus than that of men. That call inspired women to take part in the national struggle for freedom. They resolved to follow the brave warrior-women of ancient India: and in doing so hundseds of women courted imprisonment, leaving behind their small babies, husbands and needy parents. They never for a moment thought of their comforts, their happy home-life.

Of all the sisters, the G.O.C. of the Sevika Dal, Sofia Khan has played an important role in the history of freedom. She with her batches of volunteers had been many a time to jail to throw off their shoulders the yoke of British Imperialism. The following is a summary of her great work in the cause of freedom.

The Sevika Dal is the fundamental unit. It was divided into two main parts namely, (a) the Volunteers' Department and (b) the Constructive Department.

For the Volun'eers' Department, there is a trained officer head who looks after the activities of the Dal. Her duties are to organise the training centres and to impart

lessons in their duties and responsibilities. This department is again divided into three sections.

(1) The Sevikas of whom there are seven hundred,
(2) Kumarikas to-day three hundred in number and (3)
Balikas two hundred and seventy-six. This is the present strength of the Dal.

The Dal has seven branches in the city, one for every Municipal Ward under the direction of a ward officer, who in turn takes his instructions from the Volunteers' department.

Sevikas from all the centres are called to the Headquarters (the Congress House) whenever there are general functions such as meetings, rallics, flag salutations and the like. Training is imparted to the volunteers in Lathi. Lazim, Free-hand drill, use of daggers, Band, etc.

It is rather difficult to imagine what hard work she had to put in to raise the strength of the Dal to its present one. It was by no means an easy task but her tremendous zeal and kind nature succeeded in attracting the great number of women and girls to the Dal.

CONSTRUCTIVE DEPARTMENT

The main work of this department is to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress, such as Khadi, literacy campaign, social uplift and specially the uplift of the backward classes. For these different activities, many centres have been opened by the Dal. Generally different batches of the Sevikas go to the quarters of the backward classes and bring to their attention the insanitary conditions of their houses and surroundings. Not only this, but if they come across the sick among them, they are supposed to make arrangements to remove them to hospitals or to consult some qualified medical men and make provision for their treatment.

To remove the inferiority complex among men of backward classes, they have opened a mission school at the Bombay centre. To this school are admitted children of all classes without distinction of class or creed. This is altogether a novel experiment by the Sevika Dal.

It is a matter of pride that the Sevika Dal is making progress day by day in its activities. In that way it seems to be an ideal organisation for all India.

Now as independence has been obtained by the country, the foremost task before the Dal is to see that the Indian Union is developed into an ideal State. It should see that every individual in India is literate. Secondly, the idea of co-operation should be instilled into the mind of everyone, whereby they can face even the strongest hurdle of the social life of the country.

There is a number of varied activities of the Sevika Dal which cannot be brought into a single compass in this brief survey. It will, however, be seen that the credit and honour of this noble work goes to sister Sofia Somji—now Sofia Khan,—daughter-in-law of Dr. Khan Saheb, the erstwhile Premier of the N.-W.F. Province, but for whose undoubted enthusiasm, indomitable will and tremendous sacrifice for the cause of the Dal it would not have been what it is to-day.

NEED FOR NURSERY SCHOOLS IN INDIA

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tremendous strides in so many ways. The number of schools, colleges and recently of universities has considerably increased, yet one often hears that there is a general' lack of discipline amongst students and the effect of education in the lives of a large number of young men is not what it should be. Most of them have learnt to cram and pass their examinations somehow or other. They have had no training in self-control, self-adjustment and independence of thought. They may be treated as mere literate and not educated in the true sense of the word. If we examine the present trend of education in our country calmly and critically, we shall discover that the true cause of all our trouble is the lack of sound foundation of education in almost every province. We treat our little children lightly and indifferently, we engage no governess or mistress to look after them intelligently. We attach very little importance to their early education and formation of the right kind of habits. It is a psychological truism to say that whatever right or wrong impression is made on the mind of a child in his carly age sticks to him through life. The habits of neatness, tidiness, careful handling of domestic vessels. looking after their own persons and attending to their daily duties consciously and with a sense of responsibility. are not cultivated in them.

Parents are mostly to be blamed for their negligence. They do not realize as educated persons what their duties and responsibilities are to their own little ones. They do not know how the children are to be brought up and what kind of treatment has to be meted out to them from their infancy. Even some of our mothers in our country do not know how to bring up a child or to look after its psychological needs. There are many well-to-do women who have no time, so to say, to attend to their babies who are left in the charge of ordinary and, in many cases, ignorant nurses. Thus these children imitate the habite of their governesses more than those of their parents. Now, in order to put an end to these drawbacks and defects in western countries, more especially in England, the private agencies and the Government have encouraged a new system of education called the Nursery School wherein they make provision for the proper upbringing of children from the age of two or three to five. Skilled and trained teachers are put in charge of these children who receive careful attention at the hands of their school-mistresses.

NURSERY SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the following lines a short account of the system and working of a nursery school is given, to give the readers an idea of how a school of this new type is run in foreign countries and how we can modify or adapt them to meet our requirements in this country.

The nursery school is becoming a familiar term and the movement to establish it, is making a steady progress

DURING the last fifty years or more education has made in various parts of England. In order to understand its tremendous strides in so many ways. The number of significance, however, it should be remembered that it schools, colleges and recently of universities has considerably increased, yet one often hears that there is a general provision of the right environment and training for the lack of discipline amongst students and the effect of edulittle child during the period which extends from the cation in the lives of a large number of young men is time when the child can walk and talk to the time when not what it should be. Most of them have learnt to he is ready to begin school life in the ordinary sense, cram and pass their examinations somehow or other.

They have had no training in self-control, self-adjustment

During this period the child may spend all his time at home, or he may spend some of it in an institution called a Nursery School; but in either case the problem of his care, proper surroundings and training must be considered indivisible if it is to be effective. Thus nursery school education-which simply means education appropriate to a particular stage of development-may be given at home without the aid of the Nursery School; on the other hand, there are but few homes where there are little children under five, that do not need, consciously or unconsciously, the help of a nursery school. The period between babyhood and school life remained relatively unnoticed in the past. Somehow or other its critical importance for future sound development has been missed by the family, by the organisers of medical inspection, by the psychologist and by the educator.

It is true that practically all that the Nursery School has to contribute or promise today is to be found in the teachings of Froebal: but as a matter of fact the Kindergarten Movement, as years have gone on, has tended to give far more attention to the later rather than to the earlier years of the period for which it stands and the all-important happenings of the years succeeding the second birth-day, when the child emerges from babyhood, have only recently attracted the serious attention of doctors, psychologists, parents and educators to any noticeable degree. What justification is there for this new interest in this very early period of life, and what has brought about the demand for Nursery Schools as an integral part of our national system of education? The answer to the first of these questions comes from more sources than one. In the first place, the last 40 years has seen a gradual awakening of the conscience of the community with regard to the high rate of mortality of habics and young children and the large percentage of physical and mental defects in those who survive. These troubles are allowed to arise through a faulty home environment. Assuming a certain standard of favourable heredity, the laying of a sound foundation of health in any individual requires, as elementary conditions, an environment which provides plenty of activity in fresh air and sunlight, a regular simple life, proper food and sufficient sleep. But these elementary conditions have been denied to a large percentage of English children, through the evils of overcrowding, the lack of education for parenthood and the rapid increase of married women in industry.

As soon as the medical inspection of school children established the fact that a large proportion of them started on their school careers already weakened by serious physical handicaps which were nevertheless largely preventable, it could only be a matter of time before the country resolved to tackle and overcome so great a natural weakness. It took over ten years before a Nursery School—as the one concrete method of meeting the problem—was given its place at the foundation of their national system of education and meanwhile the urgency of the question of the proper care and training of the children of preschool age was reinforced by considerations other than those of physical health.

NURSERY SCHOOL OBJECTS

Every 'nursery school' sets itself to secure certain definite objects which may be outlined as follows:

- (1) To provide healthy external conditions for the children, viz., light, sun-shine, space and fresh air.
- (2) To organize a healthy regular life for the children as well as continuous medical supervision.
- (3) To assist each child to form for himself wholesome personal habits.
- (4) To give opportunity for the exercise of imagination and of development of many interests, as well as skill of various kinds.
- (5) To give experience of community life on a small scale, where children of similar as well as varying ages work and play with one another day by day.
 - (6) To achieve a real unity the home life.

Education by experience is the only true description of Nursery School education, for formal instruction has no place in it. On the other hand, every movement of the day does or should bring education in the best sense. What books and laboratories are to the adolescent, experience is to the little child. And the Nursery School strives to give him the experience which is most worthwhile at this time of his life. As a means of giving the most helpful experience, the material environment of the children becomes a very important matter, although it must always be considered second in importance to the human environment—the other children and the grown-up helpers. Relatively to later stages of education, the material environment is more important for the child of nursery school age, because to use his senses, to explore is then very strong. The joy in doing anything and everything to the limit of his power and his skill is overmastering, and hence the richness of the opportunity offered to the child by his environment, becomes to a large extent the measure of his progress. Every part of the environment offered by a Nursery School is therefore carefully thought out, and made to correspond as closely as possible to the child's own capacities and interests. The rooms into which he is introduced attract him at once by their brightness and freshness, the colour of the pictures and the toys, the daintiness of all that is placed in the rooms for use. He does not find in the Nursery School unwieldy, furniture, too hig and heavy for him to move. On the contrary, there are fascinating little chairs of just the right size for himself, there are light

tables which even the little child can move, there are gaily coloured cups with saucers and plates on shelves, well within his reach. The cupboards are on the floor and their doors and their handles are easily turned. Inside, the toys are set out side by side so that they are easily seen and obtained. There is free access to the garden where besides usual green things are steps and ladders or slides inviting experiment. All these things are the charactertistics of the nursery school play rooms and gardens, but the cloak rooms are no less carefully fitted up on the same principle namely, that of a child's needs. The peg provided for the children's clothes are within the reach of each child, even though he may be only two years old and his washing flannel, his tooth brush, his mug and his towel are placed similarly in his own care labelled with some sign he can understand—such as a picture of a dog or a rabbit. The washing basins are low and often provided with small jugs which a child can carry full of water. Very important also is the specially fitted laboratory suitable for a child's independent use. The purpose of these detailed arrangements is clear. It is to provide a material environment which the smallest child can explore and learn to master for himself, thus giving him a means of learning the use of things and skill in handling them. The daily needs and interests of the little child offer abundant motive power to make use of such an environment to the utmost, eagerly and constantly, and thus a whole system of desirable habits is formed and a way of life full of fruitful possibilities adopted. Some of the results most frequently noticed are a wonderful carly growth of self-reliance and surprising development of skill and general intelligence in little children who form the Nursery School. The year between the second and third birthday is perhaps the most striking one in this respect. It is during this year that initiation is most fitting, the way of life most readily assimilated and habits most rapidly formed.

Every nursery school worker can record striking evidence of the influence of the nursery school life on the intelligence of the two years old child. For example, a little boy very near his second birthday split some milk on the floor, while sitting at a table with other children during dinner. No one noticed this but himself and an observer some distance away. After contemplating the split milk for a moment or two a broad smile spread over his face. He got up from his chair, staggered unsteadily out of the room, found his way into the kitchen, seized a mop with a long handle, carried it with considerable difficulty, back across the playroom, mopped up the split milk, carried the mop back into the kitchen while returning to his own place at the table, sat down and continued his dinner. This little event, by no means unusual in type, serves to show us how a carefully planned environment, the use of which is within the small child's comprehension and physical power, together with a simple routine of living and freedom to get independent services serves to develop memory and judgment, skill of hand, self-reliance, and even the sense of what is not proper behaviour in a community. Such development is often impossible at home, partly because the home environment is planned for grown-up people, partly because children so young are not easily given the chance to act independently but are supposed to need personal services at almost every moment.

An essential feature of the proper environment of the nursery school is the garden, for this is the period of childhood when nature makes most vivid impressions on the mind and feelings; it is the life of plants and animals that attracts the deepest concentration of a little child, and he is busy increasantly with active observation of whatever he can find living and growing about him. No nature lessons are needed but contact with nature is imperative and opportunity for it must be made.

LIFE WITHIN A NURSERY SCHOOL

Let us now consider further the life within a Nursery School. Nursery School workers and helpers are distinguished by their special love of little children; their knowledge of the laws of health and their study of the best educational influence for early childhood. Accordingly, we find in good Nursery Schools an atmosphere of freedom and responsive happiness, completely lacking in formality, a wholesome daily routine, and a recognition that though there are no 'lessons' all that happens is educational both in intention and practice. Before the morning prayer and hymn, the children take part in arranging flowers, polishing handles, feeding pets, and all general preparations necessary in the beginning of the morning. This gives opportunity to encourage the shy backwards child to forget himself in active work, and give out-let to the bursting energy of the opposite type. Every one can find something to do that needs doing, and the right kind of stimulus to the use of language is given. The order of the nursery school should be as natural and unforced as possible; not stereotyped but varied. At the same time the right balance between activity and repose should be preserved.

However varied may be the way that the time in each morning is spent, the dinner hour and the sleeping hour are kept with unfailing regularity. Generally at a quarter before noon, the children put their toys away and get ready for dinner. Some help to lay the tables with cloths or mats, spoons and forks, not forgetting to set a vase of flowers on each table. Every child washes his hands before taking food. When all is ready, grace is sung; and the children sit round the tables in all eagerness to begin. Certain children are allowed to carry round the plates of steaming food, some even serve from the dishr. The very joy with which a healthy child takes his food serves to quicken his response to all the social training which orderly and courteous procedure involves. Many onlookers marvel to see that the very youngest children subordinate their appetites and readily acquire necessary skill with spoon and fork in response to the demands of social behaviour. There is ample evidence that even children so young appreciate not only the good dinner but the way in which it is conducted in a Nursery School.

The success of nursery school dinner is no slight test of a nursery school teacher's skill, good judgment and happy influence from an educational point of view. she finds it a highly valuable opportunity to be most carefully used. The hour of sleep which follows dinner and free play is an essential feature of a wholesome daily routine for children under six years of age. The incessant activities of the senses, the perpetual bodily movement of a healthy child carry with them the need for a period of complete rest in the middle of the day. Light stretcher beds each with its blankets and small pillows when desired are put up every day in the open air, or in a dark room and the habit of regular sleep carefully fostered. It lies with the teacher to suggest by her manner and action quiet and repose at the time.

The period of the afternoon is usually filled with games or singing or constructive occupations for the older children before the time comes for a cup of milk and the run for home.

Such are some of the characteristics of the daily life in a nursery school in all essentials so like a good home, and yet offering certain conditions helpful to the best kind of development often impossible even in a good home.

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A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE CALCUTTA RENT ORDINANCE, 1946

(BENGAL ORDINANCE No. V of 1946)

By AMARENDRA NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A., M.L.

THE Calcutta Rent Ordinance, 1946, is the successor of mulgated by the Governor as the Bengal Legislature was the Calcutta House Rent Control Order, 1943. The Calcutta House Rent Control Order was an instance of exe- Rent Act which is so needed now in Calcutta. cutive act pure and simple and the procedure laid down in the order was therefore an executive procedure as distinguished from judicial procedure. The Controller or the Appellate authorities appointed under the order acted therefore not as court but as executive officers. But the Calcutta Rent Ordinance which succeeded the Calcutta House Rent Control Order is not an executive act pure and simple. The preamble shows that the ordinance was pro-

not in session and so it is the forcrunner of a full-fledged

PURPOSE OF THE ORDINANCE

The preamble shows that the purpose of the ordinance is to make special provision for the control of rents in Calcutta in the public interest. There has been a continuous influx of people in this great city since the beginning of the second World War with the result that the city was over-populated. Now that the major portion

of East Bengal has been a part of the Pakistan State, many people of East Bengal have been migrating to West Bengal as a result of which Calcutta has to make shelter for many more people. The problem of over-population therefore in Calcutta exists and it is apprehended that it will exist for some time more to come. So, a rent act will be necessary for this city which has the prospect of becoming one of the greatest and best cities of the world. The purpose of the Ordinance is therefore mainly to control rents in Calcutta. It is to be seen, how far this Ordinance has been successful in controlling rents. Needless to say that there are two parties or two classes of people interested in this matter-the Landlord and the Tenant. The interests of both the classes must be protected if the Ordinance is to be a successful one. The division of the people must not be confused with the division of people into capitalists and the labourers for landlords are not always capitalists as are sometimes wrongly thought of. All landlords are not capitalists although some of them are so. A person having no other income besides the rent of his house cannot be classed as a capitalist. The control of rent has, therefore, nothing to do with the relation of the capitalists with the labourers. If one dispassionately reviews the problem of the rent control from this angle of vision then one can realise that the interest of the landlord is as much important as the interest of the tenant. Unfortunately, however, a vague and misty idea of socialism is in the air and everybody is breathing that air with the result that in every talk of ours we speak of socialism and communism without knowing the real significance of these two terms. This is not an article on socialism and so I am not going to dilate upon the above subject. What I drive at is that rent control problem has nothing to do with socialism or with the strained relation of the capitalists with the labourers. It is purely a social necessity at. the present moment because the demand of house is more than the supply for reasons I have already stated. When demand exceeds supply, the persons who supply get the upper hand and greed being a human instinct, goads them to get more profit from the supply. The purpose of the Rent Control Ordinance is to put an effective check upon this greed so that landlords may not make an undue gain over the tenants. At the same time, it must be seen that tenants may not unnecessarily harass the landlords under the cloak of this Ordinance. The Ordinance therefore, if it is to be a perfect law, must look after the interest of the landlord and the tenant and therein lies the test of perfection of this law. If that aim is achieved it may be said that it has followed the utilitarian theory of Bentham and has done the greatest good of the greatest number.

Looking at the Calcutta Rent Ordinance, 1946 as it is and being in close touch with the working of this Ordinance for a short period, I can unhesitatingly assert that the Ordinance has not fulfilled the needs of tenants nor has it been able to safeguard the interest of the landlords with the result that both parties have been clamouring against this piece of legislation. In fact this Ordinance

has not stood the test of utilitarism theory. I shall summarily discuss the defects of this Ordinance and shall try to show how it can be improved upon, for my criticism is not a destructive one but for a better construction of this law.

The most glaring defect of this Ordinance that looms large before one is the frivolous deposit that is daily made by the tenants in the Rent Control Office, Reserve Bank of India, the Collectorate and by Money Order. Under the law (Sec. 16 of the Ordinance) deposit of rent by the tenant is to be made on refusal of the landlord to accept the rent. At present, I find that anybody and everybody comes and without the permission of the Rent Controller deposits the rent. The result is the huge accumulation of money of the landlords who are now eager to get their dues. I had talk with many landlords of Calcutta, all of whom are ready to get their rent if legally tendered but the tenants do not care to tender so. Sec. 16 of the Ordinance laid down that the tenants shall be entitled to deposit the rent only when the landlerd refuses to accept the rent tendered to him and shall go on depositing unless the landlord signifies by notice in writing his willingness to accept any subsequent rent. In my opinion even this is redundant. If the tenants tender legal and fixed rent to the landlord by money order in time and if the landlord refuses to accept the sum, the latter is not entitled to get the rent unless and until he signifies by notice in writing his willingness to accept the rent and as soon as he signifies his willingness the tenant shall be liable to pay the amount of rent in monthly instalments to be fixed by Court. If this is done the tenant should not be treated as a defaulter and he should not be ejected. At present the deposit is made so that the tenant may not be looked upon as a defaulter. But if the tenant can prove to the satisfaction of the Rent Controller that he tendered the legal and fixed rent to the landlord, then there would be no necessity of any deposit. This would save both the landlord and tenant from unnecessary harassment. The purpose of the Ordinance is to control rent and not to disburse rent. But unfortunately one of the main functions or rather the main function of the Ordinance at present has been to disburse rent to respective landlords, causing innumerable troubles to the landlords and the tenants. The lessee owes it to the lessor that the former would pay rent to the lessor or his agent at proper time and place. This is one of the salutary provisions of the Transfer of Property Act (Sec. 108, Cl. 1). The proper place of payment of rent is the residence or the collection house of the lessor and the proper time is the stipulated time and if the time is not stipulated it will be determined accordto the local usage. So the onus lies heavily upon the lessee to prove that he tendered the legal fixed rent to the landlord in proper place and time. If he can discharge the onus, the tenants must not be regarded as a defaulter and he has no ability to deposit the rent in the Rent Controller's office or in any other office to be fixed by the Rent Controller. The business of the Rent Controller is to fix the rent and the standard rent of houses in the city. But at present this office has been an instrument of harassment in the hands of some tenants who are allowed to deposit rent freely in this office without rhyme or reason. At present a check has been put upon the tenants and they are not allowed to deposit rent without previously showing that the landlords refused to accept the rent from the tenants.

Secondly, it appears that although selami has been forbidden in law, the landlords have been publicly accepting huge amount of selami without the least hositation. However stringent the law may be, acceptance of selami cannot be stopped unless the Government undertakes itself the responsibility of letting the house at Calcutta through some honest officer. If the lease takes place under the direct supervision of the Government then and then only selami can be stopped.

Thirdly, it is incomprehensible why under the Ordinance the permission of the Rent Controller should at first be obtained for ejectment in certain cases and then a separate ejectment suit should be filed in a court for ejecting the tenant. If the Rent Ordinance or the Rent Act, which is expected to be put in the Statute Book, apply to all cases of ejectment, a court of justice can well consider the pros and cons and pass ejectment order without the previous permission of the Rent Controller. This

double procedure delay the matter and oauses unnecessary expense and harassment to the public. The Rent Controller may be employed for controlling rent and doing all other functions but there is practically no use in vesting him with the power for granting permission, for any court of justice may be safely entrusted with this function. The permission of the executive was necessary in times of war for various reasons. But now that the war has ended there is no such necessaity.

Fourthly, there are sub-tenants whose condition has not been considered in this Ordinance. The deplorable condition of these sub-tenants should be carefully considered and relief should be given to them in the succeeding law.

Fifthly, it may be said that the definition of "standard rent" in the Ordinance has not been very satisfactory. The definition is not only vague but the addition of 10 per cent only is not very just. Considering the inflation on all sides it would not be very unfair if an addition of 20 per cent is allowed in cases of rent up to Rs. 200 and 15 per cent in other cases.

Thus there are various aspects in this Ordinance which should be critically examined before the new law is placed on the Statute Book,

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Moder. Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc.. are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

-EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE FRAGRANCE OF INDIA: By Louis Revel. Translated from the original French by Doris Potter. Kitabistan, Allahabad. 1946. Pp. 238. Price Rs. 7-8.

The book was written during 1938-39, but its publication deferred till 1946. Its subsidiary title "Landmarks for the World of Tomorrow," shows that the writer has a robust faith in the mission of India for the regeneration of mankind. The "eternal and unerring path to real happiness" will then lie through the temples and sanctuaries of South India, the Indian crowds threading their way through India's great routes, and the celebrated temples which will lift the soul of future humanity, to the hills where only the secret of life is to be had.

The trip from Genos to Bombay is described in the form of diary jottings. Then follows an account of the author's reactions to the temples he has visited, and it is registered with feeling and taste. Chidambaram, Gomateswar. Somanathapura, are names to conjure with. They bring to the mind a train of romantic associations. Hindu philosophy and ritual

have also no doubt made a profound impression onthe writer, whose mind is evidently turned to things
spiritual. It is a grateful record of India's contribution
to the spiritual content of the world, envisaged through
her temples, tradition and the people who inhabit
this country. The book will be liked by its readers.

P. R. Sen

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES IN MODERN INDIAN EDUCATION: By H. V. Hampton, M.A., Formerly Member of the Indian Educational Service and Principal and Professor of Education, Secondary Training College, Bombay. Oxford University Press. Pp. viii + 256. Price Rs. 6.

The beginnings of English Education were fraught with immense possibilities for India. The results of the contact of the East with the science, arts and culture of the West have been varied and far-reaching. In short, the regeneration of modern India owes a great deal to the inflow of Western ideas through the changels of English education. The credit for the foundation of such education does not go wholly to the Government then shaping the destinies of the people but to enterprising individuals—Britishers and Indians—of far-sight and integrity.

The present volume deals with the educational activities of eight pioneers of modern education in our country -Duff and Hare, Elphinstone and Munro, Grant and · Thomason, Ram Mohun Roy and Sir Syed Ahmed Khanand throws a flood of light on the problems then facing them and their endeavours to attain their obeictives. The aim of the learned author is 'to focus attention on certain outstanding men who devoted much thought to the cducational problems of their day . . . and have left a lasting impression on the educational system of the country.' The author's aim has been eminently successful so much so that the reader visualizes those torch-bearers of education-who were also heavily engaged in other public duties-burning with a zeal for the spread of education and solicitude for the welfare of the countrymen. The treatment of the lives is fairly exhaustive as well as refreshing. The most notable feature of the book, unlike any other on the subject, is that the author has brought in human factor in the story of educational progress: he has enlivened the narrative with touches of numan interest as a result of which we come to know of the achievements of the educationists and administrators as also get penpictures of the makers of these achievements in lively and vivid colour. In the book man, the maker of history, has not been allowed to be buried beneath his dends; he is seen actively busy with ideas, ideals, difficulties and achievements. It is an ode, so to say, to educationists and will be an asset to every student of the History of English Education in India.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

KASHMIR, PAST AND PRESENT: (in two parts, Part I, 9.92, Part II, 1.78)): By Gwasha Lal, B.A. Published by The Chronicle Publishing House, Kashmir, 1946. Price Rs. 10.

Mr. Gwasha Lal's handy book in two parts does not deserve much comment. It is a noteworthy attempt at reconstructing local history. Kashmir is the home of Kalhana, the author of Raj Turangini, the earliest historical treatise written in India. Yet Kashmir has no connected history of its own. The book under review attempts to fill a great need, but it presents the barest skeleton of Kashmirian political history.

N. B. Roy

A SECULAR STATE FOR INDIA: By Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Rajkamal Publications, Delhi. Payes 114. Price Rs. 3.

While India is going to have complete independence by the middle of the present year a book of this nature is of special help to the makers of future constitution of the country. Religion should be a personal matter with the citizen and the State should have nothing to do with it. Turkey ander Kemal Ataturk showed the way to what extent an oriental country can be modernised and the other Islamic countries of the Near East are following the example. It was unfortunate that King Amanullah failed in Afghanistan.

Of all the countries India requires a secular State for the simple reason that it is a country where different religious are ever in cofflict hampering the progress of the country. It must be regretted that when the welfare of the country necessitates establishment of a secular State in India, the Muslim League wanted Pakistan, i.e., an Islamic theocratic State for a part of the country and this demand was conceded to avoid bloodshed and chaos. The present volume will be an interesting study for the students of current Indian politics.

A. B. DUTTA

RELIGION AND MODERN DOUBTS: By Swami Nirvedonanda. Published by Model Publishing House, 2A, Shamacharan De Street, Calcutta. Cloth bound. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 3.

The author, who is a learned monk of the Rama-krishna Mission, is already known for his thought-provoking writings on religion. His books on Hinduism and Education have been well received by the reading public. The book, under review, is a collection of seven excellent articles on Religion published through the Prabuddha Bharata and other periodicals on different occasions. The book is named after the main article in which a unique assessment of religion is made in

the light of modern thought.

The author carefully scrutinises the doubts that assail the modern mind about religion, and exposes their hollowness and narrowness. He brings home convincingly to the moderners the indispensability of religion in the life of the individual and society seeking peace and perfection and observes that it contributes substantially towards the establishment of amity and harmony in social relations. While pointing out the deeper meanings of religion and their bearings on the individual and collective life the author shows clearly that religion is neither unscientific, nor illogical or pernicious in its effect, unless one makes the mistake of judging it by the results of its perversion. He makes hold to say that civilisation degenerates into savagery if it is not firmly founded on religion. The book ends with an inspiring and original poem on the vision of life from the religious point of view. A perusal of this book is sure to remove the doubts that prejudice the modern minds against religion.

BHIKKU BRAHMABODHI

SRI RAMA; By M. R. Samputkumaran M.A. Pr.blished by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, Pp. 82, Price Re. 1.

The talented author's life of Sri Krishna was well received by the press. This book, written in the same way, gives a succinct but masterly study of Sri Rama and the Ramayana. The life, divinity, character and teachings of Rama are studied in brief in secrette chapters. The learned author observes comparatively in the preface that Sri Rama taught more through example. Sri Krishna more through precept. We are afraid such a comparison is uncalled for and uncharitable. He, however, draws the lessons which the sublime life of the Divine Hero of our great epic has for us all and shows that 'sri Rama's life is a perfect illustration of a righteon life. Heality of Rama's character is depicted at length in a variety of aspects with such vividness and impressiveness that it inspires the reader immediately.

In the Chapter on the composition of the Ramayana the author discusses the views of Weber, Makhanlal Seu, Pargiter, Romesh Chandra Dutt and puts the date of the Ramayana in the 21st Century B.C. at the beginning of Indian History. Indian tradition too supports the view. While tracing the early origin of the worship of Rama, the author points out how the Buddhis's and the Jainshave their own version of Rama. Jainism has accorded a definite place to Rama among their sixty-three salaka purushas or makers of history. The earliest version of the Ramayana is found in the Padma Purana of Ravishenacharya. Ashwa Ghosh's Buddha Charic contains unmistakable traces of of the influence of the Ramayana.

The Chapter on Sri Rama in Indian Literature deals how the great epic, called by the poet as the Ramayani Ganga issuing from the mountain of Valmiki and falling into the Ocean of Sri Rama is without doubt the greatest single influence in the whole range of literature in Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Dr. Kieth has rightly

remarked that as the men of letters of India drew deeply upon it so they found in it the models for ornaments of their style. In the Mahabharata, the Puranas, works of Bhasa, Kalidas, and Bhavabhuti, as well as Rajasekhara, Ramabhadra, Venkatanath and other later writers the story of Rama is told in various days. In this connection mention also should be made of the popular versions of the epic in Bengali, Kanarese, Hindi, Assamese, Guzarati and other modern Indian languages.

Every chapter of this little book reveals the author's profound knowledge of the Ramayana literature. Such learned and readable study of the Ramayana is indeed rare and should be perused by all students of Indian literature foreign or of this country.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

THE ASTROLOGICAL SELF-INSTRUCTUR: By Prof. B. Suryanarain Rao (Tenth Edition). The Astrological Office. P. O. Basavangudi. (S. India). Price Rs. 4.

Prof. Suryanarain Rao, the doyen of Indian astrologers, needs no introduction to those educated persons who are interested in the Science of Astrology. This top-ranking astrologer and savant is no more to day, but his valuable services to the cause of Astrology will never be forgetten by his countrymen. He was the first in India to present in the Euglish language a comprehensive exposition of Hindu Astrology, nay, his untiring efforts are mainly responsible for the revival of Hindu Astrology in the modern age. He is the author of a good many astrological works amongst which the Astrological Self-Instructor has won immense popularity. It was first published in 1892. Though more than half a century has clapsed since its publication, its popularity is on the increase day by day and it is still rapidly passing through editions. The tenth edition i.e., the edition under review, was published in 1945 after the death of the author. Mr. B. V. Raman, author's grandson and the reputed editor of the Astrological Magazine has made some improvement in the present edition by recasting some chapters and adding new materials, thereby enhancing the value of the book and making it indispensable for the students of Astrology. Mr. Suryanarain had great command over both English and Sanskrit languages and it is doubtful whether any other Astrologer in our country has been able to surpass him in the exposition of Astrological intricacies. The name of the present work indicates that it is intended mainly for the beginners. The book is written in such a simple style that anybody with some knowledge of the English language and a bit of common sense will, within a very short period of time, he able to learn the main principles of an intricate and difficult subject like Astrology, without the help of instructors:

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

COMPLETE INCOME TAX READY RECKONER. 1947 (7th Edn.): By R. C. Doodhmal, "Empire Terrace", Lamington Road, Bombay 7. Price Rs. 3.8.

This is a very useful publication for those who have to pay income-tax. The calculations are correct; and the printing and get-up are nice.

BENGALI J. M. DATTA

GEETA-BODH: By Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Translated by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and Sri Kumar Chandra Jana. Orient Book Co., 9 Shamacharan De Street, Calcutta, 1947. Pp. xi+110. Price Re. 1 or 4. 18

Price Re. 1 or Ac. 12.

During his incarceration in 1930, Gandhiji wrote a simple commentary on the Geeta in Gujarati. This was translated by the authors into Bengali. The language is simple, plain and preserves the spirit and intention of the original.

NEMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

KAUTILYA ARTHASHASTRA: By Paudit Devadatta Shastri "Virakta". Janani Karyalaya,. Allahabad. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 5.

This is a Hindi translation of only a part of the Arthashastra of Kautilya,—that classic in Statecraft. Its publication has been well timed, indeed, for to-day when once again, we are free to run the State in accordance with our own ideals, people need to be educated in the science and art of administration, even though Kautilya's objective would seem to have been efficiency rather than integrity of Government. The intelligent reader, however, will be able to sift what is conscientious and chaste from what is merely Machiavellian, that is cunning and clever. The translator, it is hoped, will soon complete his Hindi rendering of the original. There is neither a proper Table of Contents nor an exhaustive Index, which are serious handicaps in the path of the student, desirous of pigeon-holing his knowledge of Kautilya's pointof-view in various matters.

KUBJA SUNDARI: By C. Rajagopalachari. Translated by Sm. Shanti Bhatnagar. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandae, New Delhi. Pp. 197. Price Rs. 2.

Few perhaps know that the veteran politician 'C. R.' has endeared himself as a progressive short-story writer to the Tamilians. The book under review is a collection of the Hindi-renderings of some of his short stories written originally in Tamil. The general dominating note in these stories is the portrayal of the unfortunate victims of untouchability and exposure of false social values. Kubja Sundari, which provides the title of the collection, is a story with a very subtle and homely humour, which takes the form of an agreeable noble connedy. We highly commend these stories to the readers.

M. S. SENGAR

MARATHI

ANKASHASTRA: By Professor Mahadeva Ganesha Date. Available from the author at 90 Rambagh, Indore. Pp. 162. Price Rs. 5.

The author is a well-known astropalmist, who has now for years carried on researches in the romance of Numbers, as these are involved in the constitution of things, in "coincidences" of events and achievements and in the impact of planetary influences and associations. The present publication is an intriguing study, in which skeleton and stiff figures are clothed with magic and meaning.

GUJARATI

- (1) HINDI SARKARNI SHIKSHAN YOJNA: By V. M. Kothari. Paper cover. Pp. 46. Price As. 6.
- (2) RASHTRIYA MAHASABHA ANE VIDYAR-THI-PRAVRATTI: By M. P. Desai. Paper cover. Pp. 64. Price As. 6.
- (3) HINDUSTANI BAL KAHANIYAN: By Maganbhai Desai. Paper cover. Pp. 38. Price As. 6.

Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.

Sargent's Scheme of Education is explained and commented upon in No. 1. Book No. 2 is intended as a guide to students in connection with Congress activities based on Gandhiji's suggestions and limitations laid down by him. No. 3 consists of several tales meant for juveniles, in the Hindi language, printed both in Balbodha and Urdu script. It is a step forward in Gandhiji's plan for a national language.

K. M. J.



COTTON-SPINNING IN AFRICA

In Africa, "the takli" is used widely today to spin cotton. The Africans learned this method of spinning, many centuries ago, from the Arabs who had learned it from India.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Civil Liberties

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, draws a very hopeful prospect for the noble cause of liberty for the individual and the State:

Almost anybody anywhere in the world would agree to the principles we call 'civil liberties' once they were clearly explained. They represent such common desires that they meet almost instant acceptance. The right to speak one's mind freely, to associate with others in any enterprise to read, write and publish on public questions, to listen to any radio propramme, to see any motion picture, to travel without restriction and to be protected from arbitrary interference with what one desires to do without violating the rights of others,—all these are such universal desires of all men and women that they hardly need sustification.

Civil liberties as governmental guarantees of these desires are among the most highly controvesial issues in the world.

Hardly any government exists, even the most democratic, which does not curb these rights in some way. Censorship of printed matter, radio and movies to protect public "morals" or to control 'subversive political activities" marks every country in the world in some degree.

The tight of association is limited by bans on "Fascist" organizations of on Communists or by restraints on trade upions. Travel is regulated by passports and visas, often arbitrarily defined because of political views.

If all this is true of democratic countries, it is of crurse perfectly obvious in dictatorships. No civil libertics can exist in a single-party State where the right of political opposition is denied. The Communist contention that Russia presents a superior form of democracy to the Western world is honest enough in regarding as democratic the complete State control of the economy for the welfare of the people. Economic liberty, which Communist States claim to have achieved, is impossible without political liberty, for the right to change the governing class is denied.

We may therefore consider civil liberties as part of the organization of democracy, and the essential part.

For, without freedom of speech, press and organization, no democracy exists. Other rights are important but secondary to the power of the sovereign people to change their governments. Freedom from racial and religious discrimination, equality of the sexes before the law, access to public education for all—these and other liberties, essential as they are, follow the primary right of the people to control sheir government,

We live in an era when democracy is struggling to expand.

It is the form of actual government in only a minor. Human Rights Commission to the formulation of an allity of the seventy-five nations of the world. The rest inclusive international Bill of Rights, which is still in the

are dictatorships, colonial countries under alien rule, militarily occupied countries or democracies only in name.

The era of Western imperialism is going forever, and with it the most brutal and sweeping denials of civil liberties in history.

No record, not even that of the existing Communist dictatorships, equals the suppression which accompanied for several centuries the rule of the European nations over Asiatic and African subject peoples. And that suppression was dictated, paradoxically, chiefly by nations which professed democracy and practised it, but only at home - England, France, Belgium and Holland.

Even the United States, not to any such extent a colonial power, has been guilty of the same hypocrie; in governing some of its island possessions in the Pacific and the Caribbean. The dual standard arises from the concept of white men's superiority, based on the power of exploitation. What is good for white people, that concept holds, cannot be applied to inferior darker races, especially when profits are assured by holding them down.

These and other impulses to an expanding democracy find voice in the principles laid down in the United Charter. It is far in advance of any international declarations ever made in its recognition of the principles of civil liberty as applied to racial equality, minority rights, equality of the sexes and human freedoms generally. But when it comes to applying these principles vast obstacles arise. The first and most difficult is that the United Nations cannot interfere in the domestic affairs of member States though, it is encouraging to note, that limitation appearate have been breached in the case of India's successful complaint against South Africa's violation of treaty rights in its treament of the Indian numerity.

What cannot be done by intervention in the internal attairs of States may be accomplished by conventions between them.

The Commission on Human Rights, tackling the immense problems of international freedom of communication by press, radio and motion-pictures, is proposing an international agreement which those nations will sign who wish to adopt the recommended practices. Thus a beginning can be made toward overconfing censorships, restrictive taxation, mans on radio reception and bars to the free travel of journalists and newsreel men. An international conference to consider these and other aspects of freedom of communication is now set for Geneva in March of 1948.

Any agreements reached for international freedom are bound to have internal effects in all signatory countries. It would be impossible, for example, for the United States to adhere to such a convention and to continue our present restrictions on the importation of motion-pictures and our censorship of foreign literature. Abolition of international censorships would necessarily result in abolishing domestic censorships.

But demands for even larger international recognition of human rights than communications have pushed the Human Rights Commission to the formulation of an allinclusive international Bill of Rights, which is still in the early stages of discussion. The preliminary drafts cover all conceivable rights: those of speech, press and association, equality of the seres and of races and religions before the law, guarantees of fair trials, freedom from arbitrary power, and the social and economic rights of work, social insurance, leisure and education. International Labour Office over the years has succeeded, without compulsions of any sort, in winning recogitation of fair labour standards, despite the failure of many countries to adopt these in law.

What I have said of the major projects of the United Nations for civil liberties also applies to the work of the Commissions on the Status of Women, to the Trustership Council and to UNESCO (the United Nations Educa-

tional, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

It is evident, of course, that the road to any such goal is blocked at present by the sharply differing ideas of freedom entertained by the so-called Western nations and those led by the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Union and its satellites, as well as the Communists throughout the world, do not recognize civil liberties except as weapons of propaganda for their side, reconciliation with the democratic world upon this issue would appear to be highly improbable.

Without Russia and its friends, the democratic world can go ahead with setting its own house in order. We

are far from practising what we profess.

This is manifestly a large order. It requires not only the abandonment of the dangerous tendencies of democratic countries to support the economic privileges of the propertied classes and to thwart the rise of labour to power but also popular forces committed to socialism or at least to a programme of nationalization and a managed

There is some evidence that, however painful the process, the democracies are learning that capitalism and democracy are not synonymous. They have learned that imperialism and demostacy cannot be reconciled. They have learned that democracy demands that women shall have full equality before the law. They have conceded political and economic power to the trade unions.

The democracies may yet be detached from their historic bondage to the propertied classes, not by grace of principle but by the force of

popular pressures.

Civil liberties as the means for effecting change by democratic means have a primary claim on the concept of oreating a united world. It cannot be united by dictatorship. We confront either war between the two worlds now facing each other or the ultimate triumph of the democratic world. We will not fail if the popular forces, now building greater power in most of the democracies, succeed in overcoming the resistance of the guardians of property and privilege. The basic struggle today for civil liberty is not therefore between the democracies and Communism but within the democracies themselves, between reaction and popular power.

In India, as in the United States and elsewhere, the issue is the same. It differs only in the degree of strength

of the forces on the two sides.

Kashmir and UNO

The New Democrat (edited by K. M. Munshi) observes:

Some of the worst fears entertained by critics of the reference of Kashmir to UNO seem to have been confirmed. by the latest developments at Jake Success. U. N. Security Council has ordered the setting up of a threenation mediation commission.

The Commission has been described as "the first step towards a permanent settlement of the differences

between the feuding dominions."

The Commission, it is stated, primarily meant to investigate the Jammu and Kashmir question raised by India. But other questions which Pakistan has raised through Mr. Zafrulla Khan may be referred to it, if necessary, by the Security Council. Mr. Zafrulla Khan's strategy of detailing India's "crimes" against Pakistan as the background of Kashmir has thus to some extent succeeded.

The Indian delegate's efforts to keep the issue of aggression clear from the ex-Federal Judge's irrelevancies, have failed, too. For clause (D) of the Security Council resolution feads: "The Commission shall perform functions (investigatory and mediatory) in regard to the other situation set out in a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-General, dated Jan. 12, 1948 when the Security Council so directs."

The Pakistan Foreign Minister's letter is a catalogue of allegations against the Indian Union ranging from genocide to cash balances which are as removed from the issue in question as Cape Comerin is from the Kashmir

valley.

Not that India has anything to hide. In all her dealings with Pakistan. India has been scrupulously fair to the extent of meriting the charge of undue generosity. .Her settlement of the financial questions at issue with Pakistan drew tributes from the London Times which is no friend of Congress. Her determination to safeguard the lives, honour and property of Muslims remaining in India has caused heartburning among the victims of their co-religionists in Pakistan and almost cost the life of the Father of the Nation who is the strongest advocate of such a policy.

India will only be glad to have her record scrutinised by any impartial tribunal. The world will know at least then the proportion of truth in Mr. Zafrulla Khan's list.

But apart from the difficulty of getting such an impartial tribunal and the difficulties that would confront such a Commission, these issues once raised are bound to blur the immediate issue of aggression in Kashmir.

Any mediatory influence which the Commission is authorised to exert can plainly be only between the raiders and India, until and unless Pakistan acknowledges its share of guilt. Till it so acknowledges, mediation is meaningless. Surely the Security Council cannot expect India to halt her action against the raiders who have aggressed on Indian soil.

India has gone the farthest possible limit in implementing her resolve of friendliness towards Pakistan. But it would be gross injustice to make her concede more in mediation when the other party in the dispute does not even acknowledge the concessions.



There is reason to think that Pakistan's action in Kashmir has been prompted by an anxiety to placate the tribesmen at somebody clae's cost. If even such action has failed to appease the tribesmen, as Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to the frontier would indicate, it is Pakistan's duty to accept India's help in keeping them off. If for that purpose she would have the duty shelved to an outside authority, India must welcome the opportunity.

So too on the other issues. Now that they have been brought into the picture and bilateral negotiations having failed, India must willingly offer the disputes to U. N. mediation. Prime Minister Nehru has all along expressed our anxiety to have the disputes with our neighbour

placed before a tribunal.

First things first, however. Kashmir is the first problem that must be solved. If the U. N. Commission succeeds in solving it, it will have not only justified India's action in referring the issue to it but also helped towards Indo-Pakistan cordiality.

Asoka Wheel: What Does It Symbolise?

Prof. A. S. Wadia writes in The Hindusthan Review:

Sometime ago, at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi said: "If the flag of Indian Union does not contain the emblem of Charkha, I will refuse to salute that flag." And Pandit Nehru, presenting the National Flag in the Constituent Assembly, remarked: "We were, of course, convinced that the great symbol of the wheel (of the Charkha) should be on the flag—not the rest of the Charkha. The essential part of the Charkha is the wheel. So we thought that the Charkha emblem he the particular wheel of Asoka, instead of just any wheel."

Unfortunately for Pandit Nehru, more so for Mr. Gandhi, the wheel carved on the capital of Asoka's Lion Pillar at Sarnath is neither a Charkha nor Buddha's famous Chakra or 'wheel of life' of twelve spokes symbolising his twelve Nidanas nor for that matter any wheel at all but the age-old mystic circular emblem of the Blue Lotus (nymphaea caerulea) commonly known as neel kamal. A glance at any photograph giving side-view of the so-called Wheel of Asoka at Sarnath with its solid egg-cup shaped base will convince the reader-more so if he is a hotanistthat it is no utilitarian wheel but cross-section of the characteristic egg-cup shaped seed-vessel of the lotus which so distinguishes the lotus seed-pod from all others. What appears to be the rim of 'the wheel' is in fact the solid rim of the seed-pod which again is such a distinguishing feature of the lotus seed-vessel. What will further convince the reader of 'the wheel' being really a lotus seed-pod are the bead-like lotus-seeds running all round the inside of the rim in between the so-called 'spokes' which are themselves a whorl of twenty-four conventionalised, clongated, pointed petals of the lotus seen all over India in Buddhist caves in varying conventionalised forms. What looks like the protruding hub of the wheel is really the typical navelshaped head of the thalamus or flower-stalk which according to Hindu mythology represents the navel of Narayana, the Eternal Spirit, upon which Brahma, the Creator, sits enthroned for ever contemplating. In the Tantra Tattva we find supreme wisdom (Prajnaparamita) compared to a lotus-flower. The rich symbolism of the lotus-flower in that sacred scripture is worth reproducing here. "In the root the is all-Brahman; in stem she is all-mays (illusion); in he flower she is all-world; and in the fruit all-liberation." Applying this to the pillars carved by the early Buddhist builders, who were carrying on the Indo-Aryan traditions

from Vedic times, we can understand the ideas they were intended to convey. The vase forming the base of the pillar stood for the cosmic waters, 'the all-Brahman'; the shaft was the stalk of the mystic flower—the unreality upon which the world-life was supported; the bell-shaped capital was the world itself enfolded by the symbolical petals of the sky; the fruit (represented by 'Asoka's' wheel') was malssha, liberation, or Nirvana, which was the goal of existence.

This mysterious symbolism of the lotus is so typical of the mystic East and is so widely diffused throughout the length and breadth of India that its adoption as the central emblem of the National flag of India was no happy hit or lucky coincidence but a veritable flash of genius.

There is a strange power in the words of great leaders of men which make their words truer and of far more value than they themselves consciously know. So are the eloquent words of Pandit Nehru which he uttered in the Constituent Assembly relative to the deep significance of 'Asoka's Wheel' which as an emblem of the mystic lous of the East is a worthy symbol not only of India's moksha—...r liberation but also of India's ancient culture and hoary traditions.

It is evident, therefore, that whatever the central emblem of the National Flag depicts, it does not depict the pet Charkha of the Mahatma; nevertheless, let us hope Mr. Gandhi will salute the Flag if for no other reason than that of its being the beautiful radiant emblem of the mystic Blue Lotus, which has for ages past enshrined old histories and ageless culture of the land of his birth and glory—the immortal Aryavarta.

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The Big Noises

The Neiv Review observes:

They met in London, their conference was nothing but sounding-board for their dissensions and their speeches scalled the fiery harangues of Homeric warriors before attle. They argued pleaded and threatened, jabbered nd palavered, ranted and descanted, thumped and stumpd, roared, bellowed and thundered, and when they felt xhausted in mind and throat, they broke off and rushed sack to their camps to prepare for war. Not for red war out for black war. Mankind who still red under the sails with dried blood is now out for a grimy fight with lollars and roubles, wheat and meat, oil and machinery.

The Marshall Plan against the Stalin Plan.
The Marshall Plan has been discussed thread-bare and well-publicized since democracies condemn them-elves to public discussions. The Stalin Plan benefits by otalitarian secrecy and will unfold but gradually. Stalinst strategy dictates two manoeuvres. The first is to stabilize communist economy in the countries under Soviet influence, (financial reforms, industrial development. multilateral trade, bluff and threats). The recent revaluation of Soviet currency will reinforce the international position of the rouble and make it the normal unit of count in the Red bloc. The disenchantment caused by this reform, which can be called deflation, capital levy or confiscation according to individual temperament, was cleverly countered with the popular euphoria following the suppression rationing. With the financial reforms, the way is open to a clearing system which will put the rouble on the same footing as the dollar and to a close organisation of multilateral trade within the Red bloc.

The Soviet policy can be expected to follow the pattern which in pre-war years gave Nazidom the control of Central and South-cast Europe. But the dimensions of the pattern will be on a large scale. Nazidom with its racial bloc of eighty-five million people and its strict discipline was best placed to build up Nazi hegemony and achieve European unity. The U.S.S.R. has a parallel advantage but on the Eurasian scale. With a rigid economy covering immense and much richer tracts going from the Oder to the Bering Straits, and from the Artic Ocean to the Adriatic, the Caspian and Lake Baikal, and with the central position of its economic fortress along the Urals the Soviet bloc dreams of commanding the life and unity of Eurasia. A southwards expansion down to the Arabian sea would give it an unassailable position; though this expansion is not actually within the limits of Russian possibilities, the Soviet enjoys a unique advantage in Eurasian geopolitics. The second and simultaneous manoeuvre of the Stalin plan, will be to increase the confusion in western Europe through the subservient action of communist parties. Everything will be done by the Reds to thwart, and wreck the successive stages of the Marshall plan, discourage American aid and turn back the minds of all towards the wonders of the Soviet dreamland.

Both economic blocs are being kuilt up, both their Big Patrons are rivalling in speed and efficiency; Russia has the advantage of short land-communications, America leads in economic potential and efficiency. The results in the coming months will decide whether in case of hostilities, the American front will be along the Pyrenees or

along the Elb.

Vision of War

The same Review observes:

Red war may indeed come out of the black war, and American strategists are calculating chances on both sides and foretelling Soviet military plans. One leading con-

clusion of their enquiries is that the industrial power and consequent war potential of the U.S.S.R. has been grossly exggerated by official Soviet propaganda. A study directed by the League of Nations and based on Russian figures estiatmed that the Russian industrial output in 1936-38 did not reach one-half of the American production, and was likely not much above one-third. It is agreed on all hands that during 1938-40 the Russians were better fed, housed and clothed than at any other time. Yet it was not until the second year of the second Five-year plan (1934) that Russia's national income had returned to its 1913 level. By 1939 it stood at fifty per cent more than in 1913, whilst America's income had doubled during the same period. In 1940 the Soviet flow of goods was equal in value to three-and-a-half billion U.S.A. dollars whilst the American flow was one hundred billion dollars. The current Five-year plan formulated in 1946 aims at nothing higher than the 1940 level. Hence the U.S.S.R. is not so strong industrially as her propagandists and minions would scare the world into believing. But it will not harm the democracies to be scared into greater efficiency.

RUSSIA'S STRATEGIC PLAN

Military data complete the picture and illuminate Russia's probable strategy. This January, 1948 Russia has 120 divisions in arms plus 30 special (double-sized) divisions in occupied countries. Hence her peace-army runs to 1,800,000 men. The 120 divisions are grouped in six armies disposed and commanded as follows: northern army based on Leningrad (Voroshilov), western army on Minsk (Rokossosky), southern army on Odesea (Zhukov), Caucasian army on Tiflis (Bagramian), Turkestan army on Tashkent and Frunze (Timoshenko), Far-eastern army on Chita and Vladivostock (Malinovski). Of the present army 800,000 men are mobile troops and can be replaced. 1.000,000 are professionals.



The leading strategic idea is unified warfare (i.e. even an the rear) in three dimensions. What of the equipment? Artillery is well developed, transport is lagging behind as is a tradition with Russia. From all reliable reports, the Russians have no atomic bomb; they have the knowledge necessary but their industrial power cannot produce it before another twelve or eighteen months. Yet Russians are not disheartened with the fear of the A-bomb since their industries are well scattered over their immense hinterland. What apparently they are more afraid of is a possible shortage of oil; hombs can denaturalise gasoline and so jeopardise the production of oil-fields situated close to the frontiers. Hence, as is creditably reported, the gigantic Faraday cages whose metal screens would check radioactive effects on oil. If the Russians have no atomic bomb, they are well ahead with the production of Vbombs. They concentrated on long-range attack with self-propelled pilotless aerial weapons; they can shoot over distances of 900 to 1,300 miles and aim with an accuracy of 3 to 6 miles. The development of other and deadlier weapons is not reported. The old race for armaments is on but the vocal feature of the London Conference would tend to show that neither of the blocs is ready for red war. When either will judge or fancy it enjoys military superiority, war will be an immediate possibility.

The Russian plan of military operations is easily surmized. It would proceed in three stages. The first would be the rapid occupation of western Europe. Considering the forces available at present, the manoeuvre could be over in three weeks. The second phase would be a rush through Spain into North-Africa and a simultaneous push through Persia, Iraq, and Syria to the Suez Canal; this phase could not be over in less than three months. The strategic position thus pained could only be menaced by a flank attack from Britain, but a maximum of one hundred divisions (taken mostly from satellite countries) could give adequate protection. The third phase would be the final battle and would unfold in China. By that time Russia would have some 300 divisions to throw into the battle and would receive the help of Chinese communists. Russian experts estimate that this last stage would take two years. Soviet hegemony in Eurasia would then become a fact.

Relief and Rehabilitation of Refugees

Purushottam Thakar writes in The Social Service Quarterly:

The transfer of population which could have been accepted peacefully, was forced on the country at a time when she was least prepared for it. Therefore, this forced transfer of population, brought with it the terrible refugee problem. The unfortunate refugees, wherever they go, they weaken the Government, they make the atmosphere vicious and tense; they upset the economy, the social habits, and social life. This material is so explosive, that you cannot neglect it; all attention is to be directed to it, or else it may blow off the whole social, economic and political structure; its drain on the country's economy is so great that it is bled white, with the result that the Government is unable to take any major nation-building activity and all progress is stopped.

The Indian Union has suffered permanent loss, because of this forced transfer of population. The non-Muslim population of Western Pakistan, not only controlled the economy of the country; but also made up the bulk of its intelligentsia. That population is wired out, or uprooted permanently. Pakistan, no doubt, has suffered as a result of this, because, suddenly a gap is created in her economic life, which would take

time to fill in. Again, those who have migrated to Pakistan, are not the intelligentsia, but the unruly masses, who would make administration of the country difficult, for the time being.

In order to minimise the evil effect of mass migration from one province to another, the Central Government should ask experts to study the situation, and accordingly regulate distribution of population to different provinces, in a way that would least disturb the normal life of any Province, and at the same time, prove useful in developing its agriculture, natural resources, and industries. This is the supreme task before the country; on its right solution will depend,

our future prosperity. No sooner was it known that the partition of the country was agreed upon by the Congress and the League, the non-Muslim population in the Muslim majority areas, steadily started moving in the Congress Provinces. The well-to-do class, transferred its bankbalance from Pakistan, and waited in readiness to quit, if necessary. The process of voluntary transfer grew rapidly, as news poured in from the Punjab. A stage was reached, when it was found by local workers here, that it was no longer possible for individuals to cope with the situation, and the necessity for an organised effort to look after these people, was clearly seen. Accordingly, the Frontier Punjab Relief Com-mittee was formed, and our first Refugee Camp was opened in Koliwada in Bombay, in the premises taken from the Bombay Municipality. A few Sindhis, who came, were all very well-to-do, and no one even knew that the Sindhis, were coming into Bombay. But, very soon we found, steamer after steamer bringing evacuees from Sind, and, before we could grasp the significance, and realise the magnitude of our task, we found our arrangements cracking, and the City being flooded with evacuees from Sind. It was then, on the 14th of September, that the Government of Bombay stepped in.

The people and the Government of Bombay were faced, with the staggering task of receiving, sheltering and feeding a million souls, who were waiting to cross over the borders of Pakistan.

Bombay's lot was anything but enviable. Ours is a city which suffers from a very acute shortage of housing. More than 200,000 citizens have no place-to-stay; they sleep in passages, in corridors, in the open, on pavements.





From 15th of September, we have already received 51.000 refugees by steamers. Out of these 15,000 are accommodated in Government Camps; 10,000 have gone away to their respective villages in different parts of the country, 6,000 by railway and 4,000 by coastal lines. The Government pay for the Railway charges, and the Scindia Steam Navigation Company gives free steamer passage. Many more are absorbed by their relatives and friends in the City, while a few well-to-do have gone to Poona, Deolali, Bangalore and other places. Every fortnight, 10 steamers arrive bringing about 14,000 passengers and by railways, daily about 100 passengers pour in the City, In all more than 250,000 have left Sind.

The Government have Refugee Camps in Chembur, Pavai, Mulund, Virar, Visapur and Koliwada. These were all military camps, taken over by the Provincial Government to house the citizens, and thus ease the housing shortage at least to some extent. At present, all our city camps are overcrowded. Chembur has 7,000 (but 2,000 more have smuggled in, whom we are gradually removing from there); Pavai, where the accommodation is tented, has 2,500; Mulund 1,700; Koliwada 2,200; Virar 150; and a few hundreds are

in Wadis and transit camps.

To a student of Sociology, and to those who are engaged in the selfless work of social service, a visit to the dock or any camp would be very interesting and instructive. Here, you will observe, how people behave under new and difficult conditions. When the first steamers arrived, you could read fear, confusion. despair and distress on the faces of the evacuees; but also the feeling, that they were at last out of danger. They did not mind hardships, their patience was great, and they did what they were told. Here you saw no false modesty. Young or old, man or woman, forgetting age, sex, or position, roamed about searching for his baggage and dragged it when he found one, not waiting for a coolie. He did not mind waiting for hours, and undergoing all hardships, to get his baggage. He would not move, until he got it, even if it meant losing his meal; because what he had brought, was all that now belonged to him, and he was, therefore, not pre-pared to lose anything out of i.. In those days all articles were heaped up in thousands without names. Still, there were no thefts, and complaints were surprisingly few. This would not happen ordinarily, when hundreds of passengers come with tens of thousands of articles.

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What we primarily are doing at present, is to provide food and shelter to the refugees. What is more important is to create conditions, which would make their healthy absorption possible, so that they become one of us and a fusion of cultures results.

Still more important, is the problem of rehabilitation and resettlement.

This last mentioned problem, is only a part of our general problem of unemployment and poverty, and as such, both these problems should be tackled jointly, so that they do not conflict with one another but ultimately form part of the general scheme of postwar reconstruction to do away with poverty and unemployment, which the Central Government is planning to put through. The Provincial Government have also plans of their own, which aim generally at increasing production, expanding-public services and regulating the distribution of wealth. Moreover, our responsibility to protect our country from foreign aggression has also increased. Not only shall we need large land, sea and air forces, but we shall have to develop war industries, to maintain and sustain our military machine. It should not, therefore, be difficult for Governments, when they start on this programme, progressively to absorb the unemployed and provide work for all, for years to come. To accomplish this, the Government may have to revise their schemes in view of the changed conditions, and also find it necessary, to make provision for refugees, in Provincial Budgets.

To push through all these plans, the Government will need man-power, an army of experts, technicians

and skilled labour.

Rehabilitation is a slow process, because it is complicated and many-sided. It is easier to absorb labour than merchants. Sindhis are mostly merchants. Fortunately, they are evacuees who have brought with them all that they could salvage. Till now, a Sindhi has depended upon doing Banking, export and import business, or dealing in Silks and Curios. He should change his attitude, and apply his talent in producing real wealth. He will then add to the prosperity of the society.

The problem of the refugees from the Punjab is not so difficult because most of them are destitutes, and majority of them were employees and cultivators,

unlike the Sindhis, who have been employers.

There is a section of unfortunate non-Muslims which is working in some services in Pakistan. These people are not allowed to leave Sind, because their services are found essential by the Pakistan Government. Some of them cannot leave Sind, because they won't get passages; others will lose their jobs, and with that pensions, provident funds, etc., if they left services. These poor employees are mostly Maharashtrians, original citizens and subjects of Bombay Government; and as such, they have a claim over us. I hope, something will be done to bring them safe here, and to safeguard their interests.

Since ages. India is known for her hospitality, and also for her willingness to share others' sorrows. Today, our own brethren stand in need of these, as they are

in distress; let us not fail them.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Story of Glass

In the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, ine, 1947, J. H. Partridge writes the story of ass as follows:

In the reign of Gulkishar, the first king of the Dynasty the Sea-Land, an Assyrian chemist recorded on clay blets a recipe for making glass. This king reigned nearly 500 years ago, so that glass is one of the oldest of manucured materials, for specimens nearly 6,000 years old we been found in Egypt. Specimens made 3,000 years of are fairly common and are coloured and quite differt in appearance from glass as commonly known to-day, undreds of years were to pass before the secret of making lourless glass was discovered—colourless glass is that lost commonly seen to-day and it is used for windows, ttles, tumblers and many other articles you see every

Now why was the making of glass practised giore that of the common metals of today?

order to answer this question, imagine the conditions under which peoe lived in those far aft days. The first drinkz vessels were made of the skins or of the horns of imals-indeed, skins of animals are still used even day by the more primitive people. It is not possible to il water and so have a hot drink or to cook food in a in however, and at a later period we find crude pottery ing used. Pottery is moulded from clay just as plastito is shaped-- indeed, plasticine is a mixture of clay and seline—and the vessel is dried and fired to high temperire. In olden days a wooden fire was built with the clay icle in the middle. The fire was lit and kept burning some hours. When it had gone out and the ashes were ld, the vessel was found to be quite hard and ready for . The vessels exhibited were made from clay dug out the ground at Wembley. All pebbles and small stones re washed from the clay, which was then moulded to ape. When dry, the vessels were heated slowly to a good I heat. They do not look very elegant, but they would ve been very useful had you been living some 4000 years o. The only metals which could have been used instead this pottery, were gold and silver, because they are and in the earth as metals, they are easily melted over ordinary fire and they are malleable, i.e., they can be mmered into a useful shape such as a drinking vessel. wever, such vessels of gold, silver or even bronze took iger and were more difficult to make than those made pottery in the manner just described.

Now glass can be made by heating a mixture of sand, a and lime, all easily obtainable materials, in a fireclay soluble to a fairly moderate heat and it can then be mould to shape rather like clay or plasticine, except that it is to be moulded while it is still red hot. The moulded sivel is cooled slowly, and is then ready for use. Glass as possesses advantages over the metals, such as gold d silver, because it can be made fairly easily; further it is moulded quickly and easily to the shape of a cup of a jug.

It is this property of being moulded so adily to the finished shape which makes glass ich a valuable material, and no other material haves like it. For example, if one end of a rod of metal is heated it suddenly melts and falls to the floor. But if a rod of glass is heated is slowly bends and flows rather like thick treacle. It is while in this plastic state, or viscous state as it is called, that glass may be moulded

very much like clay or plasticine.

Glass in this plastic state may be rolled into a sheet just as mother rolls pastry. The molten glass is contained in a large fireclay crucible, which is lifted out of the furnace, poured on to an iron table and rolled into a sheet with a large iron rolling pin. The sheet of glass so obtained, is slowly cooled and then cut into smaller sheets which are used for the roofs of large buildings, such as railway stations; or the sheets may have their surfaces ground and polished for use in shop windows. When it is in the plastic state, glass may be drawn into very fine threads --finer than the hair on your head--and these threads of glass are woven into glass cloth which can be used for many purposess for example, fire-resisting curtains, insulation for electric cables and for steam pipes, and these threads have even been made into a glass dress. Two rods of glass may be melted in a flame and welded together, a process which is not so easy in the case of metal. Glass thus behaves quite differently from metal. Molten metal is a very fluid or thin liquid; it is nearly as mobile as water. When cooled it changes suddenly to a solid because the atoms can move easily and quickly and so arrange themselves into a patiern. In contrast, molten glass is a very viscous or thick liquid; it is so viscous that the atoms cannot move quickly and arrange themselves into a regular pattern. On cooling, glass does not therefore set suddenly into a solid but it gradually becomes thicker and thicker or more and more viscous, until it gradually becomes solid. On heating glass becomes more and more fluid; on cooling it gradually sets to a solid.

Because of its viscous nature it is possible to pick up or "gather" a quantity of molten glass on an iron rod, in very much the same way as treacle is wrapped round a spoon, and then let it fall into an iron mould. An iron plunger then descends and forces the molten glass to fill the space between the plunger and mould. The iron cools the surface of the glass, which then becomes "solid" or at any rate sufficiently rigid for the glass to be taken out of the mould in the form of a finished article, such as a glass dish. This process is known as pressing because the molten glass is pressed into its final shape by the downward movement of the plunger.

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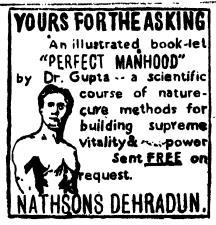
HISTORICAL SURVEY

Now the processes which have been demonstrated. namely, that of pouring a large quantity of molten glass on to an iron table and rolling it into a sheet, or of pressing glass articles, are fairly modern and are in use to-day. Such methods were not used by the ancients, because they were not able to melt glass in such large quantities. The earliest vessels were made by covering a sand core bit by bit with viscous glass just as one might cover an article with plasticine or perhaps scaling wax. This was a slow and laborious process. A better and more rapid method of working glass was invented in Roman times between the years 50 and 20 B.C.—say 2,000 years ago-which was responsible for a rapid growth of the industry, because it enabled better articles to be made more quickly, and so at lower cost. This was the process of glass blowing. Glass is a viscous liquid and so it can be gathered on the end of a hollow iron tube or blowpipe. This mass of hot glass may then he blown into a hollow ball by blowing down the blowpipe. A tubular shape is obtained by swinging the blowpipe, thus causing the ball to elongate. Other shapes such as tumblers, electric lamp bulbs, and so on, are obtained by putting the hot tubular piece of glass in a mould and blowing down the iron until the hot glass is blown to the shape of the mould.

The Romans became quite skilled glass-makers, but we know little of what happened after the fall of the Roman Empire until Venice became famous for making glass about the beginning of the twelfth century. Little class was made in this country until the Middle Ages, when small quantities were made in Surrey and Sussex. Places accur London were chosen partly because the glass could be sold easily in London; but more important, sand and lime were available and the country was well wooded. Wood was needed to heat the furnaces in those days, for coal was not available. Further, the ashes of burnt wood and of ferns were used to provide the alkali for glass making—in this case a crude form of petash instead of soda. These places in Surrey and Sussex made window glass in 1352 for Stephen's Westminster.

Owing to religious persecution in Europe, foreigners came to England to start making glass here, and they taught Englishmen how to do it. There must have been many glass works in this country by the year 1565, because a map of the country showing them sixes was manted in that year and is now in a museum in Florence.

Wooden mouth-pieces to the iron, to economise in the use of iron, were used by them. The fernaces were heated by wood. These glassmakers were aradually flurning all the wood and so destroying the locests. The precedure was to build a small furnace in the middle of a wood and to cut down the trees for fuel. When all the



trees for a few miles around had been used, it was easier to move to a new site and build another furnace than to transport wood, because the roads were so bad. In this manner by the beginning of the seventeenth century these glassmakers had spread from Surrey and Sussex as far west as Bristol, and as far north as the Midlands, burning the wood from the forests and leaving their old furnaces and piles of rubbish behind them. There were many complaints in Parliament, and in 1615 the use of wood for fuel was forbidden, because a patent had been granted in 1611 for burning coal in glass melting furnaces. The clay crucibles used in the Middle Ages were small, in fact not much bigger than an ordinary household pail. Crucibles and furnaces became larger and of course, the use of coal instead of wood enabled the furnace-men to make the furmaces hotter. The use of hotter furnaces and of purer chemicals which became available with the growth of the knowledge of chemistry at the end of the eighteenth century resulted in an improvement in the quality of the glass, much of which was fashioned by being blown.

All hollow vessels such as bottles and tumblers were mouth blown until the beginning of the present century. Even window glass was made in this manner. The glass blower blow a large globe of giass. While it was still hot a second workman stuck his blowing iron by means of molten glass on the bulb us end of the globe which was then severed from the first iron. The second workmen thus had what appeared to be a large glass bowl on the end of his iron. He re-heated this in the furnace until the glass was very soft, and spun the iron rather like wringing a mop, thus causing the bowl to open out into flat sheet or disc. This was then cut into small squares or rectangular shaped panes for windows, as marked by the dotted lines. The centre piece was spoilt by the blob of glass by which it was attached to the iron, and so was sold at a lower price and wes to be found in the houses of the poorer people. More recently such piece of glass have to be male specially, and at a higher price than ordinary window glass, for the windows of imitation Tudor houses.

The cutting of window panes from a circular sheet of glass was very wasteful and a different method was evolved known as the split cylinder method, in which the glass blower blew a large eviinder of glass. The ends were cut off to give a tube which was den slit with a diamond center two boless. These seni cylinders were placed on a block of plaster of paris and heated in a furnace until the glass became so soft that it could be flattened into a sheet using a block of wood as the ironing tool. The man starts with a short extender of glass but by recheating, blowing and swirging be finally produces a glass cylinder about 2 ft. in diameter and between 5 and 7 ft. in depth.

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Apart from improvements resulting from hotter furlaces, and the use of larger crucibles and purer chemicals. here was little change in the process of glass making intil the introduction of machinery in quite recent times. This called for glass in much larger quantities than can ne melted in fireclay crucibles. Glass to be worked by men rather than machines and also special glass is still nelted in crucibles but for machines glass is melted in ank furnaces. These are built with large fireclay blocks. Such a furnace might be compared with a swimming bath. The molten glass takes the place of the water while the space between the surface of the molten glass and the roof of the furnace is filled with flame to keep the furnace hot and the glass molten. The pool of molten glass in these furnaces may be as much as 60 ft. or more in length, up to 25 ft. in width and between 3 to 4 ft. in length.

The making of window glass was described to illustrate the viscous nature of glass. It must not be thought that window glass is made by these processes to-day, although the split cylinder process was in us until a few years ago. Window glass is now made by a continuous process in which a wide sheet of glass is drawn vertically upwards by many pairs of rollers from a large pool of molten glass contained in a tank furnace such as was described. But even this apparently simple process, and indeed, all processes used for shaping molten glass, make use of its peculiar viscous and plastic properties which I

have tried to describe.

COMPOSITION

There are many kinds of glass, but most of it is made from a mixture of sand, soda and lime. Glass for bottles, windows, food containers, electric lamp and valve bulbs is made from a mixture containing about

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70 parts of sand,

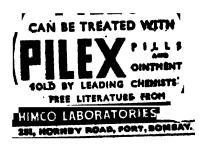
25 parts of sodium carbonate, and

15 parts of calcium carbonate or lime,

although some of the lime is sometimes replaced by magnesia owing to the use of dolomitic limestone, that is, limestone containing magnesium carbonate. A mixture of sand and soda will make a glass, but it is soluble inwater, and as such is known as water glass. Lime is added to make the glass durable. These raw materials are mixed together and shovelled into big crucibles made of fireclay contained in a furnace, or into the tank furnaces just described. The crucibles vary in size, but the largest hold nearly two tons of molten glass and are about 5 ft. in diameter and 30 inches in depth. Tank fornaces may hold any quality between a few and 1.000 tons of molten glass. I want you to note that the materials themselves are not melted. Chemical reactions take place between the sand, soda and lime and glass is formed as a result. Carbon dioxide from the decomposition of the soda and the lime, and also the air entrapped between the grains of the raw materials, form tiny bubbles in the viscous glass and it may take between 8 and 30 hours for the reactions to be completed and for the gas bubbles to ri-e to the surface so as to leave clear glass free from bubbles and other unsightly blemish. The bubbles rise slowly to the surface because molten glass is so viscous. Under favourable conditions, glass made from the mixture of sand, soda and lime I have just indicated, will be colourless, provided that white sand containing lass than 0.05 per cent. of iron oxide is used. Glass made from sand containing more than this very small proportion of iron oxide is coloured green. Thus, the addition of a very small amount of iron oxide produces a green colour, and this is one of the principal methods of producing coloured glass. Thus, the addition of

Iron oxide Green glass Copper oxide or produces Chromium oxide Cobalt oxide Blue glass Purple glass Manganese dioxide Uranium oxide Yellow glass

Another method of colouring glass is to have very many tiny particles of material scattered through it. Thus tiny particles of colourless material may result in a white or opal glass, tiny particles of gold or of copper produce a red glass, cadmium sulphide a vellow glass, while particles of cadmium selenide and cadmium sulphide produce colours ranging from orange to dark red, depending on the proportions of the two constituents. These glasses are nearly



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There is another important difference between glass and metal. A very much larger weight must be hung on a rod of metal in order to break it than upon a rod of glass of the same size. Very approximately a weight of 6 tons would be needed to break a rod of glass 1 in. in diameter whereas about 20 tons would be needed to break a similar rod of steel (depending on the kind of steel, of course), and so we say that metal is stronger than glass. This is only true however when the materials are being stretched. We find that glass is quite strong when it is being compressed—thus, an inch cube of glass would need a load of about 60 tons to cause it to break when it is being compressed, so that glass is very much stronger when

it is being compressed than when it is being stretched.

This special hind of glass is known as toughened and it is tough in the sense that it is stronger than ordinary glass. It is used for motor-car screens, first,

colourless and have to be heated to allow the particles to because it is much stronger than ordinary glass, ar secondly, because it breaks into tiny fragments which as comparatively harmless, instead of large pieces which might cut people very seriously. The toughening of gl is carried out by heating it to a high temperature then cooling it rapidly. This results in a compressing being present in the surface layers which makes the stronger, as we have already seen. You may have that from certain positions a motor-car screen appears be covered with circular patches. These correspont the air jets used for this cooling. When you see this know at once that the glass has been toughened. process of toughening is not new. Pieces of glass made allowing molten glass to fall as droplets into water known as "Rupert's Drops" because they were introdinto England by Prince Rupert of Bavaria, granded James I of England, about the middle of the sevent century. He showed them to the King and Pepril them, for he recorded in his diary on the 13th 1662, "Mr. Peter did show us the experiment of the call glasses which break all to dust by breaking little small end; which is a great mystery to me. we have seen that it is no longer a mystery becaus surface layers of these Rupert's drops are under and compressing forces. They can be hammered heavily the head and so they are exceptionally strong when teste in this manner. Breaking off the tail upsets the internet stresses within the glass and the sudden release of energ shatters the glass drop. The similarity between the Rupert drop and the sheet of toughened glass is evident, but mor than two hundred years were to pass before this principl of the Rupert's drop was applied to make glass strongerfirst in the toughening of gauge glasses for boilers, the to sheet glass for motor-car screens, and now experiment are being made to toughen glass for cooking-vessels.



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colourless and have to be heated to allow the particles to because it is much stronger than ordinary glass, ar be precipitated.

because it is much stronger than ordinary glass, ar secondly, because it breaks into tiny fragments which a:

PHYSICAL PROPERTIES

The most characteristic feature of glass is that it breaks easily. If glass is dropped, it breaks and we say that it is brittle—now what do we mean by being brittle? We have seen that glass can be deformed quite readily when it is very hot but once it is cold it cannot be deformed. If a glass rod is bent it suddenly breaks and we say that glass is brittle. Some metals on the contrary can be deformed quite readily—for example, the rods of iron, copper, lead and tin are bent easily, and we say that these metals are ductile. Now if a rod of glass or of metal is bent slightly and then released, it springs back to its original position, a.e., it has not been bent permanently. But if they are bent further the metals bend and remain bent, whereas glass breaks. Metal is ductile and glass is brittle.

There is another important edifference between glass and metal. A very much larger weight must be hung on a rod of metal in order to break it than upon a rod of glass of the same size. Very approximately a weight of 6 tons would be needed to break a rod of glass 1 in. in diameter whereas about 20 tons would be needed to break a similar rod of steel (depending on the kind of steel, of course), and so we say that metal is stronger than glass. This is only true however when the materials are being stretched. We find that glass is quite strong when it is being compressed—thus, an inch cube of glass would need a load of about 60 tons to cause it to break when it is being compressed, so that glass is very much stronger when it is being compressed than when it is being stretched.

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Maharana Pratap Singh

THE PASSING AWAY OF SRI CHAITANYA'S GREAT DISCIPLE YAVANA HARIDAS

By Santosh Sen Gupta

THE MODERN REVIEW



LXXXIII. No. 4 WHOLE No. 496

NOTES

Loyalty to the State

The Constitution of the Indian Union is fast taking shape and it will not be long now before it is placed before the world. But in all such matters, vital to the life of a nation, the most essential ingredient is loyalty to the State. We may have the highest ideals of democracy incorporated in the Constitution, but if the executive is disloyal and self-seeking, then of what avail is it all? Today the enthusiasm of the masses is slowly dying out, and a sense of futility is gradually gaining ground, which if not checked in time, will end in chaos.

The most essential duty of the Central executive, starting from the very top, is to exhibit to the Nation an example of staunch loyalty to the State. If they fail, then despite all high-sounding phrases and all wonderful "Planning for the Future." the results would be dismal and catastrophic. Do our leaders realize that the Man in the Street is becoming a cynical pessimist, brooding over the nepotism and jobbery in the appointments to the higher services at the Centre, the total laxness of the heads of departments and the consequent failure to combat the bribery, corruption and inefficiency that permeates the entire administration.

What is the use of planning for industry when all industry and commerce could be held up today corrupt officials, who utilize the control machinery for the sole purpose of extortion of bribes? What is the use of export control when the black-marketeer can dubricate his way past all barriers in broad daylight for the passage of millions of rupees worth of essential. goods? There is an acute shortage of railway transport, we are told, but wagons and priorities seem to morale of the masses higher than what it was in get wings when judicious sums—ranging from fifty to * August, 1947? five hundred rupees are handed over at the right. place. Textile goods cannot be got for love or money and in the Provinces, for the present and the future in the "open" market, but go to any basar in any city in But the only plan that seems to be working smoothly town or village, you can get whatever you want from today is that of looting and fleecing the sorely tried, the black-marketoer at double the marked price. There and badly mal-administered masses. And unless our is a control grater for the export of essential come Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister can evolve modities to Pakistan, but go to any frontier station," and put into active operation a master-plan to rectify

goods smuggled, that is, with the open connivance of those whose duty it is to check the transit. As a result there is a vast flow of "controlled" goods across the border, in one direction only, so far as the Eastern frontier is concerned. For strange though it may seem, it must be admitted that the masses of Eastern Pakistan, lacking though they might be in education, culture and the higher human traits, do possess a far stronger sense of loyalty to the State in this respect at least. Possibly that is because of the absence on the other side of the counterparts of our mercantile bag-barons, bloated with ill-gotten gains, and totally devoid of any scruples, principles or higher ideals.

Bribery, corruption, nepotism and patronage of unworthy and unscrupulous job-hunters, are still as rife in the State as ever before. There have been many instances in the High Command when loyalty to undeserving associates has taken precedence of loyalty to the State. The Cabinet cannot deny that on many a crucial juncture the interests of the particular set have overridden the interests of the Nation. If this continues then how can they expect the mass to remain staunch in the face of privations and loval in the midst of disruptive influence? As for the provinces, in some the people have already begun to curse the name of the Congress and others will follow suit if things do not mend.

Let us face realities. The first year of our freedom is already two-thirds gone, and the day of stock-taking is coming near. Has the weight of popular sanction behind our Ministries grown or diminished, is the

Plans and schemes there are galore, in the Centre you will see open markets for se-called smuggled goods, these evils, all the other plans would be as nought.

India's Draft Constitution

The Draft Constitution of India, as settled by the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly marks an important stage in the progress of framing the new Constitution for India. The Draft is divided into 18 Parts, consists of 315 Articles and 8 Schedules and runs into 214 printed pages. The preamble of the Draft Constitution as drawn up by the Drafting Committee runs as follows:

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all 1ts

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and

Equality of status and of opportunity and to

promote among them all;

Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;
In our Constituent Assembly this . . . of . . .

(day 15 of May 1948 A.D.) do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

The preamble closely follows the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in January, 1947. The resolution declares that India is to be a Sovereign Independent Republic. The Drafting Committee has adopted in its place, the phrase Sovereign Democratic Republic. The question of the relationship between the Indian Republic and the British Commonwealth of Nations remains to be decided subsequently. The Committee has added a. clause about fraternity in the Preamble, although it does not occur in the Objectives Resolution. The Committee felt that the need for fraternal concord and goodwill in India was never greater than now and that this particular aim of the new Constitution should be emphasised by special mention in the Preamble.

The different parts of the Draft Constitution deals with (1) the Union and its territory and jurisdiction, (2) Citizenship, (3) Fundamental Rights, (4) Directive Principles of State Policy, (5) the Union—the Union Executive. Parliament. Legislative Powers of the President, the Federal Judicature and Auditor-General of India, (6) the States of the Unisa (Governors' Provinces)—their Executive, Legislatures, Legislative power of the Governor, Provisions in case of Grave Emergency, Scheduled and Tribal Areas, High Courts, Auditors-in-Chief, (7) the States of the Union (Chief Commissioners' Provinces)-their Administration. Creation of Local Legislature or Council of Advisers, (8) other territories of the Union-Indian States, etc. (9) Relations between the Union and component regulated by law by the Parliament of the Union. States-distribution of Legislative Powers, Restriction on Legislative Powers, Inter-State Trade and Com- Fundamental Rights and States Policy merce. Co-ordination between States, (10) Finance, Property, Contracts and Suits, (11) Emergency Provisions of the Constituent Assembly. Part III deals with mons, (12) Services, (13) Elections, (14) Special Provi-them. to Minorities, (15) Miscellaneous

porary and Transitional Provisions, and (18) Commencement and Repeals.

The Report of the Committee is unanimous except that Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyer has submitted a separate note for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly in regard to certain Articles bearing on distribution of legislative powers between the Parliament and the Units and the Units Parliament assuming power over a subject in the Provincial list when it assumes national importance.

Citizenship

Article 5 of the Draft lays down who shall be a citizen of India at the date of the commencement of the new Constitution. Every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution and who has not made his permanent abode in any foreign State after the first day of April, 1947; and every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted), or in Burma, Ceylon or Malaya, and who has his domicile in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution, shall be a citizen of India, provided that he has not acquired the citizenship of any foreign State before the date of commencement of the Constitution.

The main principle embodied in this Article is that in order to be a citizen of the Union at its inception a person must have some kind of territorial connection with the Union, whether by birth or descent or domicile.

The Article also keeps in view the requirements of the large number of displaced persons who have had to migrate to India within recent months and provides for them a specially easy mode of acquiring domicile and, thereby, citizenship; for, under the explanation to the Article, a person shall be deemed to have his domicile in the territory of India if he would have had his domicile in such territory under Part II of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, had the provisions of that Part been applicable to him, or if he has, before the date of commencement of the Constitution, deposited in the office of the District Magistrate a declaration in writing that he desires to acquire such domicile and has resided in the territory of India for at least one month before the date of declaration.

The acquisition of citizenship after the date of commencement of the Constitution has been left to be

The Fundamental Rights are based on the deci-

These rights have been grouped an follows: rights Assistection of President and Governors, Interpretations, of equality, rights relating to religion, cultural and 16) Amendment of the Constitution, (17) Tem-educational rights, right to property and right to

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constitutional remedies. There is an express prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex. All citisens are assured of equal opportunity in matters of public employment.

Untouchability' is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The State is prohibited from conferring any title and no citizen is to accept any title from any foreign State. Certain rights regarding freedom of speech, freedom to assemble peaceably and without arms, to form associations or unions, to move freely throughout the territory or to reside or settle in the territory of India or to acquire, hold and dispose of property or to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business are protected.

It is declared that all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practise and propagate religion. Traffic in human beings and "begar" and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited. The cultural and educational interests of minorities are also protected. The right to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights is guaranteed.

Part IV deals with the Directive Principles of State Policy and contains provisions which though not enforceable by any Court are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it is specifically provided that it shall be the duty of the State to follow these principles in making laws.

The new State is to promote the welfare of the people by establishing and maintaining a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life. This Part also contains various injunctions regarding the right to education, to just and humane conditions of work, to a living wage for workers, and so forth.

In a broadcast speech from the Calcutta Station of the A.I.R., Sir B. L. Mitter said that the Draft Constitution of India has made generous provisions for the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. The provisions are in two categories—first, general fundamental rights which are common to all including minorities and secondly, special rights for Muslims, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Scheduled Classes. Explaining the provisions of the Articles, Sir B. L. Mitter said:

Part III of the Draft Constitution deals with Fundamental Rights. Art. 9 enacts that the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste or sex—Art. 10 directs that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment under the State—Art. 11 abolishes Untouchability. Art. 13 secures to all citizens freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom to form Unions, freedom to move freely and to reside and settle in any part of India, freedom, to acquire property and freedom to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, arade or business. Protection of life and liberty and equal protection of the law are provided in Arts 15. Art. 16 gives freedom of trade, sommerce and intercourse. Art. 17 prohibits

traffic in human beings and enforced labour. Art. 18 prohibits the employment of child labour in factories, mines and other hazardous undertakings. These rights are secured to all, including minorities.

With regard to Religion, it is provided that all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate any religion. Every religious denomination shall have the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to manage its own affairs in matters of religion and to own and acquire property.

Our leaders have made it clear that India will be a secular State—accordingly, it is provided that no religious instruction shall be given by the State in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds. But any community or denomination may arrange for religious instruction in an institution outside its working hours.

Art. 23 of the Draft Constitution fully safeguards the cultural and linguistic rights of minorities. It is provided that any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India, or any part thereof, having a distinct language, script and culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same. No minority, whether based on religion, community or language shall be discriminated against in regard to the admission of any person belonging to such minority into any educational institution maintained by the State. All minorities whether based on religion, community or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. the State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion, community or language,

Practically all "human rights" that have attracted international interest, are covered by Part III of the Draft Constitution. Apart from these Fundamental rights, the Draft Constitution has made special provisions for the Muslim community, the Scheduled Castes and the Indian Christian Community in Madras and Bombay. Communal selectorates have been abolished, but provision has been made for reserving seats for them in the Legislatures. The Anglo-Indian Community will have members nominated by the President and Governors. A special provision has been made for the Anglo-Indian Community for appointments in the Railways, Customs and Posts and Telegraph Services, their privileged position will be maintained for ten years after which this community will be on a par with other minorities and all reservations will cease. Similarly, the special financial concessions which the educational institutions of the Anglo-Indian Community now enjoy will be continued on a diminishing scale for a period of ten years. Muslims and Anglo-Indians, who have fought together aganist Indian Freedom, have thus received much more concessions than any country in the world would have given them under similar circumstances.

To ensure that the consession made to minorities and their rights generally are not whittled down in practice, provision has been made for a Special Officer who will watch over uninority

interests and periodically report to the President and the Governors. Power has also been given to the President to appoint Commissions to report on the administration of the Scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled tribes and also to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes. The action taken by the President on such reports shall be communicated to Parliament.

Every right carries a corresponding duty with it. In India, under the British, it has been seen that minorities enjoyed rights without any corresponding duties. The Geneva Convention of the League of Nations provided that any minority that developed a fissiparous tendency within the body politic forfeits its claim to any special rights and privileges. But in India the Ruling Power encouraged the minorities to develop fissiparous tendencies in the country and strengthened them by granting rights without duties. The inevitable result is Divided India of today. The Muslims have got their own homeland which is declared to be an Islamic State and from where non-Muslims have been driven out. Anglo-Indians worked hand in gloves with them in all their anti-national acts. Now, in addition to their own dreamland, both of them are going to enjoy almost all the same special rights and privileges that they did under the British, this time guaranteed by the Indian Constitution itself. It is a gesture that is seemingly Quixotic, but we hope that the expected results would be forthcoming.

Union Executive and Parliament

Part V deals with the Union.

The Union Executive.—The head of the State is to be the President of India. All executive power of the Union is vested in the President, to be exercised by him on the advice of responsible Ministers. He is to be elected by the members of an Electoral College consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament, and the elected members of the Legislatures of the States. He is to hold office for a term of five years and is eligible for re-election once, but only once.

The President must be a citizen, not less than thirty-five years of age and qualified for election as a member of the Lower House of Parliament.

The President may be impeached for violation of the Constitution. The Draft makes provision for a Vice-President also. He is to be the ex-officio Chairman of the Council of States and is to be elected by the members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joinit sitting in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. He is to hold office for a term of five years.

Whenever the office of President becomes vacant, the Vice-President discharges its duties until another President is elected.

All doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of a President or VicePresident are to be inquired into and decided by the Supreme Court whose decision is to be final. The Draft provides for a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head, to aid and advice the President in the exercise of his functions. The Council is to be collectively responsible to the House of the People.

All executive action of the Government of India is to be expressed to be taken in the name of the President. It is the duty of the Prime Minister to furnish information to the President relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation whenever the President may call for the same. Provision has been made also for the appointment of an Attorney-General corresponding to the Advocate-General for India under the existing Constitution.

The Union Parliament is to consist of a President and two Houses to be known respectively as the Council of States and the House of the People. The Council of States is to consist of 250 members of whom 15 members are to be nominated by the President to represent literature, art, science, etc., and the remainder are to be the representatives of the States. The House of the People is to consist of not more than 500 representatives of the territories of the States elected on the basis of adult suffrage, and there is to be not less than one representative for every 750,000 of the population and not more than one representative for every 500,000 of the population.

The Council of States will not be subject to dissolution, but as nearly as possible one-third of the members will retire on the expiration of every second year.

The House of the People is to continue for a period of five years and the expiration of that period operates as its dissolution, but provision has been made for extension of the duration of the House of the People for a period not exceeding one year during any emergency.

The usual provisions for the summoning, prorogation and dissolution of the Houses of the Union Parliament, the conduct of business therein, the disqualifications of members thereof and the Legislative procedure of the two Houses including procedure in financial matters have been included generally on the lines of similar provisions contained in the Government of India Act, 1935.

It has however been provided, following the practice prevalent in the Parliament of the United Kinigdom, that at the commencement of every session the President shall address both Houses of Parliament assembled together and inform Parliament of the cause of its summons

A special procedure has been prescribed with regard to Money Bills on the liftes of the practice in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

It has been also provided, that in the Union Parliament business shall be transcated in Hindi or NOTES 257

English but that the Presiding Officer of the House may permit any member, who cannot adequately express himself in either of these languages, to address the House in his mother tongue.

Power has been given to the President to promulgate Ordinances at any time except when both the Houses of Parliament are in session. The President will promulgate such ordinances on the advice of his Ministers and such Ordinances will cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Union Parliament.

The President has been given power to issue a Proclamation of Emergency when a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened whether by war or domestic violence. The provisions relating to the Proclamation of Emergency are modelled on the existing provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Federal Judicature

There will be a Supreme Court of India consisting of a Chief Justice of India and not less than seven Judges. Provision has been made for the appointment by the Chief Justice of India of Judges of High Courts as ad hoc Judges at the sittings of the Supreme Court for specified periods following the practice prevalent in the Supreme Court of Canada. Provision has also been made for the attendance of retired Judges at sittings of the Supreme Court as in the United Kingdom and in the United States America.

Any person who has held office as a Judge of the Supreme Court (or of a High Court) is prohibited from practising in any court in India.

The Supreme Court is to have original, appellate and advisory jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction extends to disputes between the Union and a State or between two States, if and in so far as the dispute involves any question whether of law or fact on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends.

Disputes arising out of certain agreements have, however, been left out of the purview of the Supreme Court. The appellate jurisdiction of the Court extends to cases involving the interpretation of the Constitution and to all other cases from which an appeal now lies to the Federal Court or to His Majesty-in-Council.

The minimum pecuniary limit of the subject matter of the dispute in the case of civil appeals has been fixed at Rs. 20,000. The Supreme Court has advisory jurisdiction in respect of questions which may be referred to that Court by the President for opinion.

Provision has been also made for special leave to appeal to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India,

In a foot-note the Committee has observed that in the Supreme Court of the United States, of America all the Judges of the Court are entitled to participate in the hearing of every matter, that the Court never sits in divisions and that the Judges of that Court attach the greatest importance to this practice.

The Committee has expressed the opinion that this practice should be followed in India at least in two classes of cases, namely, those which involve questions of interpretation of the Constitution and those which are referred to the Supreme Court for opinion by the President, and that whether the same practice should not be extended to other classes of cases may be left to be regulated by Parliament by law.

It has been reported that the Supreme Court will come into being in October next.

The State Executive

India is described as a Union of States and for the sake of uniformity the Units of the Union have been described as 'States' whether they are known at present as Governors' Provinces or Chief Commissioners' Provinces or Indian States. The States have been divided into three classes:

(a) States enumerated in Part I of the First Schedule which correspond to the existing Governors' Provinces;

(b) States enumerated in Part II of the First Schedule which correspond to the existing

Chief Commissioners' Provinces; and (c) States enumerated in Part III of the First Schedule which correspond to the Indian States which have accoded to the Dominion.

In addition, the territory of the Union includes the Andaman and Nicobar Islands enumerated in Part IV of the First Schedule and any other territory which may be acquired by the Union.

Provision has been made for the admission, establishment and formation of new States.

Part VI deals with States corresponding to Governor's Frovinces.

Each State will have a Governor the and executive power of the State is vested in him.

As to the mode of selection of the Governor, the Draft contains alternative provisions. One alternative, following the decision of the Constituent Assembly, provides that the Governor shall be elected by direct wote of all persons who have the right to vote at a general election for the Legislative Assembly of the State. The other alternative, favoured by some of the members of the Committee who feel strongly that the co-existence of a Governor elected by the people and a Chief Minister responsible to the Legislature might lead to friction and consequent weakness in administration, provides that the Governor shall be appointed by the President from a panel of four persons (who need not be residents of the State concerned) elected by the Legislature of the State.

The term of office of the Governors is to be five years. Provision has been made for impeachment of a Governor for violation of the Constitution.

The Committee has not thought it necessary to make any provision for Deputy Governors, because a Deputy Governor will have no function to perform so long as the Governor is there.

At the Centre, the position is different, because the Vice-President is also the ex-officio Chairman of the Council of States; but in most of the States there will be no Upper House and it will not be possible to give the Deputy Governor functions similar to those of the Vice-President. There is a provision in the Draft enabling the Legislature of the State (or the President) to make necessary arrangements for the discharge of the functions of the Governor in any unforcement contingency.

Provision has been also made for a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The Governor is to act on the advice of his Ministers, except in respect of certain matters, such as, the summoning and dissolving of the Legislature, the appointment of the Chairman and members of the State Public Service Commission and the Auditorin-Chief of the State and the issue of a proclamation suspending the constitution in case of grave emergency threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State. This last-mentioned power can be exercised only for a period not exceeding two weeks and the Governor is required to report the matter to the President.

The boundaries of the existing provinces have been drawn most arbitrarily by the British authorities as dictated by immediate political expediency and in their own administrative interests. It is a pity that the same boundaries have been preserved. Arrangement has been made to create Andhra into a separate province. Some other linguistic areas claiming to alter the existing boundaries are also getting a sympathetic hearing. But Bengal's claim on its own territories unjustly transferred to Bihar have been completely cold-shouldered. It has been proposed to set up a Boundary Commission of the Constituent Assembly and so far we have been able to gather, Bengal's claim will be excluded from the terms of reference of the proposed Commission. Provisions of Section 3 of the Draft Constitution will deprive Bengal for ever of all constitutional means of redress of her long-standing grievance against Assam and Bihar.

The State Legislature

The State Legislature is to consist of the Governor and two Houses (Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council) in a few States and one House (Legislative Assembly) in all other States. The names of the States which will have two Houses have been left blank for the present.

The Legislative Assembly is to consist of members (not being in any case more than 300 or less than 60) who are to be chosen by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage in territorial constituencies. There is to be not more than one member for every lakh of the population, except in the case of certain areas known as the "Autonomous districts" of Assam.

The total number of members of the Legislative Council of a State having such a Council is not to exceed 25 per cent of the total number of members in the Legislative Assembly of the State. One-half of the members of the Council are to be chosen from panels on a functional basis and one-third of the members to be elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and the remainder are to be nominated by the Governor.

The Legislative Assembly is to continue for five years and the expiration of that period operates as its dissolution. The Legislative Council will not be subject to dissolution but as nearly as may be one-third of the members will retire on the expiration of every third year.

The usual provisions for summoning, proroguing and dissolving the House or Houses of the Legislature of the State, the conduct of business therein, the disqualifications of members thereof and the legislative procedure, including procedure in financial matters, have been included.

It has been provided that in the Legislature of a State business shall be transacted in the language or languages generally used in that State or in Hindi or English but that the Presiding Officer of the Legislature may permit any member, who cannot adequately express himself in either of these languages, to address the Legislature in his mother tongue.

Emergency Powers of the Governor

Powers has been provided for the promulgation of Ordinances by the Governor of a State at any time except when the Legislature of the State is in session. The Governor will promulgate such Ordinances on the advice of his Ministers and they cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Legislature of the State.

Provision has been made empowering the Governor in cases of grave emergency threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State to issue a proclamation suspending certain provisions of the Constitution for a period of two weeks only, and the Governor is required to report the matter to the President. Upon receipt of the report the President may either revoke the proclamation or issue a fresh proclamation of his own, the effect of which will be to put the Central Executive in place of the State Executive and the Central Legislature in place of the State Legislature or, in other words, the State concerned will become a centrally administered area for

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the duration of the proclamation. This replaces the "Section 93 regime" under the Act of 1935.

State Judiciary

Provisions with regard to High Courts in States corresponding to the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces are mostly the same as in the Government of India Act, 1935. It has, however, been provided that a Judge of a High Court may hold office until he attains the age of 60 years to such higher age not exceeding 65 years as may be fixed in this behalf by the Legislature of the State. It has also been provided that a person who has held office as a Judge of a High Court shall be prohibited from practising in any court or before any authority within the territory of India.

Provision has also been made for the employment of retired Judges at sittings of the High Court following the practice in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America.

It has also been provided that the Union Parliament may by law extend the jurisdiction of a High Court to or exclude the jurisdiction of a High Court from any State other than the State in which the Court has its principal seat.

The Union and the State

Part IX deals with the legislative and administrative relations between the Union and the States. For the most part, the Drafting Committee has made no change in the Legislative Lists as recommended by the Union Powers Committee and adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

The Committee has, however, provided that when a subject which is normally in the State List assumes national importance, then the Union Parliament may legislate upon it. To prevent any unwarranted encroachment upon State powers it has been provided that this can be done only if the Council of States, which may be said to represent the States as Units, passes a resolution to that effect by a two-thirds majority.

The Committee has also considered it desirable to put into the Concurrent List the whole subject of "succession" instead of only "succession to property other than agricultural land."

The Committee has also included in the Concurrent List all matters in respect of which parties are now governed by their personal law, so that the enactment of a uniform law in India in these matters may be facilitated. While putting land acquisition for the purposes of the Union into the Union List and land acquisition for the purpose of a State in the State List, the Committee has provided that the principles on which compensation for acquisition has to be determined shall in all cases be in the Concurrent List in order that there may be some uniformity in this matter.

In addition, in view of the present abnormal

circumstances which require Central control over essential supplies, it has been provided, on the lines of the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946, that, for a term of five years from the commencement of the Constitution, trade and commerce in and the production, supply and distribution of, certain essential commodities, such as, cotton textiles, food-stuffs, and petroleum, as also the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons, shall be on the same footing as Concurrent List subjects.

As regards the administrative relations between the Union and the States provision has been made for enabling a State which corresponds to an Indian State to enter into agreement with the Union or with any State which corresponds to a Governor's Province for the undertaking of executive, legislative and judicial powers in the former State by the Union or the latter State. Provision for settlement of the disputes regarding inter-States' water-supplies on the lines of the existing provision in the Government of India Act, 1935, has also been included.

As respects inter-State trade and commerce, all preferences or discrimination to one State over another have been prohibited Provision has, however, been made to enable any State to impose reasonable restrictions in the public interest.

Provision has also been made for the appointment by the President of an inter-State Council for the settlement of disputes between the States and for the better co-ordination of policy.

End of Communal Politics in India

The Indian Parliament has adopted a resolution declaring that no communal organisation should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the bona fide religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community. It recommends legislative and administrative steps to prevent such activities. The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, accepted the resolution and in doing so made it clear that so far as the implementation of it was concerned, more especially in regard to the legislative aspect of it, it would have to be very carefully considered and it would ultimately have to come up-before the House.

The resolution, which was moved by Shri Ananta-sayanam Ayyangar, reads:

Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity that communalism should and solidarity from Indian life, the Assembly of opinion that no communal organisation which by its constitution or by the exercise of discretionary power vested in any of its officers or organs, admits to or excludes from its membership persons on grounds of religion, race and caste, or any of them. should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the bona fide religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities should be taken.

The resolution will have far-reaching effects. It marks the end of the most pernicious communal politics introduced into this country by Britain which has spelled disaster on millions of innocent Indian families. The communal politics of the last ten years have taught us that separate electorates and reservation of seats in the legislatures and reservation of posts in the services on communal grounds have not improved the lot of those whose interests were purported to have been safeguarded but have killed the usefulness and efficiency of both the legislature and the administration. Corruption and nepotism are only the handmaids of this policy of communal reservations. Allocation of seats and posts on grounds of backwardness and inefficiency never improves the bodies into which they are placed, on the contrary, they pull down the general standard of efficiency because they act as clogs on the wheels of the legislative, executive and judicial machineries of the society.

After the passing of the resolution, the Constitution Act of Free India should drop the principle of communal reservations conceded in the Draft. It is understood that the view that there should be no more reservations on communal basis is gaining ground among the members of the Constituent Assembly. It is reported that the committee, which is finalising the minorities rights, is likely to give a go-by to the principle of reservation excepting the backward classes. We think that reservations should not be made even for them. Instead, let them have their fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution making them enforceable at law so that they may not be encroached upon in any way. It is much better both for them and also for the Nation that they should have full facilities for education so that they may qualify themselves for open competition with the other members of the society: In the matter of coming to the Legislature and entering the services they must be treated on an absolutely equal footing with all citizens irrespective of religion, caste or creed. Substantial allocations out of the general education funds may be reserved for granting extra educational facilities for the minority communities and backward classes but it must be made clear to them that entry into the brain-system of the society represented by the Legislature and its nervous system, the administrative machinery must be strictly regulated on grounds of merit and quality alone. The presence of even one single discased tissue in any one of them may kill the entire body corporate. Ten years of communal politics and communal administration is a sufficient pointer in this direction.

The Government and Universities

The Central Government of the Indian Union have constituted the University Grants Committee of 9 members with the Rt. Han'ble M. R. Jayakar as Chairman. The members are Srimati Hansa Mehta (Bombay), Dr. Staats Staats Bhatnagar (Delhi and E. Punjab), Dr.

Meghnad Saha (Calcutta), Sir Hemi Mody (Bombay), Dr. Subbarayan (Madras), Dr. Zakir Husain (Delhi), Mr. K. Zacharia (Travancore) and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. The Committee will have a life of 5 years, and its duty is to make enquiries and make recommendations, regarding:

- (i) the lines on which the Universities and other institutions of higher learning should develop,
- (ii) the additional amounts in the form of grants-inaid from public funds required for them, and
- (iii) the do-ordination of their activities with a view to avoiding unnecessary overlapping.

When the talk of educational reconstruction is so much in the air, and a general drive to expedite it is in the offing, it is hoped that the Central Government will make a positive contribution to clarifying the ideas and laying down the lines of future development. We have heard the former Premier of West Bengal, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, holding forth that higher education should depend on private help for functioning, and that the State should concentrate on what is known as "mass education", the field which has been neglected for the whole period of British regime. We have no desire to enter into an argument on this subject, because we refuse to accept this compartmentalism in education that Dr. Ghosh favoured. What we find in other countries differs wholly from his ideas. The Worldover Press reported some time ago that the State in Britain has increased its grants to Universities to well over Rs. 10 crores, that "State scholarships have been doubled, and by far the greater number of undergraduates now in residence receive grants from Rs. 2,600 to Rs. 4,200 from Government sources. No one has to work through college." It is not possible in this country to fully realize the significance of this State help to equalize conditions for all the rich and the poor in the field of education. That is Socialism "in action" in one department of the people's life. The ideas represented by Dr. Ghosh were based on the conception that there was a conflict between higher and lower education inherent in the scheme of things. If we are to build up a better India, this old conception has to be thrown overboard, and an integrated education brought into use. The neglect of centuries has to be made up in as many yeears. The Sargent Scheme had spoken of a 40-years programme for the literacy and education of the whole people. Very few have accepted this long trial. The alien State in India had been afraid to hustle India. Our National State has no reason to fear its own people. And we have no doubt that our people will respond as eagerly to the call for national reconstruction as British University students have done to the call for "effort" for their "national" recovery. The following from the "British Information Services" Bulletin is worth knowing:

Thousands of university students in Britain today are responding to their country's call for service by devoting their week-ends to the national recovery effect, doing all sorts of manual tasks such as the university of wagons and helping with excavation work.

New wifit hospitals desperately effect of setals, an

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advance party of 23 girls and seven young men from London University has volunteered to work full-time in hospitals, instead of going on holiday.

Forty others have volunteered to work at weekends starting on January 24.

The student volunteers will do the work of ward orderlies including gegneral cleaning tasks, polishing and dusting. They will also help in the preparation and serving of meals for the patients.

An official of the National Union of Students remarked the other day: "We are drawing volunteers from 25 colleges, schools of medicine and polytechnics. We want to get everyone to play his part."

Industrial Policy of the India Government

The long-awaited industrial policy of the Government of India has been announced. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerice, Minister for Industries and Supplies, presented on April 7 to the Indian Parliament a resolution on the Government of India's individual policy. The resolution was debated upon and accepted. The following is the text of the resolution:

"The Government of India have given careful thought to the economic problems facing the country. The Nation has now set itself to establish a social order where justice and equality of opportunity shall be secured to all the people. The immediate objective is to provide educational facilities and health services on a much wider scale, and to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by exploiting the latent resources of the country, increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the services of the community. For this purpose, careful planning and integrated effort over the whole field of national activity are necessary and the Government of India propose to establish a National Planning Commission to formulate programmes of development and to secure their execution. The present statement, however, confines itself to Government's policy in the industrial field.

"Any improvement in the economic conditions of the country postulates an increase in national wealth. A mere redistribution of existing wealth would make no essential difference to the people and would merely mean the distribution of poverty. A dynamic national folicy must, therefore, be directed to a continuous increase in production by all possible means, side by side with measures to secure its equitable distribution. In the present state of the Nation's economy, when the mass of the people are below the subsistence level, the emphasis should be on the expansion of production, both agricultural and industrial, and in particular on the production of capital equipment of goods satisfying the basic needs of the people, and of commodities the poort of which will increase earnings of foreign exchange.

"The problem of State participation in industry

be allowed to operate must be judged in this context. There can be no doubt that the State must play & progressively active role in the development of industries, but ability to achieve the main objectives should determine the immediate extent of State responsibility and the limits to private enterprise. Under present conditions, the mechanism and the resources of the State may not permit it to function forthwith in industry as widely as may be desirable. The Government of India are taking steps to remedy the situation. In particular, they are considering steps to create a body of men trained in business methods and management. They feel, however, that for some time to come, the State could contribute more quickly to the increase of national wealth by expanding its present activities wherever it is already operating and by concentrating on new units of production in other fields, rather than on acquiring and running existing units. Meanwhile, private enterprise, properly directed and regulated, has a valuable role to play.

"On these considerations the Government have decided that the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy, and the ownership and management of railway transport should be the exclusive monopoly of the Central Government. Further, in any emergency, the Government would always have the power to take over any industry vital for national defence. In the case of the following industries, the State-which, in this context, includes Central, Provincial and State Governments and other public authorities like municipal corporations-will be exclusively responsible for the establishment of new undertakings, except where, in the national interest, the State itself finds it necessary to secure the cooperation of private enterprise subjected to such control and regulation as the Central Government may prescribe.

"1. Coal (the Indian Coal Fields Committee's proposals will be generally followed). 2. Iron and steel:
3. Aircraft manfacture. 4. Shipbuilding. 5. Manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, excluding radio receiving sets. 6. Mineral oils.

"While the inherent right of the State to acquire any existing industrial undertaking will always remain, and will be exercised whenever the public interest requires it, Government have decided to let existing undertakings in these fields develop for a period of ten years, during which they will be allowed all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion.

"At the end of this period, the whole matter will be reviewed and a decision taken in the light of circumstances obtaining at the time. If it is decided that the State should acquire any unit, the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution will be observed and compensation will be awarded on a fair and equitable basis.

"Management of State enterprise will, as a rule, be through the medium of public corporations under the statutory control of the Central Government, who will assume such powers as may be necessary to ensure this.

"The Government of India have recently promulgated a measure for the control by the State of the generation and distribution of electric power. This industry will continue to be regulated in terms of this measure.

"The rest of the industrial field will normally be open to private enterprise, individual as well as cooperative. The State will also progressively participate in this field; nor will it hesitate to intervene whenever the progress of an industry under private enterprise is unsatisfactory. The Central Government have already embarked on enterprises like large river-valley developments, which are multi-purpose projects of great magnitude, involving extensive generation of hydroelectric power and irrigation on a vast scale, and are calculated in a comparatively short time to change the entire face of large areas in this country.

"Projects like the Damodar Valley Scheme, the Kosi Reservoir, the Hirakund Dam, etc., are in a class by themselves and can stand in comparison with any of the major schemes in America or elsewhere. The Central Government have also undertaken the production of fertilizer on a very large scale, and have in view other enterprises like the manufacture of essential drugs, and of synthetic oil from coal; many Provincial and State Governments are also proceeding on similar lines.

"There are certain basic industries of importance," apart from those mentioned in paragraph 4, the planning and regulation of which by the Central Government is necessary in the national interest. The following industries whose location must be governed by economic factors of All-India import, or which require considerable investment or a high degree of technical skill, will be subject to Central regulation and control: 1. Salt; 2 Automobiles and Tractors; 3. Prime Movers; 4. Electric Engineering; 5. Other Heavy Machinery: 6. Machine Tools: 7. Heavy Chemicals, Fertilizers and Pharmaceuticals and Drugs; 8. Electro-Chemicals Industries; 9. Non-Ferrous Metals; 10. Rubber Manufactures; 11. Power and Industrial Alcohol; 12. Cotton and Woollen Textiles; 13. Cement; 14. Sugar: 15. Paper and Newsprints; 16. Air and Sea Transport: 17. Minerals and 18. Industries related to Defence.

"The above list cannot obviously be of an exhaustive nature. The Government of India, while retaining the ultimate direction over this field of industry, will consult the Governments of the Provinces and States at stages and fully associate them in the formulation and execution of plans. Besides these Governments, representatives of industry and labour will also be associated with the Central Government in the Industrial Advisory Council and other bodies which they proposed to establish, as recommended by the Industries Conference.

'The resolution of the industries conference has

recommended that Government should establish a Cottage Industries Board for the fostering of small-scale industries. The Government of India accept this recommendation and propose to create suitable machinery to implement it. A cottage- and small-scale industries directorate will also be set up within the Directorate General of Industries and Supplies.

"One of the main objectives will be to give a distinctly co-operative bias to this field of industry.

"During and before the last war, even a predominantly agricultural country like China showed what could be done in this respect, and her mobile industrial co-operative units were of outstanding assistance in her struggle against Japan.

"The present international situation is likely to lessen to a marked degree our chances of getting capital goods for large-scale industry, and the leeway must be made up by having recourse to small-size industrial co-operatives throughout the country.

"(9) The Government, however, recognise that their objective, viz., securing the maximum increase in production, will not be realised merely by prescribing the respective spheres of State and private enterprising industry. It is equally essential to ensure the fullest co-operation between labour and management and the maintenance of stable and friendly relations between them.

"A resolution on this subject was unanimously passed by the industries conference which was held in December last. Amongst other things, the resolution states:

"... The system of remuneration to capital as well as labour must be so devised that while in the interests of the consumers and the primary producers, excessive profits should be prevented by suitable methods of taxation and otherwise, both will share the product of their industry and reasonable reserves will be allowed for the maintenance and expansion of the undertaking."

Pandit Nehru, speaking on the resolution, said that one had to be very careful that in taking any step, the existing structure was not injured too much. In the state of affairs in the world and in India today, the Prime Minister said, any attempt to have a "clean slate," that is a sweep away of all that they had got, would certainly not bring progress nearer but might delay it tremendously. He had no doubt in his mind that the existing structure had to be changed as rapidly as possible but priorities had to be laid down in view of the country's limited resources and those priorities must be laid down in terms of new things as far as possible unless the old things came in the way. He emphasised the need for thinking in terms of the vast changes in production methods that might come about which would render the industrial apparatus completely obsolete. If they spent vast sums of money on acquiring this or that, they would be acquiring things which were 90 per cent obsolete today.

Referring to Sir J. P. Srivastava's remarks Pandit

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Nehru said, "The fact of the matter is that his lament of the burdens that are put on industry, taxation and this and that is based on a certain view of the world which, I fear, cannot possibly come back, I am not thinking in idealistic or any terms but practical terms when I say that you cannot have it back. There are going to be greater burdens on industry because the State itself is burdened so much with its social problems. It has to solve them or cease to be a social State, and if it becomes just a police State, then too, it ceases to be and some other State takes its place. It has to face those problems and if it has to do this it must necessarily have the wherewithal to face those problems and the burden on industry and the like becomes greater and greater. In fact, not because you think or I think or anybody thinks, inevitably the trend of events is to make the State more and more the organiser of constructive activity, industry, etc., and not the private capitalist or any other person. I do not rule out entirely the profit motive completely. I do not know how long it will last in a smaller sense, but in a larger sense of the term it will come more and more into conflict with the new sense of the social State. That conflict will go on and one must live, and it is clear that the State will survive and not that group which represents in its pure essence the private motive in industry. So, that is an inevitable development. How are we to face that development? Are we going to try to accelerate it as many of us would like to do? Because, quite apart from the economic aspect or the expert aspect, we have arrived at a stage when a sensitive person cannot put up easily today with the vast gap between human beings, the distance and the difference between them, between the lack of opportunity on one side and the waste on the other."

A good deal of uncertainty and conflicting news and views about an impending nationalisation scheme had a great depressing influence on the Stock Markets of India and caused a fall in investments. The present resolution, coupled with the Prime Minister's bold and emphatic statement, should remove all uncertainties from the minds of our industrialists. The industrial policy has been so framed as to give the greatest possible concession to big business. It has put off nationalisation for ten years to come leaving the field open for them to make more profits. It has not uttered word about the most detectable aspect of our industrial finance, namely, the Managing Agency system. The abolition of this pernicious system of industrial finance, found nowhere else in the world, and which is the greatest source of exploitation and profitcering, would have been a boon to the country and specially so to honest small business. The omission of this vital point from the resolution is a very bad lapse indeed. Decentralisation of industry, its planned dispersal all over the country and freeing it from the clutches of a handful of men at New Delhi lacking in knowledge of local conditions of trade, commerce and industry, was a desideratum. This has not been proposed clearly in the resolution. Pandit Nehru himself said, "We would have liked the Minister for Industries to indicate what were . the industries which he expected the Provincial Governments to take up." There was a strong suggestion throughout the statement that the State would in practice ultimately mean the Central Government. He protested against the increasing tendency towards concentration of all power in the Centre. We all know what the Central Government means. Even a single decision by the Centre on a minor matter takes months and months. The Central Government means today a group of fifteen or twenty people, some very old and tired, who had got innumerable other activities, and it was wrong that the whole economic activity of the country should be concentrated in their hands. There should be the widest possible distribution initiative, control and management. The best way to achieve this planned decentralisation is to have National Planning Commission at the head and dispersal of private and State enterprises all over the country within the framework on a plan set up by the Commission with the greatest measure of liberty action granted to the units.

Regarding the exclusive monopolies of the State, there should have been some scope for the manufacture of sporting guns and rifles, etc., with the necessary ammunition by private enterprise, as otherwise the State would have to maintain a very large cadre of highly skilled men in peace time. It is also notorious that State-control means total stagnation of research, therefore, private enterprise should be allowed to participate under rigid control of research and production in other industries vital for the defence of the State. As for Cottage industries, there should be an well-knit scheme for standardisation of quality and marketing on a wide scale. Otherwise such minor enterprises cannot stand the shock of industrial upsets, to say nothing of competition from big business.

Nationalisation of Reserve Bank

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has adopted a resolution expressing its opinion that "it is not in the interests of the country to nationalise banking as recommended by the A.-I. C. C. Economic Programme Committee" and that the Reserve Bank of India should not be nationalised. The resolution reads:

"The Federation is definitely of the opinion that it is not in the interest of the country to nationalise banking as recommended by the Economic Programme Committee. Moreover, it is also opposed to bringing all resources available for investment under the control and direction of the State, as it would strike at the very foundation of the working of private enterprise in this country. The Federation, however, welcomes the recent statement of the Prime Minister that the Government have no intention of nationalising commercial banks.

"As regards the Reserve Bank of India, the Federation is definitely of the opinion that it should not be nationalised. Apart from the present preoccupation of the Government with pressing problems and the dearth of sufficient personnel of requisite qualifications for places of control and management, which would make the nationalisation of that bank extremely unwise, the Federation considers it essential that those who dictate the policy of the Reserve Bank must bring an independent approach and judgment in the management of the affairs of the Bank. Such an independent approach and judgment are specially called for, particularly as the Bank has to deal very largely with the finance of the Government of India.

"The Federation would, therefore, most strongly urge the Government of India to reconsider their decision as regards the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank and not proceed with any scheme that they may have involved in connection therewith."

From the trend of discussions in the meeting of the Federation, it appears that big business is deadly opposed to the scheme for nationalising the Reserve Bank. It transpired that Reserve Bank Board was sharply at variance with the Government over this issue. Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, moving the resolution, said that it was the duty of the Government to ascertain the views of experienced persons and organisations but it would appear that even the views of the Reserve Bank had not been taken into consideration and declared, "I find that the Board seems to have advised the Government against the proposal." Another gentleman characterised the proposal for nationalisation of banking as "an ideological proposition" which was "nothing short of Communism" and was "a trespass on personal liberty and freedom." Fulminations apart, we are unable to agree with any of the points enumerated in the body of the resolution as arguments against the scheme for the nationalisation of Reserve Bank. We believe that if there ever was any case for nationalisation of any institution in India at the present moment, it is the Reserve Bank. The import and export policy of India need a complete reorientation and the policy of the country should be directed towards conserving India's foreign exchange resources. The present dissipation of our valuable foreign exchange resources should forthwith be stopped but there is little sign that it will be done in the near future. The foreign exchange policy of Reserve Bank controlled by big business in the name of shareholders is open to strong criticism, as it has not played fair with the country. The import policy and foreign exchange policy should both now be fixed and regulated by the State and to facilitate that, the Reserve Bank must be nationalised. Big business must understand that playing King Canute is an extremely dugerous occupation today. It has the choice today of gracefully surrendering to the will of the people. Tomorrow there may have to be abject surrender on harsh terms.

Employees Insurance in India

The Indian Parliament has passed the Employees' State Insurance Bill which provides for certain benefits to employees in cases of sickness, maternity and employment injury. This Bill is a long step forward on the way of ensuring social security to the working class. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister of India, told the Parliament that the Government were now engaged in working out the details of a programme to provide a million workers' houses of approved design. The Bill is only a beginning of social security measures. Its scope, as now formulated, is limited but the benefits might be expanded and extended to any degree in order to cover the various categories of the working classes in this country.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that the constitutional position was such that they had mostly to depend upon the Provincial Governments for the implementations of the measures passed by the House. He assured that the Central Government did take utmost care to see that there was uniformity in the provinces and that the provincial governments made honest efforts to give effect to the various measures adopted by the House. Uniformity in the security measures and also in wages, allowances and concessions in all the provinces is absolutely essential for maintaining the stability of the industrial structure. It is good that the Labour Department of the Central Government have kept this vital point in view. It would have been better if, instead of depending on the "honest efforts" of the provincial governments, an element of compulsion had been introduced in order to maintain a uniformity of policy and practice throughout the country in such an important matter.

The provisions of the Bill applies to the organized workers in industries and plantations who will be its beneficiaries. It is high time that the case of unorganised agricultural labour had been taken up. Their conditions of work and the way in which they are widely scattered all over the country do not permit them to come under organised and closely kait associations and for want of such organisations they have so long suffered. Mr. Jagjivan Ram has assured the Indian Parliament that the needs of the agricultural population were constantly before the Government.

The pressing needs of our industrial, plantation and mining labour in the matters of wages, allowances and extra benefits have during the past few months been largely assured and necessary legislations have been made to secure them ample social justice. It is now time that they had been encouraged to iday their part in right spirit and help in increasing production for the benefit of the society. We believe that spread of education among the working class should be the foremost programme now in the hands of our Labour Department. Education alone can infuse a sense of responsibility in their minds and to make them conscious of their duty to the society that has, at the first opportunity removed all their legitimate grievance.

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and have cheerfully borne all the extra expenses for doing so. We have an apprehension about the fixation of minimum wages for certain industries. This has been done at a time of inflated prices and high cost of living. The present prices are bound to come down in a couple of years, if there is no war. Foreign competition will have to be faced in every sphere of our industrial activity. The agricultural prices have already registered an indication towards fall. With the purchasing power of our masses reduced due to a fall in agricultural prices together with a continuous import of cheaper foreign industrial goods may create an unenviable condition for our industries. The goose that lays the golden egg ought to be kept alive. Fixation of a minimum wage at a high level may prove greatly embarrassing for the Government itself in foreseeable future and it may prove injurious in the long run to the interest of the workers themselves. It is much better that they begin to think in terms of the whole society instead of considering themselves as a block completely separate and isolated from the other occupation groups as they have so long been taught to do by the misleaders of labour.

The Delhi Secretariat

We have heard how after a short spell of funk, Indian officialdom has got over its fear of the unknown, represented by the Congress and its declared objectives of equity and equality in all relations of life. They have reverted to their habitual life of files, of confusing their superiors—at present Ministers—with the multitude of counsels that these files abound in, of continuously adding to their own on the pretext of taking up some newly advertised campaign for public weal. What they were during the British regime we do not propose to recall today; for, we want to forget that as a bad dream. But, by and large they have been proving to be an "unfortunate legacy" (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's words). During the last session of the Central Legislature, just prorogued, there "was criticism of the way in which the "Imperial" Secretariat have been handling affairs, they do not appear to feel that there has been really any change on and since August 15, 1947. One of the critics, Shri Mohan Lal Saksena, member of the Constituent Assembly from the United Provinces, has returned to the charge in the columns of the Indian News Chronicle of Delhi. From this article our readers can have some idea of the vast reproductive capacity of this organ of Indian Administration. We propose to share with our readers this mormation from this article:

The Secretariat is as over-crowded as before. Let me site the number of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, to drive home the immediate necessity for reorganising the Secretariat right from the top. In the year 1924-25, we had only nine Secretaries of Departments; in 1938-39,

we had ten Secretaries; and in 1948-49 we are to have twenty-two Secretaries. In 1924-25, we had no Additional Secretary; in 1938-39, we had three Additional Secretaries and in 1948-49, we are to have five Additional Secretaries, so that we have in all 27 Secretaries and Additional Secretaries, working in the seventeen Ministries. As for Joint Secretaries there were seven in 1924-25 and ten in 1938-39. In 1948-49 we are to have thirty-seven. Then as regards Deputy Secretaries, in 1924-25 we had fifteen. In 1938-39 we had nineteen and now we have eighty-eight. Again, in regard to Under-Secretaries in 1924-25, there were four. In 1938-39, there were seventeen and now in 1848-49, we have seventy-three. Again, as regards Assistant Secretaries in 1938-39, there were twenty-one and now we have 127.

And this brood costs quite a pretty penny. The Secretaries, the highest in the official rung, draw Rs. 4,000 a month, although the Pay Commission had recommended that none of them should have more than Rs. 3,000 a month. The writer contrasts this with Secretariat salaries in Burma and Pakistan where in response to appeals by Prime Ministers, they have agreed to accept "a reduction in salary." He reports a talk with the Deputy Prime Minister which 15 revealing. Sardar Patel said that he had been working with "one-third the number of I.C.S. officers." When he was asked: "Why . . . are they everywhere?" Sardarji is reported to have said: "What can I do? Everybody is demanding I.C.S. officers with ten years' experience, and all that." This is a defeatist attitude that does not sit well on the "Iron Man" of the Congress. If August 15 did really make a "new departure" in our life, we should be able to train up men and women to adequately meet the new occasions and discharge the new duties. Why should we be found clinging to the remnants of the old system with its inflated price?

Abuse of Authority

"I hope to demonstrate that real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused"-thus wrote the Architect of India's Freedom in 1925. Since then for two and twenty years he gave himself no rest so that his people, the average Indian, can grow this capacity in himself to resist authority when abused. Today, the Indian constitution in action will be tested on the success it attains in calling up out of his being this capacity in the Indian. The Ministers of the Indian Union, the high officers of the Government, the Magistracy and the police are all required to co-operate in this education in citizenship. Have they been doing it? Are they more circumspect in using their authority? In railway stations, and booking offices, in steamer stations, in offices, do we see any sign of improvement, of determination to restrain authority from abuse? Does authority so act that the average Indian can feel that he is the master to whose comfort and convenience

authority ministers? These questions have to be asked to be replied in the negative. Cases still come to light where there does not appear to be any change from the British regime; there are cases of insult to dignity and extortion of money which people suffer in silence with a rankling sense of wrong embittering their The Jugantar, the Calcutta Bengaleethoughts. language daily, drew attention in a recent issue of instances of a long-standing abuse that in the context of our lately won freedom look as an outrage. The story, related the exploitation of the people by "Chaudhuries" who have established a monopoly the removal of goods from the steamer stations of Calcutta. Outside carters and porters are not allowed to enter the sheds, and the "Chaudhuries" dictate their terms at the point of their insolent combination. The Port Police wink at this daily abuse of monopoly because they have a share of the "loot." It is curious that these "Chaudhuries" very often demonstrate their nationalism by bringing out their carts and drivers to add to the volume of nationalist processions. But they lack the elementary sense that nationalism and ploitation are incompatible. And there appears to be mone to teach them a better practice. The first Indian Chairman of the Port Trust should for once raise his eyes from his files, and take a hand in educating on the better way his police and these "Chaudhuries."

Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen

The name of this organization—Union of Muslims -in the State of Hyderabad has been dramatized in the Press which has a sneaking fondness for Muslim communalism. Lately the editor of the Calcutta Statesman visited the State and related his experiences in his own paper. He appeared to have made it a point to meet the leader of the Ittehad, Haji Kasim Razvi, the man who has burst over the life of the State as the defender of Islam and its traditions. Mr. Ian Stephens appeared to have been impressed by this wild-eyed visionary who, if he is allowed to go in the way he has been doing all this time, will end in staging a pogrom which Pakistanis made us familiar with in Calcutta, in Noakhali, in West Punjab, and in Sind. The Calcutta editor was concerned with the present, and did not care to trace the migration of Haji Kasim Rasyi from Lucknow to Hyderabad, representing a historic continuity of the "Mulk" (Hyderabad) being influenced by persons from outside. The present head of the Ittehad carries the tradition that is associated with the Bilgramis, the Moshin-uu-Mulks and the Chattaris. He was a lawyer who left the profession and has found in communal politics a better soil for exploitation. And what he has been up to was described by the Prime Minister of India in a speech delivered at Visagapatam on March 14, last:

The kind of speech and action that has been going on in Hyderabad—it represents, I take it, the spirit of the Ittehad. Then all I can say is that the state in Hyderabad is pretty parlous indeed! It that be the ideology of the speech and action lying

behind the things there, I am afraid Hydersbad is going to suffer greatly. Because out of such evil speech and evil action, only evil can result.

As we write the news of the volunteers of the Ittehad over-flowing into Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces have appeared in the Press, carrying death, destruction and loot in their wake. Nothing better could be expected of this organisation which today is the dictator of the policy in the State, the Nisam being more or less the custodian of the seal. We should remember that the Ittehad, starting as an Anjuman in 1927 under the leadership of the late Nawab Sardar Yar Jung, Director of the Ecclesiastical Department, has developed into a political instrument of terrorism. A meeting was held under the presidentship of Moulvi Abdul Qadir Siddiqui, Professor of Islamic Theology and Religion in the Osmania University, and the objects of the organisation were thus stated:

. The Ruler and the throne are the symbols of the political and cultural rights of the Muslim community in the State. This status of the Muslims must continue for ever. It is therefore for this that the maintenance of the prestige and the divine rights of the Ruler must attain first importance whenever a change in the Constitution has to be effected.

All laws, privileges and rights derived by the Muslim community traditionally shall remain as such as they are meant for safeguarding the political rights of the Muslims and also for maintaining their economic and cultural status.

The support of the ruling house to this organization enlisted the co-operation of officialdom to it, and we find on the occasion of the death of Nawab Bardar Yar Jung in 1943, the Nizam issuing "firman" after "firman" calling upon his Muslim subjects to maintain the traditions of the late leader who had a new theory of "Anal Malik"-I am the Owner; the Muslims were made to believe that they were the Ruling Race and the Nizam was but a symbol of their sovereignty. The Ittehad was their instrument of rule over-riding the authority of the Nisam. The latest demonstration of this claim was on the occasion of the agreement signed by the Nisam at the instance of the Nawab of Chhatari advised by Sir Walter Monckton. The Ittehad demanded its rejection, and the Nawab of Chhatari had to quit. The Nizam panders to the pretensions of this organization because it upholds his dynastic ambitions and his irresponsible authority. And the policy of the Ittehad, deducible from its original objects. referred to above, has been stabilized in a political testament breathing the narrowest of ambitions.

1. Monarchy must rule over Hyderabad and be sovereign. The Ruler must be a descendant of the Assa Jahi Dynasty only.

2. If any change in the constitutional governance of Hyderabad becomes inevitable nothing which will prejudice the traditional political superiority of the Muslims should be done.

Muslims must be in a majority, both in the Local Self-Government bodies and the Legislature.
 There should be separate electorate for the Muslims.

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5. Urdu must be the official language of the State.

6. The problem of State services being interliaked both with the political and cultural superiority of the Muslims and their economic interest, division of the same in proportion to the population is cut of question.

7. The Ecclesiastical Department should function as before. An organisation of Muslims for the protection of their religion must be recognised.

8. There is a small share for Muslims in Trade, Agriculture and Industries. All facilities must be given to them to increase their shares in these fields.

The narrative given above shows that the last twenty years have brought no change in the spirit of the ruling junta of the State of Hyderabad, that in the heart of the Deccan has been planted a social polity that repudiates every principle of modern life. The State has a population of over a crore and sixty lakhs of people of which the Ittehad's clientele are hardly more than twenty-five lakhs if we accept the claim that it represents all the Muslims of the State. This element has refused to align itself with the progressive forces in the country. It has become a foreign element that must be ejected. The States Ministry of the Indian Union has been trying to bring it to reason. But during the negotiations in this behalf, the people, the majority, are being subjected to unspeakable terrorism. And the Nizam has become a prisoner of his own policy of dynastic ambitions and communal aggrandisement. The gods appear to have made him and his supporters mad-a prelude to their destruction.

Pakistani Officials Returning

On the 18th of February last a news from Dacca appeared in the Press saying that 150 senior officers opting for service in Pakistan have finally decided to return to their services in the Indian Union on which they had a lien under an agreement arrived at in July last. These senior officers elected for service in the Central Government of Pakistan. The option clause enables them to revert to their old posts if they informed authorities by February 15, 1948, that they desired to exercise their option of service in this behalf. This they must have done, and the Government of the Indian Union are in honour bound to make provision for their service. On the 7th of March last a Delhi news informed the world that about 12,000 men, mostly of the Post, Telegraph and Railway Departments, have exercised their option to serve under their old departments in the Indian Union. These two items of news raise a problem that touched on the loyalty and integrity of citisenship. The impulse that had led these men to elect for service in the new State of Pakistan would have been respected by us if they had been able to stick it out and serve their Pakistan, "the land of the Pure" even , at a secrifice. But they are found to be broken reeds, and to the Indian Union they will be a liability, and a danger. Their loyally will be suspected, and no declaration of theirs can persuade the rulers of the Indian Union to relax their watch on their conduct. We do not know why they have revised their choice. So far as we know there is not a superfluity of experienced officials at the disposal of the Pakistan Government, and it is a wonder that they should have allowed these men to leave when their service could hardly be spared. We have heard that Hindu officials in Sind are not allowed to leave the Province. But in the case of Muslim officials, there is exemption from this rigid practice. Why? The Central Government of Pakistan appear to value more the services of potential enemies amongst Hindu officials than that of their own co-religionists. This strange conduct requires a satisfactory explanation. Till then, we should be watchful of "fifth columnists" amongst the Muslim officials who have been returning. The building up of Pakistan requires life-long devotion. Why should Muslim officials be lacking in it? Their betrayal puts them out of court in Pakistan and in the Indian Union also. They are not a breed humanity of which we can be proud.

Muslim Polity in Indian Union

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the great organisation of Muslim divines, being opposed to the politics of the Muslim League, has suffered for it at the hands of Muslim League gangsters. Its venerable president, Moulana Hussain Ahmed Madani of Deobund, has been the butt of special persecution. With traditions such as these, the Jamiat has not found it difficult to reorientate its activities after August 15, 1947, when the partition of India has left over four crores of Muslims in the Indian Union, millions of whom had flirted with the "two-nations" theory and brought strength to Muslim League's elbow. Now, these millions are in a fix; they see now that Pakistan has not solved their problem; rather, from certain points of view, it has made it almost insoluable. At this crisis in their life, the Jamiat has given them a lead which may offer a way out of their difficulty. At a meeting of the Council of the Jamiat held at Delhi on the 20th of March last. resolutions were passed putting a stop to its political activities and laying a new platform for it. The resolution on the second point ran as follows:

This meeting of the Council is of the opinion that the future sphere of the Jamiat should be confined only to the religious, cultural, economic and educational interests of Muslims of the Indian Union and in order to voice their political rights and interests they should be invited to join non-communal organisations.

The success of the resolution depends on the way in which the religious, cultural and educational ideals are interpreted to Muslims. The Muslim League also had spoken of religion and culture creating special needs for the Muslims of India, which required "separate" consideration apart from those of their neighbours of other communities. It is up to the Jamiat, representing the thought-leaders among Indian

Muslims, to sterilize the spirit of separation. How they will do this, it is for them to find out in response to conditions in India where many races and cultures have sought and found asylum. It was this mingling of races and cultures that enabled Rabindranath Tagore to hail India as "the shore of humanity."

Congress-Akali Dal Merger

There appears to be general satisfaction that in the Legislative Assemblies, Central and East Punjab, the Akali Dal Sikh representatives have agreed to abide by the principles and policies, advocated and followed by the Indian National Congress. But this satisfaction will be diluted when we come to know that the leadership of the Akali Dal, Master Tara Singh, for instance, is sceptical of any good coming out of the present arrangement. He and his group have agreed to it as a trial of what, we do not know! Is it of Congress competence to implement all the terms and conditions of this pact, the details of which we do not know? From the trend of discussion we are led to form the opinion that it will be as successful or unsuccessful as the Lucknow Pact of 1916 which was hoiled as the charter of Hindu-Muslim unity. We have sirce then been witnesses of bitter disappointment with Pacts and such other opportunist patch-works. Sikh feeling, the feeling of a section of it at least, does not appear to be enthusiastic. Perhaps, it expects too much from the Congress, the Sikhs to be always sitting on the fence. This feeling found expression through the Delhi Liberator, dated March 31 last. Our readers will casily realize that there is hardly any occasion for the ringing joy-bells:

Though the Akali legislators have joined the Congress unconditionally, the Sikh problem has not yet been resolved. Rather its magnitude has increased many times. Those who are opposed to this merger will create—and they are many men of great integrity and influence—very difficult situation for us if we fail to satisfy them through the Congress. And the prestige of the Congress will receive a set-back thereby as it has never done before.

Militarization of West Bengal

During the British regime, military spirit had been all but killed amongst the Bengalee people. If the encouragement and support of the State be denied to the people in this respect, frustration and demoralizaion would ensue as is illustrated in the recent history of India. This total denial has been a sore point with 18, thus to be transformed into a "non-martial" race. Today we desire to retrieve this position. And since August 15, 1947, we have been strongly pressing for the imperative need of making a new departure in the thoughts and activities of the Bengalee people. It is, therefore, that we welcome the recent plan of the West' Bengal Government intended to train up every year 20 rillagers from each of the 330 villages lying on the porder of this province and East Bengal. Dr. Bidhan Thandra Roy, elaborated this scheme in course of his

weekly Press Conference on March 6 last. He also announced on the occasion their proposal for raising a National Volunteer Corps recruited from schools and colleges; at present 500 boys and young men will be put under training. This corps will be formed on the lines of the National Cadet Corps sponsored by the Central Government.

Since then we have seen an announcement in the Press that the West Bengal Government proposed to start three Naval Schools in the Province. In this regard the authorities will have to start right from scratch. The West Bengal Government is, thus, called upon to revive the traditions of naval life associated with the names "Srimanta Sadagar" and "Chand Sadagar."

The West Bengal Government may find it easier to start naval schools, not three but any number of them. But their real difficulty will come when they will have to hunt for ratings. They must recruit from schools and colleges young men who aspired for officers' grades in the navy. But from where will come the Lascars? Bengalee boat-men have almost vanished from the surface of West Bengal rivers, such of them as have not silted up. Only in the Sunderbun area in the metropolitan district of 24 Parganas are to be found men who take to the salt waters as ducks. But, will they be tempted out of their habitual life, to submit themselves to the discipline of naval life? Another likely field of recruitment is to be found in the fishermen class, men who defy storm and rain to eke out a miserable pittance. We do not know whose has been the brain wave about these naval schools. Did the Secretariat, the ears and eyes of the Ministers, go into these difficulties before they put into Ministerial mouth the news about this particular scheme?

The last but not the least in modern warfare is the air force. Have the Brain Trust of the Bengal Government any scheme that will make the people "air-minded"? It may be that at moments of crisis the Indian Air Force will be there to fall back upon. But has West Bengal no contribution to make to create the requisite atmosphere where youth can be inspired to accept the challenge of the air? We have known that during World War II of the 20th Century Bengalee youth made good in the Air Force and established a record in India. Their example shouldo be an inspiration to the rising generation in Bengal. The Government of West Bengal should initiate measures that will enable the Bengalee youth to get the requisite knowledge and training in body and mind for the use of the new weapon that science has placed in their hands to defend the integrity of their country and attack its enemies. A special responsibility devolves on them; they have to revive the Kshatriya spirit that the British killed in their people; they have to transform quill-drivers into military men, into commanders of army, of navy and air force. There is nothing esoteric in the matter.

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Netaji has exploded all hallucination created by enemies of India's freedom about certain characteristics that military life requires, and which Bengalees lacked. The Rani of Jhansi Regiment have demonstrated that even women, daughters of Bengal, can play a significant part in the setting up of a State, in organizing fighting forces under modern conditions of scientific warfare. One of the tests by which we will judge Ministries in West Bengal is the way they go about militarizing the people, in preparing them for the hazards of war, in confirming in their people's character the virtues of do, dare and die, of creating the spirit that would be prepared to sacrifice life and limb for the defence of the temples of their gods, for their honour and dignity.

Since writing the above, we have had a very important announcement made by the Defence Minister on the 8th instant in the Central Legislature intimating the decision of the Ministry to immediately take in hand the formation of Territorial forces, the first contingent to be of the strength of one lakh thirty thousand. These forces will constitute what has come to be known as the "second line of defence" of a country, and in an emergency these will take the place of the regular defence forces. We desire heartily to congratulate the Ministry on this measure. These Territorial Units is to be organized on a regional basis; for the purpose in view the country is proposed to be divided into 8 Regions:

(1) East Punjab, the East Punjab States, Rajputana with Delhi;

(2) The United Provinces;

- (3) Central Provinces and East India States;
- (4) Bombay Presidency and Kathiawar;(5) Madras Presidency, Mysore and Travancore;

- (6) Bihar and Orissa;(7) West Bengal and Cooch Bihar;
- (8) Assam, and the States of Tripura and Mani-

In this new set-up, areas whose people had by British dispensation been reduced to the indignity of "non-martial' classes, will have an opportunity to retrieve their position and prove their mettle. It is a strange commentary on the situation that in the Kashmir campaign, Bengal is found represented by "officers" only, other ranks being conspicuous by their absence. Members of the Central Legislature visiting Rashmir have marked this incongruity, and urged the immediate formation of a "Bengalee Regiment." Sardar Baldev Singh's announcement should enable the West ngal Ministry to go ahead with it.

Pandit Nehru's Dictum

We revert to this subject of linguistic provinces ad propose doing so month after month till the Cenral Government of India in its collective wisdom decides to honour the pledge that the Indian National ongress gave to the people on the necessity and justice of this step. By reconstituting the adminisative provinces of the country on this principle of linguistic affinity, the Congress could have put its seal of sanction on the solution of a problem that the British Administration had lacked the urge to settle, for as long a time as it is possible for human wisdom to see. It tinkered with the subject. In deciding to take out Oriya-speaking areas from Bihar and Sindhispeaking areas from the Bombay Presidency, the State responded to popular feeling; and Orissa and Sind are better places today for the indigenous people, though we do not forget that Muslim League frenzy has created conditions of hell for the autochthonous minority community in Sind. Why it did not do the same thing in the case of the Telugu-speaking areas in the Presidency of Madras, we have not been told. We believe that concern for the susceptibilities and the interests of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, had something to do in the matter. Almost half the people of this State are Teluguspeaking, and it was a natural surmise that if an Andhra State be formed inside the Union of India, it will be difficult for these people to resist its full from across the border. But this is a special case, and we do not think that the Nehru Government has any such softness or weakness in deciding its course of duty in this matter. The case for a Karnataka Province, for the greater Maharashtra, for extending the boundaries of Bengal in the West is irrefutable, and the decision of the Nehru Government to recommend the constitution of the Andhra Province has made it irresistible.

We are, therefore, not satisfied with the reply which Pandit Jawaharlal Nchru has sent to the Memorandum of the New Bengal Association pressing for the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar and Orissa into the new Province of West Bengal forming a unit of the Indian Union. He is reported to have said that "the present time is quite inopportune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa." The reason behind this dictum is unexplained; we are not told when the time will become opportune. Evidently. the Prime Minister of the Indian Union is not conversant with the history of this claim; and he appears to have been unable to apply his mind to its implications brought out in the memorandum prepared by the New Bengal Association and submitted to him on its behalf. We do refer to what the Hardinge Government said in its Despatch of August 15, 1915, about "a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all concerned." We will call Panditjee's attention to the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its session of 1911; it was moved by Dr. Tel Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parameswarlal, a Bihar leader. It pressed that "in readjusting the provincial boundaries (consequent on the modification of the Partition of Bengal) the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengalee-speaking districts under one and the same administration." What was of more significance was the statement issued in the name of leaders of public opinion in India in the newlyformed province of Bihar in January, 1912, laying down with a certain amount of precision the boundaries of the areas that should go to Bengal. If we mistake not, Dr. Sachhidananda Sinha was one of the signatories to the statement, he is still happily with us, and he should be able to explain to the world the many factors that influenced him and his co-signatories to make the statement. If Pandit Nehru had before him this statement he could not have made reference by implication that Bengalees had overflowed into these areas in Bihar. They are autochthonous to the areas concerned, racy of the soil.

There may be various reasons for cultivating a procastinating attitude towards the re-distribution of provincial boundaries, and the re-constitution of new provinces in India. But this policy will heap up more difficulties when Panditjee or any of his successors will wake up to the necessity of responding to feelings intensely felt and long kept unsatisfied by lack of imaginative statesmanship with which the present Prime Minister of India is richly endowed. We know that provincial bickerings are in the ascendant today. But it is not wisdom to how to these, to accept defeat at their hands. It is the path of wisdom to anticipate such an unhappy state of things, to do the right thing when you realize that it is right. Panditjee has rediscovered the grandeur and glory that was India. He will have found wisdom in the Ramayana episode wherein Shri Ram Chandra approached the wounded Ravana on his death-bed to learn something of statecraft from the Rakshasha Chief. The one lesson that the latter stressed over and over again was that one, a king also, should not delay doing the right thing as soon as he realized that this was the right thing to do. He narrated to Shri Ram Chandra his disappointment within himself. He had decided to build a golden bridge from earth to heaven, but sat upon it and postponed it from day to day; on his death-bed he realized this folly. On the other hand, the capture of Seeta Devi, an act evil in itself, so blinded his intelligence that he forgot everything else. The result was the destruction of Golden Lanks, the destruction of his one lakh sons and one lakh and twenty-five thousand grandsons. The story of this wisdom from India's historic past has lost none of its value today. If the Government in 1912 had acted upon the lines indicated in the Bihar leaders' statement of January, 1912, Babu Rajendra Prasad would not have driven to give the evil advice to the enthusiasts of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of the Indian Union would have been spared the unpleasant duty of putting off a right thing because it might stir up discontent in the higher ranks of the Congress. We, therefore, repeat that we cannot accept the validity of Panditjee's dictum that linguistic provinces are an untimely problem raised by diagruntled people. The Andhra, the Karnataka, the Maharashtra and Bengalee people have been waiting for over chirty years. And they are in no mood to

postpone the fulfilment of their hopes and pass days in agitation that are more than ever necessary for re-constructing the life of India on the pattern of Gandhiji's hopes. Panditjee would be wise to read the signs of the time.

Deadlock in Indonesia

Indonesia is not in the news. But since signature in January last of the "Cease Fire" agreement between the Indonesian Republican army and the Dutch invading forces, things have been happening that may flare up into a conflagration in the not distant future. It is well-known that the capitalist interests of Holland, Britain and the United States are linked up, and their investments in the 2,000 islands that make up Indonesia reach gigantic amounts. The Dutch had invested about 325 crores of rupees; the British had about 150 crores; and the U.S.A. capitalists a little less than this amount. Rubber, sugar and oil make up the wealth of the islands, and there has been a stampede of world capitalism, French, German, Belgian, Japanese and Chinese also, to make profit out of the cheap labour of the Indonesian people. But the dictators of policy appear to be the United States and Britain. Owen Lattimore in his book, Solution in Asia, published in 1945, thus indicated the lie of the land:

The Dutch Empire need not be treated separately, because it is essentially a satellite empire. It could not exist without the British Empire, and developments within it after the war will move parallel to the movements within the British Empire whether the movement be toward emancipation or toward an attempted stabilization of the institution of empire.

The British imperialism that we have known has retired from Burma and India. Not so the Dutch; it has been attempting a come-back by helping to set up innumerable puppet republics in the various islands in order to break up the united front of the Indonesian Republic. In Owen Lattimore's book a key to this situation can be found. He suggested that "the Dutch had been allowed to make a rather clever job of this affair. They have had not only British capital to support their regime, but powerful financial and industrial groups in the United States have been tempted to invest in the islands' natural resources, and these working through the Dutch have been maintaining a nominal Dutch colonial policy which is actually in large part the foreign policy of exported American and British capital." The Provisional Federal Government formed by Dr. Van Mock, Lt.-Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, on March 9 last, without the co-operation of the Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic, Dr. Hatta, exposes the Dutch game. The United Nations Organiation does not appear to be interested in this area. And the Dutch have been taking advantage of this indifference. Some interested power, India specially, may bring up the matter before this international Carlos Andrews forum.

Dress-Rehearsal of Third World War

The dress-rehearsal of the third World War of the twentieth century is being held at Berlin, Russian. tanks have appeared in the city's streets and avenues; United States troops have beseiged the Russiancontrolled railway headquarters; and British and U. S. airplanes have been carrying food to their portions of the beleaguered city. The Press of the Western world have begun to feature this development with captions such as "The Battle for Berlin." The last two weeks of March were disturbed by this news, and though we are being told that things have eased a little in Berlin, the tension between the two groups of powers represented on the one side by the Soviet Union and on the other by the United States persists. An uneasy peace is the most to which the world can look forward to. And leaders of thought, rulers of States, organisers of armies and moulders of opinion have been giving expression to opinions that are more than academic. From a New York despatch, dated March 15, we sample a few of these, giving our readers an idea of the tension to which "increasing numbers of shuddering Americans" are being subjected. F. S. C. Northrop, Law Professor of Yale University and a "prominent philosopher" opined: "There is danger of war within the next few days since Russia hopes to grab the world before November 1." The former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.A. Mr. Marshall's predecessor, James Brynes, declared: "The U.S. A. may have to meet an international crisis four or five weeks from now." The Defence Secretary of the United States, James Forrestal, cried: "I am worried and sick at the imminent threat of war." The New York World Telegram set date-line for the outburst: "Since 1946, all planning has been on a long-range basis, assuming that war was ten or fifteen years off. Now, the military is thinking in terms of immediate mobilization. April 18. the date of the Italian elections, presents a possible 'D-Day' to them." General Claire Chennault, former Commander of the small air-force, organised under non-official auspices to help China fight Japan, known as the "Tiger" Force, and now head of the Chinese Government's Freight Air Line, drew attention to the Asian front in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Affair Committee: "Siberia, east of Lake Baikal, could be isolated from the remainder of Russia by air attacks launched from Chinese air fields. . . . Bombers operating from . . . West China are within a much closer range of Russia's industrial areas "than bombers based in the United States." Walter Lippman, the famous foreign policy experts said: "Cold war has ended. The military phase begun." A responsible Washington radio commenitor, Robert Allen, appeared to be more positively rophetic. "It could be war in a matter of weeks, or her year or two of armed, disturbed peace. For, it now definitely clear here in Washington that it will

shooting if Rouses makes shother move, no

matter whether with military or political means, whether in Italy, Austria or Iran." It is well-known, however, that there are elements in the U.S.A., which refuse to succumb to this war excitement. Henry Wallace, Vice-President, under President Roosevelt in 1942, heads this group. Mr. Marshall, at present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is regarded as a "moderate" in the Truman Administration, but he is being "overshadowed by the Defence Council." The Republic Party, true to its traditions of "isolationism", appears to be wobbling at present. Mr. Robert Taft, "Rightist Republican candidate," appears to be sceptical of Russia's war-like intentions. He did not believe that "Russia is planning any military moves. Russia is only consolidating the positions we gave her at Yalta Conference. If Communists win in the Italian elections, what can we do ? It would not be a Russian military move." From this multitude of interpretations, the man and woman of America do not appear to have had a clear lead. He or she is represented as feeling-War! "probably no, possibly yes! and real peace is remoter than ever; should not be surprised at anything specially during the Presidentelection year when competition for votes replaces real statesmanship." From this sampling of opinions, feelings, prejudices and ambitions, we can only deduce that "shooting" may start not from any deliberate choice, but almost by accident, by the momentary failure of reason on the part of any ruler or rulers of States.

"Harijan" Re-appears

This English-language weekly and its Indianlanguage editions, re-appeared on the 4th April, 1948, after a closure of about seven weeks. Shri K. G. Mashruwala has accepted the responsibility of editing the paper. The new editor in his first article entitled "With Trust in God" took occasion almost in the opening lines to say that if the English edition was at all to be re-started, "Pyarelalji (whose name had been appearing as editor of this weekly even when Gandhiji was filling the major part of the paper) should have continued to edit it." But, as Pyarelalji is at his post of duty in Noakhali since November, 1946, as the centre of activity symbolising Hindu-Muslim unity, he cannot leave it but must continue the unfinished work of Gandhiji. So, Mushruwalaji with many doubts takes up the burden of the song of Gandhiji's "unique message of truth, love and nonviolence," to quote Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's words in the front-page article in this issue. A special responsibility devolves on the Indian public to enable this "message" to go round the world, tossed on war's frenzy. The new editor indicates this responsibility and duty when he says: "It will go on only if the subscribers maintain it ; for, it cannot be carried on if it is not self-supporting. Advertisements are out of the question."

The present issue is valuable for another fact. It

contains the report of the decisions of the Constructive Workers' Conference held at Wardha on the 18th-15th March last. It appears over the signature of Babu Rajendra Prasad. The report discussed the reasons that influenced the leading members of the Gandhi frateruity present on the occasion to take infinite pains so that they may "not degenerate into a same pradaya or a sect." The choice of the name... * Sarvodaya Samaj-indicated this determination of theirs: the word Songha was avoided because it implied "some sort of organisational compulsion," while the word Samaj correspond to the idea of a brotherhood which is the ideal set before the world by Gandhiji. Sarvodaya was the name chosen by him to translate the idea preached by Ruskin in his book Unto the Last, "A society based on Truth and Nonviolence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no spportunity for exploitation, and full scope for development both for individuals as well for groups." Ruskin living in the hey-day of British dominance over world affairs had faint intimations of this ideal. It was reserved for Gandhiji to borrow and better in the borrowing these incipient ideas in the light of India's history and in the crucible of his own struggles for individual self-fulfilment which cannot be reached without justice in human relations Thus was Gandhiji's sadhana, consecrated work, affiliated to the service of the poor and the lowly, and his birth in India drew him into the fight for the selfrespect of his people. The Young India and Harijan were instruments of his campaigns in this behalf.

Problems of Administration

Problems of administration in Free India seem to be There is no doubt that the task of rebuilding the administrative services will prove to be a steeply uphill one. The administrative machinery that has been handed down to us by the departing British Government had been designed for maintaining the grip of a foreign power in this country and was thoroughly turned to that effect. .During the past sixty years of Indian struggle for freedom, this machinery had been perfected as an engine of repression. It spent all its energies in combating nationalism and devising ways and means to suppress every expression of self-help and the rights of the people. The Indian memhers of the Imperial Services aligned themselves with the British bureaucracy in checking nationalism and aided the Briton in his antinational campaign. Some of the Indians gut-Heroded Herod and proved themselves more royal than the King. The inevitable result has been that during the mest half a century hardly one single individual Indian could claim to have made any improvement in the administrative machinery so as to give it the character of an agency of service to the people. Some wrote essays of a school-boy type on economic and agrarian problems. The Indians in the Imperial police and their subordinates with planty of secret service money to spend without andit and decial allowances, excelled in the Special Branches my for stamping out nationalism. They had the one blace of hunting down who showed any trait of leadership

or betrayed symptoms of pairietism. None of pictal symptoms of prevention and detection of crimes from which this speial trganism suffered and still suffers so activity.

The formation of provincial sainistries on a communal basis since the Mont-Ford Reforms, and specially during the decade ending August 15, 1947, opened the flood-gates of dishonesty, nepotism and reckieseness. Whatever efficiency there was in the services was practically gone. Corruption was rampant, and discipline was smashed up. The British legacy is a totally amasked administrative machinery stewing in the juice of corruption.

Since August 15, at the Centre and in the two ex-League provinces of the Punjab and Bengal which have been divided following partition of India and have borne the severest brunt of it, the administrative machinery have come into the hands of people who gained no opportunity to gather experience in it. The machinery that have come down to them lacks in national ideology, integrity, honesty and efficiency. The result has been that the patriots who have accepted responsibility, feel so helpless in their inability to apply the administrative machinery for the amelioration of the conditions of masses. It is true that thorough overhauling would take time but what is most regretted is that there is yet no sign of making even an honest and serious beginning. So far nothing has been done beyond spending some sweet words and money on the preparation of some nice looking schemes. It is still more regrettable to find a competition in the presentment of "bills for sacrifices" often unsupported by "vouchers" and receipts for previous payments.

Corruption and inefficiency are the worst features in the services and an attitude of negligence of duty and irresponsibility amounting to sabotage is prevalent. The worst feature of it is that the disease is at the top, the superior officers lack knowledge, capacity, competence, interest and pride in work even after the time to look upon the administrative services as national service has come. The few prosecutions of smaller fries for bribery is my proof of a change in outlook. A complete and total all out campaign against inefficiency anl corruption is needed. When Mr. Casey was the Governor of Bengal, an attempt was made to combat corruption in the services. Rat Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukherji, Retired Director of Land Records and Surveys, an officer of highest integrity and with wide and deep administrative experience, was appointed as a special officer to draw up a scheme for rooting out corruption. Working hard in an honourary capacity, he submitted his Report within a few months of his appoint ment. Just at his time, the Suhrawardy Ministry came into office. The Report was shelved. But we understand that the Nezimuddin Government of East Pakistan has asked for a copy of this Report evidently with the object of willising it in their province. Cannot the Central and West Bengal Government utilise this Report and make a serious heginning in rooting out corruption and inefficiency time the The problem of reducing its top-heavistons and to entimed needs may follow next.

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

By DR. SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, MA., D.Litt., D.Sc., D.C.L., LL.D.

THE world at large is, at the present moment, divided by two conflicting sets of ideologies, vis., Democracy and Communism, but very few people owing allegiance to each political creed really understand what they stand for. The protagonists of communism profess to be democrats though the democrats repudiate this claim. The question is whether there is any basic common principle between the two sets of political thought, or if there is no meeting ground, how far they are apart, and how far their distance remains in the various countries where the two doctrines are combating for mastery.

Political theorists tell us that the term 'democracy' of today is very different to the democracy of the Victorian Age, when democracy was as much abhorred by the Liberals, Radicals and the Whigs as communism is abhorred by the democrats today. In the mid-Victorian age, democracy was understood to mean 'mobocracy'; something akin to what communism is today. This extreme sense of democracy became modified as time went on, and even the old die-hard Tory began to recognize democracy as the basic principle underlying his political creed. In the last century, political power, centred in the feudal lords, began slowly and imperceptibly to gravitate downwards to the middle class and through them to the lower middle class, but the working classes at large were absolutely excluded from all power, and the radicals of the day could never think of sharing their power with the man-in-the-street. As late as 1866, Mr. Gladstone, in introducing a bill for the enfranchisement of the town worker vehemently refuted the suggestion of Tory and Liberal critics that it was a democratic measure.

In later years, however, as the labourers became more politically conscious and organized, they formed their own unions and through them, demanded a share of Government. The great psychological revolution of 1848 on the continent of Europe has led the way. The French Revolution of 1789 was the pioneer of this later revolution on the continent, and this revolution in its turn awakened the tiller of the soil and the worker in the factory to something outside his own narrow sphere of toil and work, the result being that the conception of democracy has been evolving on the continent of Europe from the pottom. In England, the people of which have always followed their insular policy of 'wait and see', the development of democratic conception has descended from the top of feudalism to the wider circle of

ruling classes who have for a century past retained all real power and it has only gradually and slowly filtered down to the common man. A wide generality of the evolution of democracy has thus been in to opposite and complex directions on the main continent of Europe and in the insular domain of England with the result that while on the continent, the hegemony of the church was destroyed with the fall of the Bastille, in England the nominal head of the State is still Defender of Faith, and to that extent the religious disability of persons standing outside the Anglican Church still continued with the result that the Lord Chancellor of England, Head of the British Judiciary, cannot be a member of the Catholic Church. But this apart, the filtering process has permeated the working classes, who have taken their cue from the continental expansion of democracy, and the conquest of the labour movement in England has resulted in the dethronement of the ruling classes mainly represented in the Conservative Party and their arch-leader Mr. Winston Churchill, who is still struggling for the apotheosis of his narrow conception of democracy by declaring an ethical war upon communism in which the Labour Party have joined hands.

The fact is that the true conception of democracy versus communism has not yet dawned upon the publicists and political thinkers of Great Britain to the extent they are realized on the continent of Europe and America. To a political thinker, a clear conception of the two ideals would betray the weaknesses of each system of government. Turning first to the progressive forces so described by the Soviet Union apostles of communism, who proclaim that their ideological structure in Eastern Europe and Russia have brought about the apotheosis of human rights and human progress and with it human happiness, it must be remembered that the Russian Revolution of 1917 proceeded upon the academic conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat or working classes. Karl Marx (1818-1883), the author of Das Kapital, was a thinker and not a practical worker. He minimised if not ignored the main considerations of sentient life including man which point to individualism and self-advancement as creative of action, the result being that the doctrine of communism, which denies every man his right to his private property acquired by his own endeavour and labour, comes in conflict with the actiology of communism. Its history for the last thirty years has brought to the apex the two conflicting incentives of life, namely, the communist doctrine of denial of all right of private property and its free disposal denounced as Capitalism and the effect of its working on human society.

The Bolshevik started their revolution by eliminating all top classes of intellectual and inherited wealth which they denounced as Bourgeois, but when they had to create an order out of their new cosmos they had to appoint a few people to carry out the doctrine which imbued the millions of communists in Russia. These few owed their allegiance to one man who became the totalitarian dictator of the new doctrine and to this extent, his powers and position were akin to those of the fascist leader of Germany. The totalitarian chief could not manage millions of his countrymen in their far-flung activities and he had to apportion his power to a class of workers who became twentieth-century edition of the feudal lords of the damned order of Capitalism and Bourgeoism. They professed to work for the people, but their innate instinct of self-love, self-preservation and selfaggrandisement could not and did not die out with the result that they began to amass property and transfer it unobserved by the watchful proletariat, the result being the creation of a ruling class in the Bolshevik regime akin to the ruling classes in America and on the continent of Western Europe. The difference between the two systems was essentially that of direct and indirect acquisition of property' and its disposal. The one was open, the other was secret, but the essential difference between the two continued with the result that the Bolshevik doctrine had to be modified and attenuated; the scheme of private property has begun to be recognized though grudgingly but necessarily as was to be expected.

As communism is a new doctrine and is still on the tapis the old policy has to be reconciled with the 'new and the cardinal difference between democracy and communism though still emphasized and commonly preached are being narrowed down by a process of natural human evolution with the result that the fanatics of the two are denouncing both capitalism and monopolics. Still they are involuntarily and to some extent inconsistently working on the way of modernizing and moderating the excesses of both extreme systems of capitalism and communism. The time will soon come when the two systems would so

blend as to become indistinguishable, except to the theorist who would like Karl Marx remain apart from human psychology and action.

The advent of the Labour Party in England and in some of the Commonwealths, and its reaction throughout the world, is eradicating some of the evils of plutocratic monopolies. Even in a country so advanced as America, a struggle is proceeding between monopolies and popular rights. The words democracy and communism have become pass-words for the general public who neither appreciate nor even understand the true principles of human life when it is brought face to face with the practical realism of human nature. In India, the political apogee of nationalization of private economy has become confused, though if a judicial view be taken of nationalization, it would introduce the evils of the Marxian doctrine of communism.

Servants of the State cannot be expected to work for their wages, when they have means of aggrandising themselves by imperceptible corruption and indolence. There is no spur of self-advancement in proceeding to carry out the national purpose of national good. A short analysis of any of the nationalized and privately owned ventures would clear up the main factor which is a fulcrum of human action.

Human society has always been imperfect and would continue to so remain till we reach the paradise of human perfection. That is a far cry in the present century and though the apostles of nationalization, communism and democracy all concentrate their eye on such an apotheosis they would never reach the ideal goal of human happiness, such happiness as we dream of, but such happiness is impossible in human societies—in which the brain power is so unevenly divided and most of which is so wantonly dissipated.

While there is a venomous tug-of-war proceeding between democracy and communism, the leaders of the two are re-shaping their own constitutions to create new factors for popular en masse, the fact being that while the West is fighting for democracy, democracy is still amorphous and re-shaping itself, and the same is equally true of communism. The fact is that neither side is quite sure of the ground wood which it treads.



PRODUCE OR PERISH

By Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, M.A., of Cossimbasar,

Ex-Minister, Government of Bengal*

SINCE the termination of the War the problem of food supply has engaged the anxious consideration of thinking people in almost all countries of the world. There is an acute food shortage everywhere, and the main reason for this will no doubt have to be found in the wide-spread destruction, devastation and general unsettlement caused by the War itself. But there are also much more fundamental forces in operation resulting in this general uncertainty and the dislocation of living conditions. As a well-known publicist tells us, the world's population is today 8 per cent larger than it was before the War while the world's total food production is more than 6 per cent below the pre-war level. Coming nearer home, we know that India also had her share in this general dislocation of life caused by the War and all its accompanying evils. We also know that while our population goes on climbing steadily at the rate of 1.2 per cent every year, our food production actually indicates a declining rate, the adverse balance being met by precarious imports from abroad. Available statistics for the last few years tend to show that though imports from abroad had become. available to us in quantities exceeding pre-war average figures, the yield of crops in India itself suffered to an unusual extent for two successive years due to adverse seasonal conditions. This will be seen from the followng figures:

YIELD OF CEREALS
(All-India figures in lakhs of tons)

| Average | Rice | Wheat | Jowar | Total D | ifference |
|---------|------|-------|-------|----------|------------|
| 5 years | | | & | (Four | from |
| ending | | | Bajra | cercals) | average |
| 1943-44 | 282 | 106 | 112 | 500 | |
| 1944-45 | 301 | 108 | 109 | 518 | +18 |
| 1945-46 | 284 | 92 | 88 | 464 | —36 |
| 1946-47 | 302 | 81 | 85 | 468 | -32 |
| | | | | | |

These figures no doubt indicate an exceptional shortage in our food production, and one should not wonder that the organisation for internal procurement of foodgrains experienced a rather unusual strain within ecent times. Then again when India looked abroad for the procurement of foodgrains, it was found that the allocation of foodgrains by international bodies have allocation of foodgrains by international bodies have allocation of the minimum needed to maintain even a 12 oz. ration throughout the country. Over and above this, these food imports had to be obtained at increasonably high prices, causing an abnormal strain in the country's limited toreign exchange resources and involving heavy expenditure on food subsidies.

It is true that it is not for the beggar also to play
he part of a chooser. But if we recall how India
esponded generously to the grim needs of the United
Nations during the War, and ungrudgingly opened her
ries for their use, we might have reasonably

enough put forward a claim for a much better treatment in this matter of food supplies. However, the essential lesson that comes out of this food-import episode should not be lost on us. For her very existence, India must concentrate with an iron determination on the production of food requirements, all by herself, so that the goal of self-sufficiency is reached as early as possible. There is a smug self-complacency in some quarters that we have after all the food rationing system which would anyhow solve all our problems in this regard. But we shall have to remember that rationing is only a means to an end, an emergency measure to tide over a temporary crisis. Morcover, rationing involves a privation and sacrifice on the part of the individual, which can only be worth-while if forces are set in motion enabling the nation to do away with this self-imposed curtailment of the freedom of choice. Hence the very imposition of a rationing system also implies that the Government must have a wellthought-out long-term plan for speeding up food production and an immediate programme of a production drive.

It is rather distressing to note that in the past, the Government of the country did not take up quite seriously this constructive aspect of food policy. And this lack of seriousness is now reflected in the fact that so far as food production is concerned all the available statistics indicate a much worse position today. The Grow More Food Campaign undertaken by all the Provincial Governments on the initiative of the Government at the Centre proved to be more or less a fiasco.

With the dawn of freedom, our problems have also multiplied. Apart from the fact that there is a tendency in our country for the growth of population to outrun the increase of food supply, there has been a tremendous problem of congestion of population in different localities, due to vast migrations of refugees from Pakistan and other affected areas. Then again, thanks to the Partition of India, a good portion of fertile and well-irrigated tracts of land have passed away from our hands. In Bengal, for example, we know that our position as regards food production has been dangerously affected due to the major paddy-growing areas being made over to Eastern Bengal. In short, as a result of partition there is now the sad legacy of less food but more to be fed. And the problem further multiplies as there is a steady influx of refugees from Eastern Pakistan as also Western Pakistan. essential point, therefore is that we must now have a vigorous policy of increased food production, and that this must be planned and geared up in such a manner as to make it adjustable to the consumption requirements of our increasing population, leaving at the same time a comfortable margin for the displaced

[·] Author of Recionale of Food Crisis.

millions seeking refuge in the territories of the Indian Union. It is not sufficient to provide relief to the refugees; nor is it sufficient to provide alone for their rehabilitation and resettlement. The essential test of our competence to handle this colossal problem, so tar of course as the economic implications are concerned, is to find a permanent solution of their food problem on a satisfactory basis.

Having due regard to the existing background of the Indian scene, the sentiments expressed by Pandit Nehru in his recent broadcast speech on the production crisis acquires a rather grim significance:

"We talk of freedom, but today that political freedom does not take us far, unless there is economic freedom. Today, we have, in addition, to face tromendous problems of vast migration and large colossal number of refugees. They are not incapable of producing, but circumstances have forced them into this unhappy position. So we have to think of production as an urgent problem even more than what we have otherwise done."

We must realise by now that there is no longer any room for handling the food situation in a complacent or long-winded fashion, usual with the previous Government. It is refreshing to note that some of the Provincial Governments are showing signs of a new responsibility in this regard, and that at least one of them has come forward with a Grow More Food Drive with definite targets and a time-schedule to realise estimated increases in the production of cereals. But the main fact is that we must not repeat the mistakes of the past or make a defective approach to the problem in the absence of reliable data. In Bengal, for example, the root cause of agricultural deterioration was never gone into, or taken into serious account in any programme connected with the Grow More Food Drive. Yet a commonsense view of the situation is that any such scheme is sure to come to grief upless the basic factor of the deterioration of our river systems , and the absence of irrigation facilities is duly considered and provided for. In Bengal, even the few earlier canals that were taken up, were not irrigation canals proper, but were undertaken either for navigation purposes or simply to combat famine and thereby provide relief to the famine-stricken people. It may seem strange, but it is true to saye that the only canal made for irrigation purposes was in respect of the Damodar, and that even here a faulty approach to the problem of canal rates as also a faulty execution of the canal works robbed this beneficent measure of much of its value.

If, therefore, we are to ensure success for the Grow More Food Drive in Bengal, we must go into the root cause of agricultural deterioration and take up at the same time a matter-of-fact and practical view of the situation. Our immediate task in this respect should be to collect the data of—

- 1. available cultivable land not under cultivation;
- 2. lands not under cultivation but which can be

- 3. lands which can not be improved;
- lands were there are actual facilities of irrigation;
 lands other than food crops grown, but which can be converted into food-crop-growing areas;
 and
- 6. areas specially suitable for intensive cultivation.

Due care must be taken to ensure accurate statistics made afresh by proper experts to avoid the unfortunate consequences of ill-founded statistical data of the production per acre leading to the last Bengal famine and the unpleasant happenings of the recent jute forecast.

To draw up a bold and definite programme for increased production the cultivators of the Province are found faced with an array of difficulties. Apart from usual primitive and outmoded habits of life, they suffer from all kinds of handicaps in respect of suitable irrigation facilities, supply of manures and fertilisers, adequate marketing facilities. etc. In Bengal, large areas produce only one crop and this is due to the conservative habits of the people as also to absence of irrigation facilities and consequent deterioration in soil fertility. Of late, in Bengal, the average rainfall has also deteriorated due to ruthless deforestation specially during the last War and so some means of irrigation other than depending on rainfall have become much more indispensable.

There are various methods of irrigation practice in Bengal, e.g.,

- artificial irrigation by drawing water from Beels and other water sources by improved methods;
- 2. well irrigation for a limited area;
- 3. tank irrigation from tanks.

Unfortunately, however, all old irrigation wells and tanks in Bengal have deteriorated as they have not been improved in proper time and the Tank Improvement Bill with all its promises lost its efficacy on the people as it was not taken up seriously. The Damodar Canal has, however, all along been helpful in irrigating the areas lying within its ambit to a great extent and its utility has been very much appreciated of late by the public in the years of continued drought. It is, however, refreshing to note that there is now an overwhelming general demand for its extension and an amicable settlement regarding the rate has also been reached between the Government and the public which, I hope, will help the people of other areas to appreciate the manifold benefits of canals. In the Punjab where rainfall is scarce and capricious and people do not depend on it, canal irrigation has been very much successful in the resulting rise of the standard of living of the people and in the indirect returns to the State by fetching a very decent income from irrigation. In the U. P., the portion which adopted canal irrigation has proved eminently successful. I had the special opportunity of studying at first-hand myself the canal systems of Mysore executed on scientific lines where they have proved a great boon to the cultivators for they do not know what is failure of crops. There are other portions of the State where the construction of permanent canals has proved to be the only safe and reliable system to get a sure production. It is a welcome feature that the Government of West Bengal budgeted this year for 86 lakks of rupees for several irrigation projects in agricultural areas including reexcavation of irrigation tanks. The multipurpose scheme in respect of the Damodar Valley has already been taken up and I am glad to learn that the first sod in respect of the Mor Scheme has also been cut by the Hon'ble Minister-in-Charge. This would introduce a much-needed agricultural prosperity in an area neglected in the past and one can easily hope that the Darakeswar Project will also be taken up as early as possible so as to complete the picture in this area.

To assist in increased production, the district agricultural farms should rise up to the situation and give the cultivators proper training how to grow more food with minimum cost by improved appliances. And the necessary effort of the Government to start an Agricultural College in West Bengal to secure requisite trained staff for improved agricultural activities at the cost of 2 lakhs of rupees is a move in the right direction. Again, adequate provision must be made for the regular supply of artificial manures and improved fertilisers. The Government measures so far adopted in the form of compost and other varieties to improve the fertility of the soil failed to achieve the desired purpose for its want of popularising the same. It is really unfortunate that for absence of any fertiliser or manures some lands have got to be kept fallow which means less production. So vigorous efforts must be made immediately to supply better manures to improve the yield per acre. With improved production, facilities for marketing will have to be arranged to ensure better returns to the peasants direct and provisions

should be made for the improvement of roads for interlinking the paddy-growing areas with the market.

Along with the Grow More Food Drive the growing of vegetables should receive equal attention and encouragement and the huge plots of land suitable for such purposes and lying within reasonable distance from the market should be used for growing vegetables. Adequate propaganda work should be made in the direction and if the means of transport be improved vegetable growing may be encouraged in the interior and people will then have a natural inducement for it.

In short, for the increased production of agricultural lands in West Bengal there must be an all-out drive for improving the river system, increasing the number of canals in suitable areas and for small areas improvement of tanks as well. With the availability of cheap electricity in future as a result of the adoption of hydro-electric scheme, tube-well irrigation may be introduced in suitable cases for limited areas. But canal irrigation represented by far the most regular, well-defined and controlled system of irrigation, for besides helping intensive cultivation on suitable areas, canals will not only be able to irrigate during the rainy season but also in winter help growing the winter crop and other suitable crop according to the suitability of the land.

The food problem is one of the most vital problems with us today. The people of West Bengal live in a state of starvation and they are diminishing every day in vitality and potentiality. There is urgent need for them to lead a healthy normal life and unless they have a secure and solid food front to get nursed back to physical fitness they cannot evidently be expected to play the vigorous role of a free citizen in an Independent India. Produce or Perish!

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF EAST AND WEST BENGAL

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

Undivided Bengal

As an undivided unit, Bengal enjoyed the monopoly in supply of raw jute (producing about 92 per cent of India's total supply), contributed about 32 per cent of India's total rice production, 22 per cent of raw cow-hides and 11 per cent of raw goat-skins, 20 per cent each of tea and raw silk, and about 23 per cent of India's raw tobacco. The geographical location of Bengal, its climate and the splendid river system have all combined to make the soil highly fertile and the province is endowed with extensive agricultural resources. The total area under cultivation in united Bengal was over 30 million acres, of which about 2 million acres were irrigated. The per capita cropped area worked out at about 0.67 acre. The forest tracts covered an area of 4.5 million acres and the province had about 4 million acres of cultivable wastes and

about 956,000 acres of current fallows. According to the census of 1941, Bengal was the most populous province of India with a population of about 60·3 million and having a density 8f 742 per square mile. The province covered an area of 82,876 square miles. Over 68 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture, 10·5 per cent in industry, 6·2 per cent in trade, 2·3 per cent in transport, 2 per cent in public administration and liberal arts and the remaining 7·6 per cent in miscellaneous occupations.

THE PARTITION—Economic Consequences

With the creation of the Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947, the former province of Bengal was divided into two separate provinces, West Bengal, which belongs to the Dominion of India, and East Bengal, which is part of the Dominion of Paki-

stan. The partitioning of the province has brought about certain fundamental changes in the relative economic position of the two units. East Bengal remains a predominantly agricultural area, while about 92 per cent of the large-scale production is confined to West Bengal. East Bengal is favourably placed in respect of cottage and small-scale industries like handloom cotton weaving, jute weaving, the button industry, the conch-shell industry etc. The mineral resources of East Bengal are, however, very poor, while West Bengal is rich in coal, iron ore and certain other minerals. East Bengal's hydro-electric power resources are extensive provided they can be tapped successfully.

Now that the respective Governments of East and West Bengal are to follow individual lines of agricultural and economic policy, it is essential to have a proper estimate of the various agricultural resources of the two units. The inadequacy of statistical data in our country is a handicap to this line of inquiry but any State planning requires a complete and clear picture of the country's resources before any programme of development can be fixed on scientific lines Collection of data relating to each sector of national economy, its appropriate tabulation and rational interpretation can only indicate the lines along which action should be directed. The extreme importance of statitics in the realm of State planning is now increasingly realised by our Government and it is hoped that early measures will be adopted to secure integration of both agricultural and industrial statistics in the provinces and States.

In the following pages I have attempted a general assessment of the agricultural resources of East and West Bengal, based on the latest available statistics, which may be of some interest to people in trade and to the general public. The article presents merely a summary of economic facts, with no attempt at future planning.

AREA AND POPULATION

East Bengal, as constituted under the Boundary Commission Award (Radcliffe Award—1947), comprises 16 districts of the former united Bengal together with the district of Sylhet from the province of Assam. The total area of the province is about 54,100 square miles. representing about 65 per cent of the total area of undivided Bengal, with a population of about 41,800,000. The average density of population is 792 per square mile and the percentage of Muslims to the total population is about 71. West Bengal covers an area of about 28,700 square miles with a population of over 20 million. Of the total population, about 75 per cept are Hindus and the number of Muslims is believed to be slightly under 5 million. The average density of population 18 756 per square mile. About 70 per cent of the total cropped area of undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal.

CHIEF CROPS-RICE

United Bengal contributed about one-third o India's total rice production, containing about 3

per cent of the total acreage under rice. Rice constitutes the staple food of the local people and it occupies the largest cultivated area in both East and West Bengal. The average annual production of rice in East Bengal is calculated at 6½ million tons, while West Bengal produces about 3½ million tons. With the partition, about 70 per cent of the acreage under rice in undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal.

According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total production of rice (aman, aus and boro) in West Bengal is estimated at 3,202,730 tons and that of East Bengal at 6,107,370 tons. Both the provinces will face a heavy deficit in rice during the year 1948. Although the largest rice-producing areas are found in Bengal, the province as a whole is deficient in respect of food supplies. However, considering the total area available for cultivation and the culturable wastes in East and West Bengal, it is probable that with improved and more intensive cultivation and better irrigation facilities both the provinces can attain self-sufficiency in the matter of rice supplies. It is estimated that there are about 2,100,000 acres of culturable wastes in East Bengal and 1,625,000 acres in West Bengal. The current fallows in the respective provinces are estimated at 488,000 acres and 468,000 acres.

The following table shows the total acreage and estimated yields of rice in the two provinces according to the latest official statistics:

| E ast | Bengal | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| | Area | Yield |
| TTT: | (acres) | (tons) |
| Winter rice (aman) | 13,355,500 | 4,738,800 |
| Autumn rice (aus) | 4,803,500 | 1,200,000 |
| Summer rice (boro) | 464,000 | 168,570 |
| Total | 18,623,000 | 6,107,370 |
| West | Bengal | |
| | Area | Yield |
| | (acres) | (tons) |
| Winter rice (aman) | 6,500,000 | 2.805,000 |
| Autumn rice (aus) | 1,415,100 | 379,000 |
| Summer rice (boro) | 36,000 | 18,730 |
| Total | 7.951.100 | 3.202.730 |

Of the 497 rice mills in undivided Bengal, about 79 are in East Bengal and 418 in West Bengal. These mills are capable of milling about 85 per cent of the total marketable surplus of paddy in both the provinces. The majority of the mills in East Bengal are primitive in type with a limited milling capacity.

JUIE

Jute is the principal commercial crop of Bengal. As an undivided unit, Bengal was the only exporter of this fibre to the whole world and produced over 90 per cent of India's total supply. During the last few years, united Bengal exported, on an average, raw jute worth Rs. 10 crores and jute manufactures worth Rs. 54 crores per annum. The division of the province has placed East Bengal in a much more favourable position in respect of the supply of raw jute, the province contributing about 92 per cent of Bengal's total pro-

duction. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total area under jute in undivided Bengal was 2,287.845 acres (representing 50 per cent of the acreage in 1940). of which about 90 per cent or 2,058,670 acres were in East Bengal and 10 per cent or 229,175 acres in West Bengal. The estimated yield of raw jute in 1947-48 as about 6.842,605 bales (400 pounds each) for East Bengal and 549,470 bales for West Bengal. The following table shows the total acreage and yields of jute in the two provinces:

1947-48 Crop Forccasts

| • • | Area | Yield |
|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| | (acres) | (bales of 400 pounds each) |
| East Bengal | 2,058,670 | 6,842,605 |
| West Bengal | 229,175 | 549,470 |
| Total | 2,287,845 | 7,392,075 |
| Total of Indian Union | 645,685 | 1 ,695,970 |
| Total of Pakistan | 2,058,670 | 6,842,605 |
| Total (India and Pakistan) | 2,704,355 | 8,538,575 |

All the 104 jute mills of the tormer united Bengal are located in and around Calcutta, and West Bengal accounts for about 57 per cent of the world's total looms engaged in the manufacture of jute textiles. There are no jute mills in East Bengal and the province has only 20 to 25 jute baling presses with an estimated daily production capacity of 5,000 to 6,000 pucca bales. In spite of the virtual monopoly enjoyed by East Bengal in respect of raw jute supply, the province has very limited facilities for direct export to foreign countries. Jute is more important as an item of export and foreigners are interested mostly in jute manufactures. Most of the supplies from East Bengal are sent to Calcutta for foreign shipment either as raw jute or as hessian and gunny bags. This has put West Bengal in a position of clear advantage.

The total annual consumption of raw jute by the mills in West Bengal is estimated at 6,000,000 bales, while the supply from the province does not cover more than 9 per cent of the requirements. The local production is hardly sufficient to meet the essential domestic needs, and it is doubtful if West Bengal will be able to produce any exportable surplus of jute within the next few years. Under the present scarcity of food supplies, it is not advisable to encourage unregulated extension of jute cultivation in the province but immediate steps should be taken to increase the yield per acre. With improved methods of cultivation, better seeds, use of fertilisers, consolidation of holdings on an economic basis and reclamation of the culturable wastes and current fallows, the province can expect to become at least self-sufficient in the matter of jute supply.

TEA

United Bengal contributed about 20 per cent of India's total production of tea, having about 26 per cent of the total acreage. Assum and Bengal together

accounted for more than 80 per cent of India's total crop. On an average, Bengal exported tea worth over Rs. 20 crores per annum. East Bengal (excluding Sylhet) does not account for more than 3 to 4 per cent of Bengal's total supply of tea. With Sylhet, however, the position of East Bengal has improved considerably, the area under tea in the province now being 74,112 acres (about 41 per cent of West Bengal's total acreage). The following table shows the estimated acreage and yields of tea for the two provinces during 1947-48:

| | Area (acres) | Yield (pounds) |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| East Bengal | 74,112 | 41,700,000 |
| West Bengal | 180,000 | 110,000 000 |
| Total · | 254,112 | 151,700,000 |
| Total of Indian Union | 766.435 | 543,300,000 |
| Total of Pakistan | 74,112 | 41,700 000 |
| Total (India and Pakistan) | 840,547 | 585,000,000 |

West Bengal is, however, more fortunate in having some of the most productive tea gardens of Darjeeling and Jalpanguri districts. The better liquoring teas are also grown in this province.

Товассо

Undivided Bengal produced about one-fourth of India's total raw tobacco, containing about one-fitth of the total acreage under the crop. The north Bengal zone—the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri together with Cooch Bihar State—includes nearly four-fifths of the tobacco area in Bengal. In 1943-44, the total area under tobacco in Bengal was estimated at 300,000 acres with a total yield of about 110,000 tons. East Bengal is favourably placed in respect of the supply of raw tobacco, containing more than two-thirds of the total acreage of undivided Bengal. The following table shows the estimated acreage and yields of tobacco in East and West Bengal for 1946-47:

| | Area | Yield |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| | (acres) | (tons) |
| East Bengal | 112,200 | 43,500 |
| West Bengal | 55,000 | 21,000 |
| IrtoT | 167,200 | 64,500 |
| Of the three tobacc | o factories in | undivided Bengal, |

OILEMEDS

all are in West Bengal.

The area under different oilseeds in undivided Bengal was about 8 to 9 per cent of the total acreage in India. The province exported oilseeds worth Rs. 2 crores per annum. Linseed, mustard and sesamum (til) constitute the principal vegetable oilseeds produced in Bengal. East Bengal is better placed in respect of the supply of oilseeds, containing about 62 per cent of the total acreage. However, due to the inferior qualities of the seeds and their low oil content, the oil mills of Bengal depend to a great extent on imports from other provinces. It is estimated that over 140,000 tons of

rape and mustard reeds are imported into Bengal per annum. This handicap can probably be removed by introduction of better varieties of seeds and demarcation of suitable zones for their economic production. The following table shows the estimated acreage under different oilseeds in Fast and West Bengal according to the 1947-48 forecasts:

Area Under Gilseeds

| | (8 | cres) | | |
|----------------|---------|---------|-----------|---------------------------|
| | East | West | Total for | Total average |
| | Bengul | Bengal | Hengal | yield for Bengs (tops) |
| Linseed | 107,000 | 42,100 | 149,100 | 30,000 |
| Rape & Mustard | 415,500 | 144,500 | 560,000 | 130,000 |
| Sesamum (til) | 84,200 | 10,200 | 94,400 | 33,000 |
| Groundnut | 400 | 3,000 | 3,400 | 1.000 |
| Castor seed | ٠ | | 2,400* | 200 |
| Cocoanut | • • | | 13,500* | |
| | | | | |

Total 507.100 199,800 822,800 194,200 There are about 170 oil mills in West Bengal including the small factories employing less than 20 workers. Of these, about 15 to 20 mills are run on an organised scale. East Bengal is unfavourably placed in respect of vegetable oil production, the number of organised mills operating in the province being under five. There are, however, quite a number of oil presses (village ghannes) in East Bengal which are operated on a cottage scale. These ghanies are mostly engaged in grashing mustard seeds.

SUGARCANE

Bengal is extremely deficient in respect of supply of sugar, being dependent for more than 80 per cent of its annual requirements on imports from other provinces. The two provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces together account for more than 70 per cent of India's tetal sugar production. The average annual production of sugar in undivided Bengal was about 20,000 to 25,000 tons (representing only 2 per cent of India's total), while the actual production in 1946-47 amounted to 18,678 tons. Low yield per acre, poor recovery of sugar per cent cane and inferior varieties of cane grown in the province are responsible for low production. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total area under sugarcane in East Bengal 18 estimated at 224,500 acres while West Bengal's acreage is placed at 54 500 acres. East Bengal contains about 80 per cent of the total acreage under sugarcane in undivided Bengal.

Of the nine sugar factories in Bengal, six are in East Bengal and three in West Bengal. There are good potentialities for developing the sugar industry on successful lines in both the provinces. The West Bengal Government is understood to have obtained sanction from the Government of India for establishing additional sugar factories in the province. At present, West Bengal does not produce more than 14 per cent of it equirements and the situation in East Bengal is no setter.

In the shi or of separate figures, the totals for undividendal are shown the estimates relate to figures for 1943-44.

WHEAT

Bengal does not contribute more than 0.5 per cent of India's total supply of wheat. Before the partition, Bengal imported about 222,000 tons of wheat every year from outside. However, the per capita consumption of wheat in the province is very low, being only 12 pounds per annum. According to the 1946-47 crop forecasts, the total area under wheat in undivided Bengal was 192,300 acres, of which about 75 per cent or 144,225 acres were in East Bengal. The total annual production of wheat in East Bengal is about 30,000 to 35,000 tons, while West Bengal produces only 10,000 to 12,000 tons. The flour mills in both the provinces are dependent on imported wheat to a great extent. There are about ten flour mills in West Bengal, while the number in East Bengal is negligible. Some recent arrangements have, however, been made in East Bengal for milling atta and flour.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Bengal grows mostly the perishable varieties of fruits including mangoes, bananas, oranges, pincapples, guavas and plums. The province is deficient in respect of supply of dry fruits. The famous 'Malda' mangoes are found in East Bengal while the 'Darjeeling' oranges are grown in West Bengal. Prior to the inclusion of Sylhet, East Bengal had little acreage under oranges but with Sylhet the province has now a large supply of this fruit. According to the 1943-44 crop statistics, the total acreage under fruits and vegetables (including root crops) in undivided Bengal was about 931,600 acres, of which more than 60 per cent were in East Bengal, West Bengal, however, contributes about 60 per cent of the total potato production of Bengal. In the absence of separate statistics, the following table showing the extent of fruit production in undivided Bengal may be of some interest:

| | Area (acres) | Yield (maunds of |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Mangoes | 137,406 | 82-2/7 pounds) 19.206.026 |
| Bananas Oranges | 110 100 | 55,050,000 |
| Other citrus fruits | 2,000 | 410,160 |
| Guavas | 475 500 | 47,500 22 500 |
| Pineapples | 4,660 | 233,000 |
| Plums | 25 | 3.125 |

Source Report of the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee, published by the Government of West Bengal, 1948.

West Bengal has good potentialities for developing the fruit preservation industry but at the present time the industry is small compared to that of the United Provinces or the Punjab (East and West).

East Bengal has extensive supplies of fish, eggs and poultry. A considerable percentage of these commodities in the Calcutta market comes from East Bengal. The Government of West Bengal has, however, launched a four-year scheme of pisciculture in every union and sub-division of the province. The scheme will cost the Government about Rs. 4½ lakhs and when completed,

it is expected to make the province self-sufficient in the matter of fish supply. The province has also good potentialities for developing coastal fisheries along the Bay of Bengal.

COTTON

Bengal is at a disadvantage in respect of cotton supply, its production being only 0.4 per cent of India's total. In 1940-41, the acreage under cotton in Bengal was 81 000 acres and production amounted to 29,000 bales. India produced about 4.5 million bales of cotton in 1946-47, of which Bengal's share did not exceed 20,000 bales. About 70 per cent of the total acreage under cotton in undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal but the quality of cotton produced in both East and West Bengal is inferior and unsuitable for use by the local spinning mills. Before the war, most of the supplies from Bengal were exported to Japan. As only short-staple cotton is grown in both East and West Bengal, the textile mills and handlooms operating in the provinces are entirely dependent on imports from outside for their requirements of varn.

Of the 39 textile mills of undivided Bengal, about nine are in East Bengal and the rest in West Bengal. Of the textile mills in West Bengal, about 14 are spinning mills and others are non-spinning. West Bengal has great potentialities for developing the cotton textile industry, while East Bengal has certain disadvantages in respect of power, labour and transportation.

SERICULTURE

Undivided Bengal contributed about 20 per cent of the total Indian production of raw silk, its annual production being about 300,000 pounds. Of the total supply from Bengal, about 70 per cent comes from Malda in East Bengal and the remaining 30 per cent from Murshidabad and Birbhum in West Bengal. Charkha silk comprises over 80 per cent of the total production. The following table shows the estimated production of raw silk and cocoons in the two provinces:

| | East Bengal | West Bengal | Total for Bengal |
|---------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Filature silk | 35,000 | (pounds) 15,000 | 50,000 |
| Charka silk | 175,000 | 75,000 | 250,000 |
| Total | 210,000 | 90,000 | 300,000 |
| COCOODS | 4,200,000 | 1,800,000 | 6,000,000 |

In 1946-47, the total acreage under mulberry in Bengal was estimated at 9,500 acres, of which over 7,000 acres were in East Bengal. The quality of silk produced in both the provinces is not properly graded and standardised. The most serious defect of Charkha silk is that it is not continuous which makes it unsuitable for weaving with speed machinery. The local weaving mills, therefore, prefer the imported silk from Japan. China, U.S.A. and other countries. Both provinces have scope for the improved cultivation of mulberry and production of better quality of silk with proper assistance from their respective Governments.

There are six silk weaving mills in West Bengal with about 700 power looms in operation. More than 3,000 handloom silk weavers are working in Murshidaland and Bankura in West Bengal. East Bengal has no silk-weaving factories.

HIDES AND SKINS

Bengal is a primary centre for supply of raw hides and skins. The province c ntributes more than one-fifth of the total Indian production of raw cow-hides and 11 per cent of raw goat-skins. Of the total supply from Bengal, East Bengal contributes about 80 per cent of the raw cow-hides and 70 per cent of the raw goat skins, the largest supplies coming from Dacca and Chittagong. In the pre-war days when there were not many export restrictions, Bengal exported raw hides worth Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 lakhs and goat skins worth over a crore of rupees per annum. The following table shows the estimated production of hides and skins in both the provinces:

| | East | West | Total for | |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| | Bengal | Bengel | Bengal | |
| | (number of pieces) | | | |
| law cow hides | 5,144,000 | 1,286,000 | 6,430,000 | |
| law goat skins | 2,117,500 | 907,500 | 3,025,000 | |

As there are no presses for baling hides and skins in East Bengal and the port facilities at Chittagong are limited, most of the supplies from East Bengal are sent to Calcutta for foreign shipment. There are about 300 tanneries in Bengal including 256 small Chinese cottage tanneries. Of these, about 15 or 16 are fairly organised and 5 or 6 are run on a large scale. Almost all the tanneries are in West Bengal.

PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS

The Governments of both East and West Bengal have announced extensive plans for the improvement of agriculture in their respective provinces. Abolition of the zamındari system, State development of waste lands, and construction of irrigation facilities are planned for the near future. With the abolition of the zamindari system, the Government of West Bengal proposes to take over all the agricultural lands in the province and introduce co-operative farming. The East Bengal Government proposes to establish peasant proprietorship of all agricultural lands, opposed to State ownership envisaged so far. There is no artificial irrigation system in East Bengal; the rivers Brahmaputra, Padma, Meghna, Dhaleswari and with their tributaries provide natural irrigation. The Government, however, intends to start work on a multi-purpose scheme, known as the Karnafuli project, in Chittagong. The West Bengal Government, in alliance with the Governments of Bihar, Orissa and Nepal, is interested in early completion of the various multi-purpose schemes like project, Mahanadi project, and the Damodar-Kosi Maurakshy Reservoir project. The West Bengal Government has also prepared a scheme for the erection of a barrage across the river Ganges with a view to improving the crop conditions of central Bengal on either side of the Bhagirathi to resuscitate the dying rivers Bhairab, Jalangi, Mathabhanga and Ichamati central Bengal. of Most of these schemes are incorporated in the Government of India's national development projects and the Central Government will contribute substantial financial aid. The multi-purpose projects, when completed, will provide extensive irrigation facilities to West Bengal and will make possible scientific pisciculture and afforestation on a wide scale. The hydro-electric resources of the province will also be immensely increased. A full-fledged agricultural college is to be established in West Bengal some time this year.

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S PLACE IN HISTORY

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., DLitt., University of Lucknow

When the historian of the future would appraise the greatest men of world history and evaluate their place in creative thought and activity, he will surely find no name standing out more spectacularly and convincingly than that of Gandhiji who even in his own lifetime came to be looked upon as an Avatar or the greatest man of his age. He was not merely the greatest man, but the noblest and saintliest man too, and as the sorrowing humanity has now begun to realise, the conjunction of the highest greatness and the loftiest nobility is scarcely witnessed in history and unfortunately too little understood and honoured. His death is, therefore, an irreparable loss to the world as a whole.

The real supremacy of Gandhiji lay in the remarkable integration of life that was witnessed in his whole career. He never stood apart as a lofty apostle. If he was truly a Mahatma, he remained a man of the people amongst the people. It was his sterling nobility no less than his absolute oneness with the poor and oppressed humanity that won for him the unbounded faith and affection not only of his own followers but of all people who knew him. A torch-bearer of humanity, he was universally loved for his noble simplicity and purity of soul which came to him through a continuous cleansing of the spirit by means of sacrifice and prayer. Like a Sanuyasın he denied himself all earthly possessions and had the supreme pleasure of having all and owning nothing. And, his humanity to man and to all sentient beings knew no barriers of caste, creed or nationality. He refused to make any distinction in his relationships with Hindu or Muslim, Christian, Parsee, Buddhist or Jew, or people of any other denomination. He treated all as his friends and regarded humans and sub-humans as countrymen in South Africa or in India, for the down-twodden Harijans, for the submerged women, for the sub-humans, and for the unfortunates of all creeds and races? He was in the truest sense of the term an internationalist and was the highest type of the humanized man.

That Gandhifi had a rich and composite personality is well known. It would not have been a complicated affair, if he had mercly been a Buddha, a Chaitanya, or a Kabir. There was in him the moral grandeur of all such saints. There was also in him the practical leader of the world who could come down from his lofty heights to guide the footsteps of the ordinary mortals. Thus, it would not have been as beautiful or as valuable, if he had just been a saint or a teacher of mankind. It was the wonderful blending in him which was the fundamental feature of his character. What he meant to humanity, and also what he achieved for humanity, was due to the fact that he was more things than one. The blending was not merely one of modes of life, but was one of the ancient Aryan culture and the modern civilisation. As a great link between the two, he could be a great reconciler. The name of one who could bridge the spiritual and the temporal, as well as the East and the West, was bound to pass the connotation of a mere humanist to the connotation of a way of life or an institution that can save the warweary humanity of today.

humanity to man and to all sentient beings knew no barriers of caste, creed or nationality. He refused to make any distinction in his relationships with Hindu or Muslim, Christian, Parsee, Buddhist or Jew, or people of any other denomination. He treated all as principle unlike his ancient and medieval prototypes to his friends and regarded humans and sub-humans as parents of the same Truth which is God. Who will forget his sympathies and sacrifices for his fellow emphasised it against the demoralising influence or

Western militarism. Thus, he gave to the unarmed masses a strength not of bullets and bombs, such as the mighty oppressors possessed, but the soul-force inborn in every human being which the world of today has yet to understand and which carried to its logical conclusion can abolish war for all time. To return force for force is to degrade oneself to the level of a brute who appreciates strength only in terms of death and destruction, while the power of non-violence is the power of life and of the soul which cannot be enslaved or destroyed. It was on the basis of this philosophy of non-violence that Gandhiji struggled to free the soul of India and turn his countrymen who were slaves into real men again, their heads raised high and fit to fight for their ultimate fulfilment without recourse to physical violence. Fear was conquered by soul force, and people in India achteved a new dignity born of truth and fearlessness. The free India of today symbolises the triumph of Gandhiji's power of nonviolence as a practical political weapon; it also reveals the glory of man's soul-force. It was by this soul-force that Gandhiji induced thousands to court jail and other sacrifices and it is this very force which can still rescue the present civilisation from its impending doom.

To Gandhiji belongs the supreme glory of sacrificing his own life for the fulfilment of his mission. It requires two to create a trouble, and if one stendard the world is not yet it is the richer any quarrel. And, if there is violence from one side, the other side can meet it more effectively by refusing a strife and violence. To resist with violence. It is this doctrine, theoretically as old as civilisation, which Gandhiji applied to the conduct of human affairs, not unlike Buddha who had said, "If hatred responds to hatred, when and where will hatred end?"

It was one of the turning-points in world history that Gandhiji chose the path of suffering and satyagraha in the cause of justice for his countrymen. He had been to South Africa on a professional visit to work as a lawyer in a big case. So far he had only a vague idea of the colour bar and of the disabilities under which his fellow nationals laboured there. But, as he journeyed from Durban to Maritzburg he experienced it in all its repulsive brutality. He had a hirst class ticket, yet he was forcibly pushed out of his compartment simply because he was Indian. That was a cold winter night and Gandhiji made the great choice of his life while he sat shivering on the open railway platform. He could have returned to India, and passed his days as a lawyer, but he refused to do so. He chose to fight against racial disabilities not by force of arms but by moral force, and thus developed his technique of satyagraha which when translated to the larger sphere of Indian politics wrought the miracle of a transformation of a middle class political agitation into a mass awakening which incidentally is the biggest revolution known to world history.

 In Gandhiji's view Swaraj was not merely the end of foreign domination. It was the moral regeneration of the people. His constructive programme was only means to that end. His Khaddar programme was the poor peasant's salvation, for it summed up the reawakening of his creative genius. His fight against untouchability and the drink evil was meant to promote the moral and social welfare of the people. His educational ideas reflected in the Wardha scheme was for the cultural rearmament of the common people. Last, but not the least, the communal unity programme which he propagated till the last minute of his life was for the development of a truly secular state in India. Above all, he sought to make religion and prayer a part and parcel of the nation's life, for he believed that these can not be divorced even from politics and that no work, however great, will really prosper unless it has a moral backing. For a complete fulfilment of this moral discipline, he inculcated the vow of truth, the doctrine of Ahimsa, the vow of Brahmacharyya, the vow of the control of the palate, the vow of non-thieving, the vow of Swadeshi and Khaddar, the vow regarding the untouchables, the vow of fearlessness and the vow of national education. Thus, through this all-comprehensive programme of Swarajya, Gandhiji sought to raise politics to the dignity of a religion and uplift mankind through an ethical and humanitarian revolution. It may be that the world is not yet ready for this moral revolution, yet it is the richer for having witnessed the first application of this moral ideal under modern conditions of

Gaudhiji's contribution to Indian politics has been as spectacular as it has been momentous. He created a general will and made India a nation. He gave it a new shape by creating a mass movement which functioned both horizontally and vertically. To him more than to any other single individual may be attributed the newly won freedom of India and he has justly been called the Father of the Nation-the great liberator of India as also of Asia. To him may also be attributed the great miracle of making his countrymen worthy and capable of this freedom. His was the word which swayed India's leaders and India's masses, and it was he who stemmed in a truly heroic fashion the tide of communal hale and violence that rushed in the wake of India's partition. His faith in communal unity did not falter in the darkest hour of his life. The fasts he undertook so often in his life was a tapasya of the highest order for the good of the misguided humanity.

Statesman and apostle, humanist and Yogi, Mahatma Gandhi came and opened up a new path for India and the world. The power which he released through his life of sacrifice and martyrdom is imperishable. He has taught us that the forces of destruction will overtake those who rely upon them, and that life and freedom can be ours only if we could revive the moral spirit in us. His own autobiography is a wonderful revelation as to how the moral spirit can triumph over the body. Through his life and also his death, he has shown us in action the ideal of humanity to come.

PRINCIPLES OF A GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

By KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.

In the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi our Swaraj to be real must begin at the bottom. He believes that every village in our country should be a Republic or Panchayat having full powers, even those of defending itself against the whole world. This does not mean that every village in India will be completely self-sufficient and even isolated from the rest of our country or the world. In the words of Gandhiji himself:

"In this structure composed of innumerable villages there will be ever widening, ever ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an occanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units."

We may be eager to build up for India a constitution based on these ideas. But there is a difficulty that nowhere in the writings of Mahatma Gandhi do we find a complete picture of the position of the village in the future constitution of India. During the last thirty years of his life he was mostly engaged in a lite and death struggle to make the British quit India, so that he found little time to give us that picture. In a sense, he had even not the intention to do so. For as a Satyagrahi, he believed:

"The very nature of the science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him."

Recently in a booklet named Gandhian Constitution for Free India and published in January, 1946, Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal made an attempt to give some idea as to what Gandhiji had in his mind in relation to the future constitution of our country. It is necessary to examine this brochure carefully, for Gandhiji said in a foreword to it that Principal Agarwal had done what for want of time Gandhiji himself had failed to do. "There is nothing in it," says Gandhiji, "which has jarred on me as inconsistent with what I would like to stand for."

The central theme in the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi in respect of Swaraj is his passionate seal for the restoration of the village republics of India. Principal Agarwal has aptly described this idea as 'villagism'. Gandhiji in his usual mystical way has

often described his ideal as the realisation of Ramrajya. But what is Ramrajya in our times, when Ramchandra, the illustrious son of Dasaratha, is no more? In the words of Gandhiji himself:

"It can be religiously translated as kingdom of God on earth. Politically translated, it is perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race or creed or sex vanish. In it land and state belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and, therefore, is freedom of worship and of speech and the press—all this because of the self-imposed law of moral restraint. Such a state must be based on truth and non-violence and must consist of prosperous, happy and self-contained villages and village communities.

An analysis of these words will show that Gandhiji has pinned his faith on the high ideals of equality, justice, fraternity, truth and non-violence, all to be realised in actual life in the village communities of our country. No one can seriously dispute about the value of all these ideals. We have always heard of these ideals from the most ancient days down to the present day, though the inevitable imperfections of human nature have always put some limits to their realisation in actual life. The thing that needs here careful study is Gandhiji's insistence on the restoration of the village republics of our country

This villagism surely does not mean medievalism. The essential thing about the village life in medieval India is generally, though wrongly, supposed to be the isolation of the villages from the rest of the country and the world. Gandhiji is opposed to this idea of isolationism, because this is neither possible not desirable. As Principal Agarwal says:

"In Gandhiji's scheme the villages of our country should be properly co-ordinated to the Taluka, the District, the Province and the All-India centre through the Taluka and District Panchayats, Provincial Assemblies and the Federal Parliament."

Indeed, if we suppose that Gandhiji accepts the scheme proposed by Principal Agarwal, then we shall have to say that according to Gandhiji in his ideal constitution for India the President of the lower Panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher Panchayat or Assembly. Thus under this scheme "even the President of the All-India Panchayat shall be the president of his own village Panchayat well;" he shall at the same time be a president of the Taluka, District and Provincial Panchayats. In fact, Gandhiji wants to develop on modern lines our villages.

^{1.} Harijan, July 28, 1946.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{8.} History of the Congress by B. Pattabhi Sitaramyya, p. 955.

^{4.} Foreword to the Gandhian Constitution for Free India.

^{5.} The Hinds, June, 1945.

^{6.} Gandhian Constitution for Free India, p. 68.

^{7.} Ibid, p. 101.

which have existed from the prehistoric times in our country but are now in a dilapidated condition. This going back to villages is not to become primitive or medieval:

"It is," as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has said, "the only way to keep up a mode of existence that is instinctive to India, that supplied her once with a purpose, a faith and a meaning."

It is therefore wrong to suggest that Gandhiji wants to put the hands of the clock back and take us to medieval times. What he wants may be described in modern parlance as decentralisation. Though wants to concentrate most of his attention at the present moment to the urgent task of resusciating the village republics of India, he is not negligent about the relationship of the villages to the rest of India and, indeed, to the whole world. According to Gandhiji, there can be no real conflict between the interests of the village and those of the country, the world or even of the whole universe. All that Gandhiji wants is that the basis of our material existence should be the village or the locality in which we live and that there we must try our best to live a life which is in harmony with all the rest in the universe. For practising and realising the high ideals of inter-nationalism and universalism we need not go from one part of the world to another. If we really serve our neighbours and countrymen, we will, in effect, be serving all other conceivable interests, for in spite of apparent conflicts before our eyes we are living in a universe which 15 essentially harmonious. Gandhiji's patriotism is only apparently exclusive in the sense that in all humility he confines his attention to the land of his birth. But it is really inclusive in the sense that his service 18 not of a competitive or antagonistic nature, for he wants to identify himself with everything that lives."

There are historical, political, economic, sociological, military and cultural reasons for this scheme of decentralisation. An emphasis upon the local autonomy of the villages and other self-governing institutions is quite in keeping with the historical traditions of ancient India. The institution of local seltgovernment, said late Romesh Chandra Dutt, was "developed earliest and preserved longest in India among all the countries of the earth." The Vcdas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vishnusmriti, the Jatakas, the Arthashastra of Kautilya, the Nitisara of Sukracharyya, all make mention of the village commonwealths of our country. Megasthenes, the Greek traveller, Hieun Teang and Fa Hien, the Chinese travellers, and many other historians have all spoken very highly of our village systems. Many religious and political storms passed over the country with the invasions and depredations of the Scythians, the Greeks, the Saracens, the Afghans, the Mongolians. the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danes, but the rural republics of India continued to flourish in our country till the rise of the East India Company to political power.

"The independent development of local government," says Dr. Radha Kumud Mookherjee, "provided, like the shell of a tortoise, a haven of peace where the national culture could draw in for its own safety when the political storm burst over the land."

When, however, the British Government deliberately introduced the Ryotwari system as against the Mahalwari system, a serious death-blow was dealt to the corporate life of the village republics. The centralisation of all executive and judicial powers in the hands of the British bureaucrats only added to the speed of the deterioration of the powers and influence of the rural functionaries. If, therefore, we try to revitalise the rural life in our country, we will simply be following the footsteps laid down for us by the history of the last few centuries in our country.

Many modern political thinkers, including Joad, Cole, Huxley and Laski, are strongly in favour of decentralisation. On the political plane we can easily accumulate arguments in favour of decentralisation. Local needs are better understood by local people than by persons living at a distance. In a crowded state of modern times the central government can rarely find time enough to discuss all the details of local problems. Experiment in new schemes of legalisation, laws relating to prohibition, for instance, is possible and effective only in a decentralised local area. Local autonomy gives colour and vigour to the local people and thus adds to their diversity. It also trains people in the art of self-government and makes their obedience really creative and revivifies their faith in social action. Effective decentralisation involves that there will be direct election only for the village panchayats and indirect election for the rest of the panchayats. The scheme of indirect election suggested by Principat Agarwal is that the president of the lower panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher panchayat. This system of election will obviously combine the advantages of both direct and indirect elections. It will avoid waste of money, time and energy involved in direct elections specially in a vast country like ours. It will automatically put a check on the unhealthy activities of the political parties which under elections through large constituencies increasingly tend to be rigid and crystallised. There will be little room for corruption and bribery; for in village elections personal acquaintance will certainly put these things at a discount, and in case of all other higher assemblies, elections will be mostly in the hands of persons of status and responsibility and therefore not easily subject to temptations. Under such a scheme we are not likely to see those election meetings of our

^{8.} S. Radhakrishaan, Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Rejicction on Bia Lija and Work, p. 27.

^{9.} Ray Walker, Wiedom of Gendhi, p. 156.

^{16.} R. C. Dutt, Economic Pletery of India.

^{11.} Local Government in Ancient India, p. 10.

times which have been described by Mr. Bernard Shaw as:

"Scandalous and disgusting spectacles at which sane and sober men yell senselessly until any dispassionate stranger looking at them would believe that he was in a lunatic asylum of exceptionally dreadful cases of mental derangement."

Under the scheme, moreover, it will not be difficult to secure the responsibility of the representatives to their constituencies, for each of the constituencies here suggested will be very small and therefore capable of acting, whenever necessary.

There is also an economic justification for the principle of decentralised government specially in country like ours. It is obvious to anybody that largescale production in economics in our times has led to large-scale government, that is, to centralised government. If we want to introduce the principle of smallscale production on a cottage industry basis, we will be automatically urging for a scheme of decentralisation. India at the present moment has a surplus of human energy not fully employed. If we want to give employment to all our people in India and Pakistan who number 400 millions at present, we cannot possively solve our problem by mechanical large-scale production alone. It has been estimated that there are only about 2 million workers employed in the heavy and large-scale industries in our country. If following the Bombay planners, we wanted to expand, say, five times the heavy industries in our country, these would, give employment to only about 10 million people. But what about the remaining 390 millions? All of them cannot be farmers, for this would mean an excessive subdivision of land; and only a small addition can be made to the professional class. Even the farmers 12 our country are not fully employed; they are badly in need of supplementary industries to add to their small incomes. All this leads us to the inevitable conclusion that however much we may like to develop heavy or "key" industries, for the present, at least, we must conceptrate our attention to the principle and policy of cottage-industrialisation and consequent decentralisation. Even Gandhiji does not seem to be entirely against the principle of large-scale production in spite of its obvious evils of mechanisation. To the question whether cottage industries and large-scale production can be harmonised, he said:

"Yes, if they are planned so as to help the villages. Key industries, industries which the nation needs, may be centralised. Under my scheme nothing will be allowed to be produced by cities which can equally be produced by the villages. The proper function of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village products."

"Mechanisation," says Gandhiji, "is good when hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more

hands than required for the work, as is the case in India."14

Gandhiji, therefore, is not wholly opposed to the principle of large-scale production. What he emphasises is that the present circumstances in India want us to concentrate more of our attention and energies to the development of cottage industries.

There are other arguments also in favour of cottage industries.

"A product," says Henry Ford, "that is used all over the country ought to be made all over the country to save transportation and to distribute buying power more evenly."

Besides, we can easily see that "small units capable of diversified production and quick adaptation are more economical than large units," It may also be remembered that uncontrolled large-scale production in its search for external markets creates consciously or unconsciously an atmosphere for war which means huge loss for the whole human race.

From the point of view of the defence of India also we can make out a case for principle of decentralisation. If the national economy is wholly based on centralised industries, its dislocation can be easily brought about by means of air-bombing by any enemy. The defence of China against Japanese aggression was greatly helped by her industrial co-operatives which made almost all the Chinese villages self-sufficient in regard to the necessities of life by spreading a network of cottage-industries all over China.

We must not also neglect the cultural and sociological sides of decentralisation. The principle of decentralisation will encourage the virtues of simplicity, humanity and sanctity of labour. Those among us who do not like the complexities of modern city-life will find a suitable atmosphere in the decentralised villages where they may pursue the spiritual ideal of simple living and high thinking. And, needless to say, we must have some among us who like Prof. Einstein will surely say, "Possession, out-ward success, publicity, luxury-to me these have always been contemptible."17 Village life with its simplicity can also give a deeper opportunity of coming into very intimate contact with one's neighbours and this will greatly help the spirit of humanity in us. Sanctity of physical labour 18 emphasized by the scheme of decentralised cottage industries and it cannot be denied that this emphasis is a great necessity in our country. The principle of decentralisation will also train us in the virtue of nonviolence. Non-violence essentially means love. capacity to feel for others, and thus develop a will which is in fact a general will looking to the common good of all. Simplicity, respect for human lives and sanctity of physical labour which will be emphasised

^{12.} The Political Mod-House in America and Required Home, pp. 25-26.

^{13.} S. Railhakrichnan, Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Reflections.

^{14.} Harijan, November 16, 1934.

^{15.} Henry Ford, Today and Tomorrow, p. 109.

^{16.} Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities, p. 342.

^{17.} I Belleve, p. 70.

in our small village republics may go a long way. to teach us the principle of non-violence.

Under Gandhiji's scheme of decentralisation we shall have from the sociological point of view open-air rural life in place of modern congested cities. The busy and noisy life in the cities often causes a serious strain upon our nerves and may even lead to a complete breakdown of health. To prevent such things we must develop our villages where villagers will live in peaceful and health-giving circumstances and which urban people may occasionally visit to gain joy and vigour.

These are the general arguments in favour of the scheme of decentralisation suggested by Principal Agarwal. But anyone can easily see that decentralisation by itself will not do. Unless decentralisation is supplemented by a corresponding scheme of centralisation, it may easily degenerate into disintegration. It there are historical, political, economic, military, cultural and sociological reasons for decentralisation, it can also be seriously urged for similar reasons that there is also a good case for centralisation. The historical argument in favour of decentarisation as easily over-done. It means in effect that he arise we had some things in the past, we should have the same things in the present. But, in fact, new circumstances may require new things. In these days of wide and rapid communication, when scientific discoveries have enabled us to run over the land, swim through the seas and fly through skies, to urge the simple case decentralisation without a corresponding scheme of centralisation is to fight for the lost cause.

Decentralisation may mean loss of uniformity in legislation which is no less useful than diversity to be encouraged by the principle of decentralisation. There is also an economic case for centralisation. Scientific discoveries lead to world-wide communications world-wide communications lead to world-wide trade, and world-wide trade leads to world-wide government. This is the inevitable sprites of the 20th century. As soon as you accept large-scale industries,—and Gandhiji even does not propose their total rejection,—we must also accept large-scale government, that is centralisation.

The military reason for centralisation is perhaps the most important. India as an independent state must have an army, an airforce and a navy. Even Gandhiji, the supreme visionary had to be a supreme realist and a practical idealist in this respect. As Gandhiji says:

"Alas! in my Swaraj of today there is a room for soldiers... under Swaraj you and I shall have a disciplined, intelligent, educated police force that would keep order within and fight raiders from without, if by that time I or some one else does not show a better way of dealing with either."

If this Indian defence is to be strong, it must be united and, therefore, centralised,—an argument which prompted many of us to hesitate to accept up to the last moment the Muslim League demand of Pakistan,

involving a division of India into two states with separate arrangements for defence.

Again, if we want to enrich our local culture, we must have ingredients of it, not only from the different parts of our own country, but also from other parts of the world. There is also a sociological side for centralisation in this that if we want to improve human breed, there should be marriages not only between persons of different castes but also of localities, religions and nationalities.

All this is sufficient to show that while pleading for the new theory of villagism we must not overemphasise its value, nor give only one-sided arguments. When we want decentralisation and give arguments in favour of it we should be careful enough not to forget the necessity of centralisation and the arguments in favour of that. Life is not full unless it is centralised in certain respects and decentralised in certain other respects.

If the position of the village in the new Indian state is properly understood. I might now give a short description of the organisation and functions of the village republics as described by Principal Agarwal in his booklet Gandhian Constitution for Free India. There will be in every village or a group of small, neighbouring villages, a panchayat, ordinarily, of fivepersons elected for a term of three years and doing all the legislative, executive and judicial business of the locality, with the help of the village officers. Its . main functions will relate to education, recreation, protection, agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, sanitation and medical relief, justice, finance and taxation. It will run a primary or lower basic school through the medium of a productive craft, maintain a library and a reading room and run a night school for adults. It will encourage folk songs, folk dance, and folk theatre, maintain a gymnasium, and a playing field, and arrange exhibitions and fairs. For the purpose of defending the village republic from thieves, robbers and other criminals and wild animals. the village authorities must maintain village guardians and impart regular training to all citizens in the technique of Satyagraha or non-violent resistance and defence. The village government will pay most of its attention to the smooth running of agricultural and industrial activities of the village, making proper arrangements for irrigation, consolidation of holdings and cooperative farming, supplying seeds and implements, checking soil erosion and reclaiming waste land, assessing rent of each agricultural plot and collecting it from the landholders, reviewing, scrutinising and if necessary, scaling down the debts and regulating their rates of interest, organising the production of Khadi and other village industries, running a co-operative dairy and a village tannery, organising co-operative marketing of village products and co-operative consumers' societies, supervising the imports and exports of the village. maintaining co-operative godowns and running the village banks. The sanitary and medical department of

the village republic should take charge of the drainage system, prevent public nuisances, check the spread of epidemics, make arrangements for pure drinking water and maintain a village hospital and maternity home. The village republic must provide cheap and speedy justice to villagers and make arrangements for free legal aid and information. For doing all these things money will be necessary and for this taxes may be imposed and donations encouraged.

To co-ordinate the social, economic and political activities of the villages there will be the Taluka Panchayats, the District Panchayats, the Provincial Panchayats, and the All-India Panchayat in succession. These authorities may do many other functions suitable to the locality. In the urban areas there may be Municipal Panchayats, subdivided into ward panchayats. The status and functions of the Municipal Panchayats may be similar to those of the District Panchayats. The functions of the higher bodies should be advisory and not mandatory, and restricted to guiding, advising and supervising and not commanding the lower Panchayats. So far there is no difficulty in the suggestions of Principal Agarwal. He aims at a five. tier constitution with the villages, Talukas, Districts, Provinces and the All-India centre as the respective units. This is somewhat similar to the three-tier constitution suggested by the Cabinet Mission in their statement of May 16, 1946 for the provinces, the groups and the All-India centre. But when he goes on to suggest that "the president of the lower Panchayat. shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher Panchayat," that "even the president of the All-India Panchayat shall be the president of his own village Panchayat as well," and that the All-India President "shall at the same time, be a member or president of the Taluka, District and Provincial Panchayats," 1 do not think that we should accept his contentions. It ought to be obvious that it is physically impossible for one man to be in charge of so many official posts if he wants to do the proper duties of his position; and if any one does occupy them, pressure of duties here, there and everywhere may simply make him fly from one part of the country to another.

I would suggest that the proper method would have been for the lower Panchayat to elect a special

representative to represent its interests to the next higher body. This representative will be in the position of an ambassador of a smaller state to a higher state, though every village, Taluka, District, and Province may, whenever necessary, send its representatives to similar bodies in other parts of the country on a footing of equality.

I hope many will agree that the principles here suggested represent vital improvements over the constitutions that are in existence today in different parts of the world. I may here emphasise three important aspects in respect to which our principles differ from those in other countries. First, our emphasis is on decentralisation or villagism while others emphasise centralisation or nationalism. Secondly, we suggest a modification in the modern theory of federalism, for while simple federalism implies what may be called a two-tier constitution we are thinking in terms of a fivetier constitution. Thirdly, under the constitution that we have suggested we are not likely to see the evils of the modern party system, such as, one-sided propaganda during elections, opposition to the policies of the government for the sake of opposition itself, inclusion of able and important men from the government on account of their belonging to a different political party, etc. This third aspect need to be emphasised because party organisations are becoming increasingly rigid and even violently conflicting, so much so that members of the administrative and judicial services are definitely prohibited from having any connexion with any political parties. Under our scheme the situation would be completing otherwise. Needless to say there is in our scheme no trace of a suggestion in favour of the Communist doctrine of the dictatorship of a single political party. But we are also no supporter of the Anglo-Saxon model of politics in which there 18 opposition for the sake of opposition itself.

I have here given a short idea of a constitution for India drawn up from the bottom. I know that there is almost no chance of this idea being immediately accepted by our present constitution-makers, though most of them often speak so much in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, who, in fact, is the main inspirer of this ideal. However let us try our best to popularise the cause. A day may come when the whole country, nay, the whole world may be eager to accept this basis of an ideal constitution based on the Gandhian Ideals of truth and non-violence.

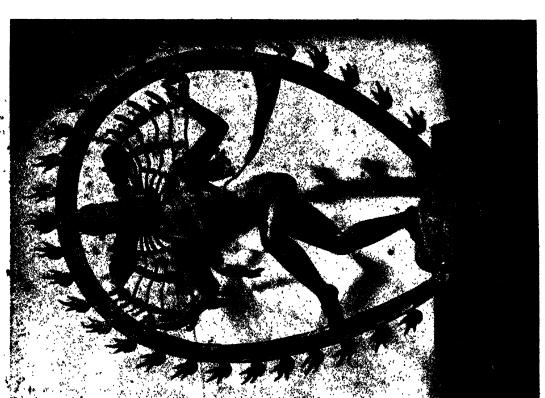


^{19.} Gandhian Constitution for India, p. 101.

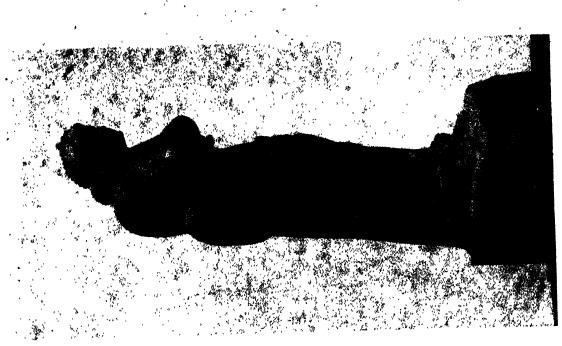
^{20.} Ibid, p. 101.

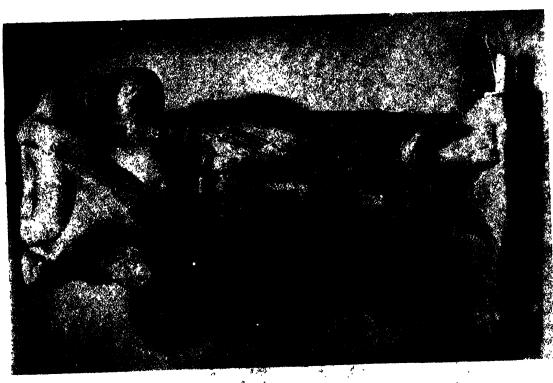
^{.21.} Ibid, pp. 101-2.

Nataraja (bronze), Madras Museum



Nataraja (bronze), Madras Museum





THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE Royal Academy of London, the official British institute for the display of the visual arts, devoted its annual Winter Show to a comprehensive Exhibition of Indian Art lent by the Indian and Pakistan Governments. By the co-operation of a British Committee appointed by the Royal Academy and a Committee of Indian experts appointed by the Indian Education Department, presided over by the Hon'ble Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, valuable monuments of old Indian sculpture and masterpieces of Indian painting from public and private collections were chosen and lent for the Exhibition which was opened in London on the 19th November, 1947. Though the India Society, London, has occasionally arranged for Exhibitions of Indian Art, principally representing modern Indian painting in its various phases, nothing like a really representative show of ancient Indian Art in all its phases and schools had been attempted before. And from various points of view, the recent Exhibition sponsored by the Royal Academy has been of great interest and significance.

The Exhibition has almost synchronized with Indian Independence and the cessation of British Dominion in India. The history of the cultural relationship between India and England is a doleiul story of tragic significance. Throughout the long period of about two centuries, the relationship between the two great nations has been one of ruthless political domination and sordid commercial exploitation which has not only worked out the systematic economic ruin of India, but a slow but sure strangulation of Indian art, culture, and civilization. No scrious attempt had been made, at any time, during this period of subjection, to loster the growth and development of Indian arts and rafts, the traditions of which cover an uninterrupted period of about five thousand years, and the flow of which stops abruptly from the date of the establishment of the British rule in India. The British rulers and missionaries, no doubt, to further their own ends, nad given to India various educational institutions, public and private, which have quickened interest, on the part of Indians, in English language and literature, and through the latter, knowledge of European culture and civilisation had spread in India, hitherto wholly ingressed in her own traditional culture and philosophy of life. Indians have assimilated the best lessons of English literature if not of English culture, in a manler, unprecedented in the history of any other non-English-speaking people in any part of the world. The nterest which Indian nationals had developed in English literature and culture, had hardly been reciated by cultured Englishmen. These dark clouds

are relieved by the tiny lamps that three Englishmen lighted to explore the hitherto unknown but extensive continent of Indian art and culture, generally ignored and disdained by the average Britisher in India, armed in his racial arrogance which engendered the belief that India had nothing to offer in the sphere of culture worth his serious attention. The three Englishmen who shed their racial prejudices to focus their attention on an unbiased study of Indian culture, are glorious names which elevate the cultural relationship to a respectable level-Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, E. B. Havell, the great English champion of Indian Art, and Sir John Woodroffe, the most sympathetic exponent of the basic tenets of Indian life and philosophy and one of the founders of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Two other names deserve honourable mention in this connection, the late Sister Nivedita (Mrs. Margaret Noble) and Dr. James H. Cousins, whose deep and abiding interest in Indian Art have made valuable contributions towards a mutual cultural exchange, leading to a sympathetic understanding and appraisal of the achievement of Indians in the domain of the visual arts.

Various French and Dutch publications, during the last thirty years, have recorded the appreciation of the merits of Cambodian, Siamese and Indo-Javanese Art on the part of French savants and connoisseurs, but the continental Art of India, the source and pivot of its colonial branches, had not received adequate attention on the part of European connoisseurs. And one is tempted to refer in this connection to the interesting fact that an almost contemporary appreciation of Indian Moghul painting by Queen Maria Theresa of Austria is on record in the decoration of her Schonbrun Palace, a room of which was covered with a series of Moghul miniatures imported from India. To this a recent parallel is afforded by the decoration of the India Office in London by a group of contemporary Indian painters.

Anyhow, the recent exhibition organized by the Royal Academy is the first serious tribute paid to the merits of Indian Art, hitherto ignored or denied by a group of British archaeologists and antiquarians in India, unable to shed their racial prejudices and somewhat obsessed by their exaggerated belief in the Greeo-Roman standards in Art, which prevented an unbiased understanding and appreciation of the highly original qualities and merits of Indian Art, which E. B. Havell championed throughout his life.

The most typical of the English attitude towards Indian Art is recorded in the tirade of John Ruskin, in the insult offered to the image of the Buddha by Sir George Birdwood, the Victorian "authority" on Indian Art, and in the apathy and the positive distaste of Indian Art admitted by Roger Fry, the foremost English critic, in his Last Lectures.

Such being the dolerul history of English understanding of Indian Art, one is naturally curious to ask: Has there been a change of heart conducive to an unbiased appreciation of India's aesthetic achievement? The reactions to this magnificent display of Indian masterpieces can be most conveniently judged from the extracts from criticisms which appeared in the London Press, some of which are set forth below:

"The sculpture is inevitably disappointing. Reft from its architectural background, most of it on a very small scale, it would have stood more concentrated grouping than it has received, and it is little helped by a background which fails to show it up. Even in its own surroundings and seen on the scale of Ellora, Madura, or Seven Pagodas, Indian sculpture is not easy to appreciate, probably because it is impersonal in style, and the individuality one looks for in European sculpture is suppressed here and subordinated to an abstraction. Indian sculpture bears perhaps to European much the same relationship as the ballet bears to the drama; it is generalized, and individuality is absent." (Nature, London).

"Prominent among representative pieces in the exhibition is the head of a horse from Konarak, in Orissa, that shows the Indian genius for creating three-dimensional forms. But perhaps the chief glory of this period are the bronzes, the average quality of which at the exhibition, is, if possible, superior to that of the stone sculpture. Foremost among them is a Dancing Siva from Madras Museum, undoubtedly, the finest bronze from Asia, and some think in all the world, a supreme example of the rhythm and vitality that make the greatness of all Indian sculpture." (Broadcast in the BB.C.'s Far Eastern Service).

In course of an appreciative review of the Indian paintings, Basil Gray is led to comment on a late but charming drawing from Orissa, which is worth quoting:

"I suggest that the painting at the Royal Academy should not be thought of as the poor descendant of the classic wall-paintings, but as a new school with a vision and content unique in history, revealing fresh achievements of the spirit of man." (The Listener, London)

The comments of F. G. Mories are in many respects remarkable and worth quoting:

"The exhibition now on view at Burlington House is in many respects the most impressive show I have ever seen. It is awesome by its dignity; a dignity which appears to be the outcome of a prolonged religious esctasy and the slow evolution of a deep-rooted tradition. Sculpture at its best, here it is superlative, lacking the wide chromatic scale of painting, has to make its appeal through pure

form, and form as it appeals to me in these Indian masterpieces is severe. The word "severe" meant originally to the Greeks worshipful, and surely we are bound to feel the element of worship conveyed by these images of gods, prophets and pietists where such are depicted. . . For us of the occident these oriental and sacred figures cannot have the religious appeal they had to those for whom they were made. Nevertheless we may sympathise even when our sympathies are not the same : the unfamiliar by meditation awakens in us the family feeling inherent in mankind. To a Christian continent, with its religious roots in the East, the disparity is not so great as may at first appear. However that may be, the permanent interest to artlovers is the aesthetic, and in this Indian Exhibition there is a volume of work so rich in artistic content that many visits will be necessary to those people who want to assimilate it at all." (The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle).

Stuart Simmonds has made very piquant comments which we quote:

"The bronzes typify the incredible vitality of Indian Sculpture. These anonymous craftsmen, even where restrained by strict iconographical conventions, were yet free to draw upon life for their rhythms. For them the laws of sculpture, painting, music, and the dance were directed towards a single end. They worked with unequalled grace and lightness of touch, and by remembering the flesh and blood of the living being, they achieved, while working at their religio-symbolic figures, that mysterious sense of life which marks off the true work of art from the work of the intellect alone." (Isis, Oxford).

Sir Richard Winstedt, Vice-Chairman of the Royal Academy Exhibition, has said:

"I think Britain has a lesson to learn from Indian Art."

Mr. Noel Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has made certain remarks which are pregnant with meaning:

"British people have a new and vivid interest in India and Pakistan which they have never had before. The exhibition would be one factor in helping them to get back to a saner conception of what human life is for. Coatingents must work in a new relationship of freedom, equality and co-operation if civilization were to be saved and mankind given the destiny it ought to have."

A writer in the Great Britain and the East has remarked:

"Full appreciation of India's cultural heritage by the Indians themselves has not always been apparent in the turbulent history of that mighty sub-continent. Today, however, there is a new awakening—not only by the peoples of India, but by the peoples of the West—to the glories of India's arts, and this re-valuation must be carefully fostered and preserved at all costs."



MAHARANA PRATAP SINGH

By Prof. S. K. BANERJEE, M.A.

RANA PRATAP SINGH, the eldest son of Rana Udan Singh by his first wife, was probably born in the fort of Kumbhilmir in 1540 A.D. During the life-time of his father, Pratap had no opportunity of displaying the manly qualities which became prominent in his later career. His father who was a slave to his youngest queen, selected Jagamala, the step-brother of Pratap, as his heir to the throne. Like Sher Shah, Pratap was neglected by his father and despised by his step-mother and so he was thrown on his own resources in his youth. But fortunately, Pratap had admirers and supporters, especially his mother's relatives who were not ready to see Jagamala on the throne of Chitore at a time when the perils of the kingdom demanded a strong man at the helm of the State.

After the demise of Rana Udai Singh, though Jagamala sat on the turone of Chitore for a few hours, the Sardars placed Pratap on the throne on 26th February, 1572.

After his accession to the throne Pratap turned his attention to the internal organisation of the empire. He knew that the trial of strength with Akbar was inevitable; but he should get time. Fortunately Akbar was engaged in the Guzrat campaigns and so he was allowed much-necded respite. Akbar wanted to secure the submission of Pratap without appealing to arms and that was why he sent Kumar Man Singh and Raja Bhagawan Das to Udaipur to persuade Pratap to acknowledge his supremacy. Pratap was not less shrewd than his rival and he played his cards well. He entertained his guests and by shrewd diptomacy he was able to make Akbar believe his good and friendly intentions. During this time he did not remain idle but was preparing himself for the coming storm. He knew that the evil day that was to come, was not far off. He at once took steps to organise his Government and devised regulations to make his army more efficient and better equipped. He repaired and strengthened the fortresses and decided like Shivaji to adopt guerilla warfare against the Mughals.

Akbar who was a strong annexationist, and was the embodiment of the political principle preached by Kautilya—"Whoever is superior in power shall wage a war"—could not endure the existence of a strong independent kingdom in Mewar. He knew that the Rajput Chiefs who had been deprived of their independence sullenly brooded over their losses and they were ready to spring at the smallest opening for revolt. Honour and prestige of the empire demanded that the picture of independence should be wiped off from the memory of the Rajputs. In other words, the Crown of Mewar—the symbol of Rajput independence—must kies the feet of the Mughal emperor. Dr. V. A. Smith puts in a nutshell the cause belk:

"His (Rana's) patriotism was his offence. Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his

astute policy and could not endure independent attitude assumed by the Rana, who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows."

Akbar was determined to destroy Pratap, but Pratap was not the man to fail or falter in the face of difficulties and in grim earnestness he set himself to the task of dealing with the situation in a bold and decisive manner. He resolved to uphold the honour and dignity of his house by sacrificing himself in the service of his Motherland.

In 1575, Akbar sent Man Singh and Asaf Khan against Rana Pratap. They arrived at the pass of Haldighat where the Rajputs and the Mughals were to engage one another in a death grapple. The Rana came out of the mountains with his followers and caused the Rajputs on the Mughal side to flee away like a flock of sheep. The battle—a ferocious hand to hand struggle—raged from early morning to midday ending with the defeat of the Rana. Pratap retreated into the hills but the Mughals did not venture to pursue him. The battle of Haldighat like the battle of Thermopylae was one of the few events in history in which defeat was more glorious than victory and Rana Pratap immortalised his name by fighting against the overwhelming number of the Mughal army.

Pratap's spirit was not damped by the defeat. He detected his mistakes; he changed his tactics and decided not to fight face to face with the Mughals. He fortified every pass of the Aravalli and these were entrusted to the Bhills. Then the hide and seek game was started between the Rajputs and the Mughals and the latter being harassed by the Rana's army left Mewar. Akbar could not conquer Mewar even by sending three expeditions in a year. In the next year (1577) Akbar made vast preparations to humble the pride of the Rana and Abul Fazl records that Shah Baz Khan was appointed to command the force and the execution of the task was committed to him. The Mughals captured Kumbhilmir and ranscaked Udaipur and Gogunda, but Pratap did not bend. Shah Baz Khan being tired and disgusted left Mewar. After the dparture of Shah Baz Khan, Pratap recaptured most of his places. Akbar sent two other expeditions against the Rana, one in 1578 under Shah Baz Khan and another in 1584 under Jagannath Kachchhavaha, but to no purpose. Pratap soon -recovered all Mewar except Chitore and Mandalgarh and spent his last 11 years in peace and tranquillity. He breathed his last in 1596.

Tod in his book, Annals of Rajasthan, has recorded many incidents, to wit: Sakta Singh was rebuked by Prince Selim in the Mughal camp after the battle of Haldighat; Pratap Singh was reduced to a state of abject misery to such an extent that he had to take shelter with the Bhils and once Pratap expressed his

^{1.} Akbar, the Great Mughal, p. 151.

^{2.} Lowe's Translation of Muntakab-ut-Tawarikh, II. p. 239.

^{3.} Akburnama, Vol. III. p. 207.

desire for entering into a subordinate alliance with the Mughals when a wild cat made off with the grass cake, kept for his belly-pinched daughter; but these are nothing but cock and bull stories. Selim at the time of the battle of Haldighat was a boy of six years and so it is quite impossible that he could then rebuke Sakta Singh. As, regards the second incident, it may be said that even in his worst days Pratap was the master of the territory extending from Kumbhilmir in the North to Wrishavpur in the South (about 90 miles) and from Devari in the East to Sirohi in the West-about 70 miles. This area was fertile and so there is no reason to think that Pratap's family had to live on grass. Pratap swore, says Tod, that so long as Chitore would not be recovered he and his descendants would not take meal on gold and silver plates, would pass nights on grass and would wear beards. Gouri Sankar Ojha opines that these are invented stories. The present fashion of wearing beards and whiskers among the Rajputs dates from the time of Farukshiyar and not earlier. Ranas of Udaipur never keep grass under their bed.

Rana Pratap's reign, full of strenuous activities extending over a period of 20 years, is enique in the annals of Rajputana.

"Had Mewar" says Tod, "possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the ten thousand would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar."

Pratap Singh was born in an aristocratic family of Rajputana and was of noble descent on both sides. His was a full stature of growth and manhood which was tall, stout and weil-proportioned; commanding was his figure. He stood as the finest example of mens sana in corpore sano. He fought many battles but it is said that he had no sign of wounds in his body.

Pratap Singh was one of the greatest personalities of medieval India. He was the embodiment of the spirit of Raiput independence. He had before him the heroic deeds of his ancestors who had held aloft in their time the banner of freedom and so while his fellow prince "vied with one another in promoting the glory of the empire," he vowed, in the words of the bard, "to make his mother's milk resplendent," The be-all and end-all of his life was to preserve the honour and prestige of his race. But this was not an easy task because he had to measure his sword with Akbar who in the words of Dr. V. A. Smith, at this time, "was the most powerful in the world . . . and was immessurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth. But nothing could daunt his heart. The strength of his purpose made him steady like a rock unshaken by winds. All attempts of Akbar foiled before the grim determination of Pratap and the latter performed his sacred duty by planting the tree of freedom in Mewer. He gave the freedom-loving Raiputs

independence and appeared to his countrymen as the star of a bright hope before whom all dark and ugly shadows vanished away.

His personal magnetism was great which enlivened his followers and made them cheerfully perform their heavy duties. His patriotism and self-sacrifice helped Mewar to regain that moral supremacy over Rajputana which she had lost at the battle of Khanwah where Rana Sangram Singh was defeated by Babar. It was the strength and vigour which he injected into the life of his countrymen that defied the might of Akbar. His unselfish patriotism strengthened the Rajputs at home by swelling the tide of common sentiment and patriotic fraternity in the bosom of every individual citizen of Mewar. The great Hindu-awakening which destroyed the vitality of the Mughal Empire in the 17th century was to a great extent the result of Pratap's work. He stands in the same political relation to Rana Raj Singha as Philip of Macedon is to Alexander.

Rana Pratap was a hard-working ruler and the trials and adventures of his life had strengthened every fibre of his body and developed in him the qualities of patience, courage and self-reliance. His indefatigable industry and minute attention to details are well worthy of a Shivaji or a Peter.

Pratap was a king, but he never played the king. He did not consider it infra dignitatem to work with his soldiers. He did not hold the throne for personal enjoyment and luxuries but he cherished a lofty ideal of kingship. If the Grand Monarch Louis XIV claimed, "I am the State", Pratap like Alfred and Frederick the Great said: "I am the first servant of the State." He was a real shepherd of his people. Like Sher Shah he followed the maxim that "it behoves the great to be always active."

Pratap Singh was a statesman of no mean order. The task of a statesman "is not merely to envisage a great purpose but also to see how far his resources can carry him." Pratap had the gift of grasping quickly the possibilities of situation and he knew his limitations.

He was a great soldier and in his campaigns there was a rare union of caution and enterprise. Though he had to wage wars in order to realise his aims, yet he was not a man of cruel nature or of blood-thirsty temperament. His chivalry and kindness to the women of Khankhanan Abdur Rahim (as related by Rajput historians) were not unworthy of an Alexander.

The name of Pratap is a household word today not only in Rajputana but also all over India. So long as the freedom-loving people of the world will worship the patriots, the name of Pratap will remain shining like a star. He was a patriot of unequalled integrity and brilliance, a man of the people, full of fire and daring who infused thousands with electric throbs of amor patrios that were in his soul. His career will instil hope and enthusiasm into the hearts of Indian patriots and make them theerfully perform their sacred duties without failing or faltering before a formidable energy.

^{4.} Rajanténahu filhata, Part III, p. 779.

R. Abbier, This Group Maphel, p. 366.

NATURE'S MOST AMAZING ANIMAL

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

ELEPHANTS have from time immemorial excited great and popular interest, always unsurpassed by the interest aroused by other animals. Among the many wild animals of the world, that which after capture turns out to be very useful to man, is the elephant. Both in times of peace and war, elephants have been known to be willing workers. The elephant has always been one of the wonders of the world, amazing in its aspect and full of delightful and surprising qualities alike of the head and the heart. The remarkable degree of intelligence it possesses and its huge size and conformation have won for the elephant an exalted position.

History eloquently testifies to the part played by elephants in war. Hasdrubal is said to have used elephants driven by Indian, mahouts at the battle of the Panormos in 251 B.C. In the Second Punic War, Hannibal and Hasdrubal both made great use of the elephants. It is recorded that at the battle of Raphia the Libyan elephants of Ptolemy failed against the Indian beasts of Antiochos. Hannibal's army which forced its way through the mighty Alps had a number of war elephants. The ancient Carthagenians used war elephants in many of their battles. Greek historians speak of Indians as accomplished masters in the art of capture and training of wild elephants. The miracle of domesticating the elephant was first achieved by the people of India.

The two distinct species of clephants existing at the present time are the Indian and the African. The Indian elephant is easily distinguished from its African brother by the sise and shape of its ears, the ears of the African elephant being four to five times bigger than those of the Indian and sail-like in appearance. The African elephant has fewer enamel plates in its molars and has a rounded skull like that of the ancient mastadon. The Indian elephant has complex teeth. Its forehead is marked by a depression or valley, separating the two rounded knob-like projections which part along the middle line. The Indian elephant is more attractive in appearance, and more useful to man.

Elephant carvings in Indian temples have won competent appreciation from art critics and naturalists. Elephants have an immense hold on the affections of the people of India. The Hindu God Ganesa or Ganapati is elephant-headed. He is invoked at the outset in all ceremonies and enterprises. The elephant is the famous and favourite vahena of Indra, the Lord of all Devas. According to Hindu mythology which is most colourful, Lord Indra rides on the back of his white elephant, named Airavata, which has four tasks a pair on each side. As such the elephant is regarded as a sacred animal. An ancient Hindu belief based on the scriptures is that the eight soraers of the earth are home by eight elephants known as the Ashtodika-pulse.

Of all the animals in Travancore the most characteristic and the oldest is the elephant which is also the undisputed master of the forests. Elephants move about in large herds along the cardamom hills of North Travancore. Very seldom is a solitary elephant seen in the wilds. When one does come across a single elephant, the experience might well be a death-dealing affair. Ordinarily an elephant is not a killer. But there is an occasional 'rogue' elephant, one which turns bad, because of disease, or injury, fury or some other reason. There is no more dangelous beast in the world then than the 'rogue.' When an individual elephant breaks



An elephant under training being led by a decoy elephant

the laws of the herd, he is expelled and becomes the so-called 'rogue. He is a social outcast and savage. The usual theory is that some old and cantankerous elephant is driven out of the herd, especially during the musth or rutting period, by a more powerful male and this ill-tempered fellow gradually turns out to be a confirmed 'solitary' and in the end becomes extremely dangerous to human life and property.

When in herds elephants are easily frightened and they scamper off at the slightest sign of danger. Elephants do not remain in one place for any length of time. They move about from spot to spot in search of food and drink. They are a set of black wandering rogues. During the first month of the year, water begins to fail in the higher regions. Then elephants go in search of the coolest and thickest parts of the forests. So they descend to the lower regions, where there are rivers. Dr. Ludwig Schuster, a Natural Science scholar, who made a special study of African wild elephants and their ways, has observed that elephants during the hot season are able to divine the existence of water in parched areas and that they make pits in the earth with their tusks and thus get at water. With the approach of the monsoon elephants climb to the higher regions of the wilds. The summer resort of these lords of the forests is the upper region, and the winter resort the lower one.



A baby elephant following its mahout

In the month of September when grain ripens, these terrible denizens of the woods rush down to the low country and make devastating raids upon the cornfields. The elephant in its wild stage is a dangerous enemy to man. It destroys his crops and even his life. Wild elephants cause great havoe on the cultivated area, partly because of their liking fo, the crops and partly owing to a sort of mischievous wantonness. During the season, the cultivators keep very vigilant watch at night; they sit and watch by big fires, which with the beat of tom-toms serve to scare away the marauders. The natives also erect a platferm, out of the reach of elephants and keep watch from there. Such structures seen in the fields, are popularly known as anamadams, literally meaning elephant-huts. The marauders, when in company, are very easily kept oft by the noise made by the tout-toms and gongs. But a single and experienced bull elephant, a clever rogue and long accustomed to such things, pays no heed at

all to the deafening and frightful sounds created by the watchers. He roams through the fields at his pleasure and makes a sumptuous feast of the crops. In November, elephants which have descended to the plains rejoin their comrades.

It is said that every herd is led by a hero tusker of ripe age and vast experience who gropes his way along with a sapling to assure safety for himself and his followers. Hunters in the African wilds have stated that African elephant herds are led by cows among them. Mutual aid among elephants is highly developed. Prince Kropotkin in his interesting work Mutual Aid refers to the "compound families" of elephants, their mutual attachment, their deliberate ways in posting sentries, and the feelings of sympathy developed by such a life of close mutual support. According to Samuel W. Baker, the distinguished authority on wild beasts and their ways, elephants combine in larger groups than the "compound family."

THE PIT METHOD

Wild elephants are captured during the hot weather when they descend in groups to the lower regions seeking water. In places through which elephants usually pass, deep pits of fifteen feet depth and of the same diameter are very carefully dug by elever and experienced hands. The excavated earth is scattered at a distance to avoid suspicion, for elephants are very wary and keep aloof from danger.

The pits are wide at the top and narrow towards the bottom and are made in such a way that it would be extremely difficult for the unwary beasts that have fallen into them to climb out. The bottom of the pits has usually a diameter of nine feet. The mouth of a pit is concealed very carefully with dry sticks, leaves, grass and small shrubs, so that the whole place looks exactly like a part of the ordinary forest. Sometimes big herds of elephants are driven to roam about the vicinity of such snares. It is very difficult to locate a herd and to find out the way through which it would pass. Elephants do not, however, wander about through one and the same path always. Aged and experienced masters of woodcraft examine the grass and from the nature of its withering and the dryness of the elephant dung determine the course of the herd. The hill-men are experts in this line.

Watchers are appointed by the State to guard these pits and report whether any animal has fallen a victim to the snares. When an elephant treads over a pit the twigs and leaves covering the top give way and the animal fall down with a loud and frightful yell. So inhuman and barbarous this method is that in some cases the sudden fall dislocates or fractures the limbs of the animal. Watchers turn up and close the mouth of the pit with heavy logs of wood immediately after an elephant has fallen into the pit. For a few hours the animal is left unto itself unmolested and is free to make wild and frantic efforts to effect its escape. But thoroughly overcome by fear, hunger, fatigue and

want of space even to move about freely, the unfortunate beast find to its utter dismay all its incessant and spirited efforts defeated. Finally, the animal is completely exhausted. After having tried various and when enough has accumulated so as to level the pit up, the wild victim appears at the top and finds itself to its awe and despair, surrounded by a team of decoy elephants and many men.



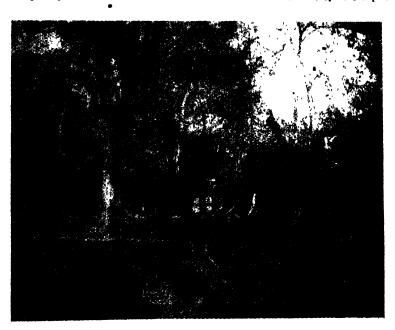
A captured elephant being taken out of pit. On either side are seen two decoy elephants

methods of escape with no success, it gives up all attempts and patiently waits for things to nappen. Very seldom does an elephant which has fallen into the pit manage to effect its escape.

Now, experts deputed capture of elephants turn up and begin their operations. The most striking and interesting feature in this exciting affair is the use of the tame elephants known as decoys, without whose willing help it would never be possible for men to capture wild elephants alive. When the decoy elephants and their clever mahouts are ready, operations to capture the ensnared wild elephant arc set in full swing. First, a strong rope is most dexterously put round the neck of the wild elephant in the pit. This is the most difficult part of the tough job. Then another rope moose is thrown round the

elephant's hind !eg and tightened. Dry boughs, the undergrowth of the forest, and loose earth are thrown into the pit little by little. The wild elephant rendered helpless tramples on the material

The ends of the strong ropes secured round the neck and legs of the captive animal are held firmly by the tame elephants. The wild elephant is placed between two strong and experienced decoy elephants and marched off to the nearest cage. If the beast thus captured is found to be too old or badly injured it is let off in the forest. Ropes are fastened around its neck. In this manner the proud and wild beast is taken prisoner and escorted by 'tame elephants. The capture is most interesting and extremely risky. With all the experience, intelligence and caution of the tame elephants and their mahouts sometimes the wild animal gets out of control. It is no wonder, therefore, that this exciting sport attracts large crowds of people. For many days and nights, the station where an elephant capture



The captured elephant being conducted to the training cage by two decoy elephants

has taken place, is the busy centre of much activity, enthusiasm, mirth and uproar. The animal thus captured is immediately removed to a cage. The pit method is very popular in Travancore.

THE KEDDAH METHOD

There is another method adopted to capture these denisens of the forest which is more popular in Mysore. It is known as the keddah method and is more risky than the pit method. On the way through which elephants usually pass, huge stockades built of massive teak tree stumps are erected. The enclosures are narrow at one end and broad at the other with a V-shaped entrance. Stout logs of strong heavy timber are driven deep into the ground very close to one another, forming an unassailable palisade. Inside it small trees and bushes are grown in abundance. At the entrance which is flung open and around the palisade, sugarcane, a food liked very much by elephants, is grown in clusters.



Elephants hauling timber

The whole place looks exactly like a part of the dense forest. The only entrance to the stockade is a big gate which can be opened and closed without much effort. The animals as they move about are attracted by the dainty food and eat their way into the keddah. Sometimes elephant herds are driven into the keddah. Daring and skilled forest folk, with drums, empty tins and other crude sound-producing instruments gather near a big herd and drive them helter-skelter. In this mad rush some elephants run right into the stockade. As soon as they are safe within, agile watchers barricade the entrance. The animals madly rush hither and thither and soon realise their plight. In fury they hurl themselves against the walls of the stockade but are pricked with goads and long bamboos and driven back by men posted round the keddah.

The most thrilling and dangerous part of the operation which follows is the "roping" of the elephants. Decoy elephants armed with iron chains

and green enter the stockade unnoticed. The decoy elephants in pairs entice the wild elephant to be roped and chained. With their trunks these tame ones corner their victim. Then a mahout, as agile as nimble monkey, with ropes and chains in his hand stealthily creeps under the feet of the tame elephants, approaches the wild one unnoticed, passes a noose over its hind legs and disappears in the twinkling of an eye. With the help of the decoy elephants the skilled mahouts secure ropes and chains around the legs of the wild elephant. Ropes are secured round its hind feet and the ends are fastened strongly to the palisade. This requires very great skill. The mahouts who rope and chain the wild beast must be quick, active and

> careful. If they do not take time by the forelock and are slow for a second the wild elephant is sure to get at them and in the twinkling of an eye they will be hurled up in the air and dashed against the ground. Some mahouts have had hair-breadth escapes. Jostled by the tame elephants and pricked by the goads of the mahouts the mighty pachyderms become thoroughly frightened and make terrific and car-splitting din. The keddah method is most popular in Mysore.

The task of the decoy elephant involves great danger. The decoy has to capture and keep under complete control the wild elephant, has to take precious care of the mahout who sits upon its back and to protect itself from furious onslaughts of the captive. The tame elephant plays its part wondderfully well with

human-like sagacity, caution and valour. It is the ingenuity of man, coupled with and working through the medium of the highly intelligent and most willing tame elephants, that is from first to last responsible for capturing alive the lords of the wilds.

TRAINING OF WILD ELEPHANTS

Immediately after capture the wild elephants are led into cages to be trained. The beasts are closely watched by mahouts and decoy elephants. The mahouts by degrees make friends with the captives by frequently approaching them and offering them sugarcane and other dainty morsels. Ordinarily, the elephant is a glutton and greatly enjoys sweets. To make these lawless and rude denizens of the forest submissive to law and accustomed to peaceful life amidst men is indeed a very arduous and perilous task. The training of the wild elephants takes place in cages made of strong logs of teak wood and divided into two chambers—the and carrying on their backs mahouts dressed in black upper and the lower. The wild animal is placed in the lower chamber and the trainers take their points of vantage in the upper berth. The period ordinarily required to train a wild elephant is three to six months. In nine cases out of ten the captured animal needs to be handled roughly during the period of training. Armed with long spears and unbreakable canes, the dexterous mahout-masters teach and train their wild elephant disciples. It requires great patience, industry, intelligence and cleverness to tame the wild elephants. They offer resistance for the first few days, but give up all opposition after some days of severe handling by the daring and merciless mahouts who punish the recalcitrant elephants with physical chastisement. As far as possible the mahouts win the elephants over to their will by petting them and giving them good food. Soon there springs up an intimacy between the mahouts and the wild animals. Elephants being very intelligent learn quickly and subject themselves to the superior will of man. When the training is complete, on an auspicious day, the elephant is taken to the open road accompanied by decoy elephants walking on either side and

abreast of the newly trained beasts. Daily, under the vigilant escort of two tamed elephants, the wild beast under training is taken out for bath which it relishes immensely. The mighty beast having submitted to man eventually comes to serve him with deep attachment, affection and loyalty. Verily, the triumph of man over elephant is the supremacy of mind over matter.

The torn boughs trailing o'er the tusks aslant, The saplings recling in the path he trod, Declare his might, our lord the elephant, Chief of the ways of God.

The black bulk heaving where the oxen pant, The bowed head toiling where the guns careen, Declare our might-our slave the elephant, The servant of the Queen.

-RUDYARD KIPLING.

The elephant, the most widespread of earth's huge animals and Nature's most amazing quadrupped, has learnt from the sad fate of its great ancestors, the mastadon and the mammoth, a lesson in life and has saved its race by being useful to man.

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THE AMERICAN WEST: LIFE ON A CATTLE RANCH

been considered a picture-sque and legendary character ranches to engage in exciting encounters with cattle the world over. Through books and films he has been thieves and "bad men."

For several generations the American cowboy has his wages in wild celebrations and returning to distant

A cowboy tending a herd of cattle on the plains of the western U. S. keeps a solitary vigil

presented to interested citizens of many nations as a fearless rider of America's western plains, galloping into frontier towns on Saturday nights with two revolvers, property. iz-shooters," strapped to his legs, gambling away

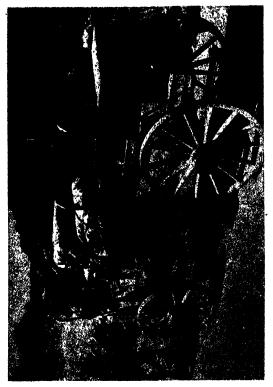
But that late 19th century period of picturesque lawlessness, so celebrated in song and story, has long since passed. The cowboys on the great ranches of western plains are America's working harder than ever before in raising a record number of beef cattle, for the great herds that feed on western America's rolling grasslands are the major food reserves of the United States.

Once these rolling plains echoed • to the thunder of the hoofs of great herds of bison, ponderous bovine animals indigenous only to North America, but by 1880 hunters had destroyed most of them and the unferced plains became tremendous pastures for cattle. Law had not caught up with this new frontier and cattle thieves, called "rustlers," and other lawless individuals, flour-

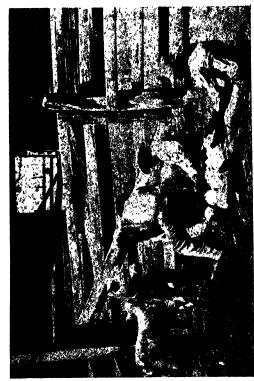
ished. The cowboy was forced to go armed for his own protection and the protection of his employer's

When large portions of the public domain were

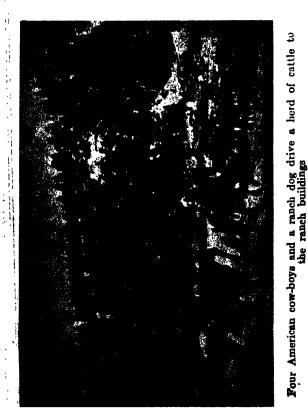
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The camp cook and helper follow the cattle round-up trail in their "chuk-wagon"



Three American cowboys hold a young calf to mark the brand of



* bucking cow pony is with the help of ropes around the neck and fore-

closed to ranchers for grazing, late in the 19th century, the number of ranchers increased and their individual size dwindled. To a large extent the lawlessness had passed. Rustlers were brought to justice, and the cowboy could afford to be unarmed.

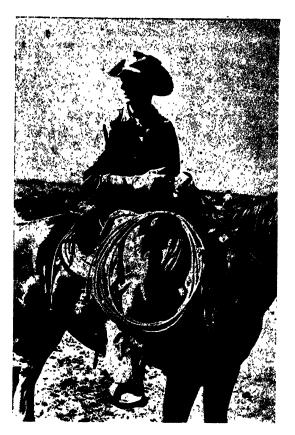
The American cowboy remains a colorful figure, however. He continues to wear the broad-brimmed "ten-gallon hat," so called for its usefulness in holding a large amount of water for horse and rider. He also wears high-heeled boots, designed for the strrup and suitable for pressing into the ground to provide a purchase when the cowboy is afoot and has roped a horse or wild steer. His jingling spurs serve to start his pony at a full gallop when speed is needed to pursue cattle.

The modern cowboy carries on the tradition of self-reliance handed down by his predecessor, who often was forced to take the law into his own hands. His long periods of isolation on the lonely prairie make him generous and hospitable, ready to share his food and shelter with any stranger.

The horse is still the cowboy's principal means of transportation, and he prefers to "broak," or condition, the half-wild horses he himself will ride, rather than entrust the job to the professional horse-tamer or "wrangler,' attached to almost every ranch. Above all, the cowboy must be proficient in throwing a rope or lariat around the neck or forelegs of a steer or running horse.

The cowboy's sports are closely related to his work. When he is not working, he is riding bucking horses or wild steers, roping running animals and racing horses.

—USIS.



An American cowboy is on the watch so that no stray animals from the herd of cattle may wander away

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BANANA—THE FIG OF PARADISE

BY MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A. .

THE sharp contrast exhibited in fruit markets of the tropics and the temperate regions is marked. Marked because in the tropics, rich in sunshine and warmth, nature's gifted region in vegetation, the rich collection of the choicest fruits of the world are to be seen, which are conspicuous by their absence in the temperate climate. Among these mange comes first and next comes banana.

In tropical Asia banana is cultivated for more than 4,000 years and its antiquity and wild character are incompatible facts, says de Candolle, there being a good many Sanskrit names. Also that sages ate its fruit and reposed beneath its shade, so the botanical name is Musa. It is derived from the Arabic Mouz or Mouhoz.

1. Alphonee de Candollo, Origin of Gultiented Plantz (1884)

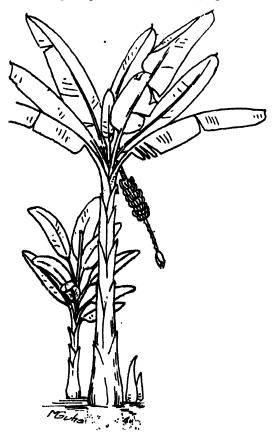
DESCRIPTION OF THE GENUS AND SPECIES

Bananas are gigantic tree-like herbs belonging to the genus Musa, containing some 40 or more species, several of which are often considered as mere cultivated varieties, widely distributed throughout the tropics of the old world and in some cases introduced into the new world.

"A form of M. corniculata from Cochin China and Malayan Archipelago produces only a single fruit, which, however, affords an adequate meal for three men."—(Encyclopaedia Brittanica).

M. sapientum L. (=M. paradisiaca L.) are perennial herbs, 8-15 ft. in height, indigenous in the Eastern Himalayas, Assam, Manipur and Burma, ascending from sea level up to 6,000 ft. in altitude. Cultivated throughout India and the tropics (except extreme north-west).

The 'Singapuri' banana (M. Cavendishü) very popular throughout India differs from the above in this that the plant loves a cooler climate. The plant is dwart and the bunch almost touches the soil containing more fruits than in any other banana. The peculiarity is this that the fruits when ripe remains the same pea-green in colour. The taste will not be good unless quite ripe. But after ripening it soon starts decaying.



The banana plant with suckers of different ages. The position of the rhizome has been shown in dotted lines

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

"Though native to the tropics, cultivated varieties are found in sub-tropical regions, and certain varieties are capable of withstanding considerable cold, as in the Himalayas, where the plant may be found at 5,000 ft. or even higher. Some variety is found throughout the tropics whereever adequate moisture is available, for the plant has no dormant period and as a lover of humid conditions thrives best where there is no sharply defined dry season. The natural home of the plant is the East, but tropical America and the West Indies are now a centre of commercial production of banana. The plant reached the Canary

Islands, which still remains a centre of production, in 1516, whence it was carried to America."

DISTINCTION BETWEEN BANANA (PAKA-KALA) AND PLANTAIN (KACH-KALA)

The distinct races known to us may be grouped under two heads, those grown for the ripe fruits and those for the half-ripe fruits, the latter being used as green vegetables. Kach-kala (plantain) is the general name given for those used as green vegetables. These are generally cultivated on much inferior soil than those of paka-kala (banana), which is caten ripe.

WHY CULTIVATED: IMPORTANCE AS A FRUIT

"The area under fruits of all kinds is recorded as 1.8 million acres; of this 60 per cent is devoted to mangoes, 21 per cent to bananas and nearly 5 per cent to citrus fruits (oranges, etc.)."

"Bananas, after mangoes, are the commonest and highly prized of all Indian fruits, while the coarser kinds constitute one of the staple articles of diet in many parts of India and the Malaya Peninsula being mostly cooked before being eaten. It has been proved that the produce from one acre will support a much greater number of people than a similar area under any other crop, and the immense yield may be preserved for an indefinite period by drying the fruit and preparing meal from it....

"In medicine the unripe fruit is considered cooling and astringent. The young leaves are used as a dressing for blisters, burns, etc. The root and stem are reported to be tonic, antiscorbutic and useful in blood disorders and venereal diseases."

"The banana stands third (apples and oranges rank first and second) on the list of the popular fruits of English people, and it is estimated that 15.2 lbs. per head are eaten, all of which are imported."—(Encyclopaedia Brittanica).

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANT

The banana plant is composed of an underground stem, a tuberous rhizome from which arises an aerial or pseudo-stem, composed of the closely enveloped leaf sheaths, the corresponding blades, each sometimes 10 ft. in length forming a spreading crown. At the flowering period, the inflorescence stalk (Thor—used as vegetable) grows up from the rhizome to the hollow tube formed by the sheaths, emerges above and bears a large number of inconspicuous tubular flowers closely crowded in the axils of larger often brightly coloured protecting bracts.

When a sufficient bunch of fruit has set, the pendant extremity of the inflorescence (Mocha—used as vegetable) with its remaining flowers and conspicuous

2. Hurter, Encyclopaedie Sc. Agri. (1931), p. 150.

2. Sir P. Khareghat, Indian Farming, Special No. (1946), p. 101., 4. Sir George Watt, The Commercial Products of India (1908), 20. 700.

bracts, should be cut away, so that all the available nourishment may go to the formation of fruit.

The occurrence of more than one inflorescence, one each from the axil of all the leaves, has been recorded.

METHODS OF PROPAGATION—TECHNIQUE TO IMPROVE

With the ripenning of the infructescence or 'bunch,' the stem bearing it is cut back, and growth is continued by lateral offshoots, or suckers, from the rhizome. The life of the individual plant is thus indefinite. There should not be more than three suckers at the base, so the excess suckers are removed and new plantations are established by the removal and planting elsewhere of these suckers in June or July.

Due to vegetative propagation for a long time, seed formation is gradually turning to be of rare occurrence due to use and non-use of methods and means. But occasionally one comes across a few seeds in an edible fruit, and some seeds may grow if sown. In some cases colchicine treatment has given some effective result in quality, size, and number of fruits in a bunch.

DESCRIPTION OF SOIL

Here in Bengal banana can be grown anywhere, the rainfall being highest, as also it is a lover of warm, moist climate. Except where the sub-soil is hard rock or stiff clay and the soil is heavy it can be grown on almost all soils, subject to a liberal supply of water and sunshine, suitably close to a tank, ditch, jhil, canal or a river.

Well and canal irrigation is effected by flooding the soil, and after the water has soaked in for a day, the superfluous water is run off through drains. The land is then hoed once a month. Humidity being maintained by mulching. "It is well worth while losing a year to get the soil into condition," observed T. A. C. Firminger." He continued: "Soil operation should be begun any time before rains—let us say in January of the present year. Soil deeply ploughed and left to the action of the elements. Then just as the rain break, San hemp (crotolaria juncea) at the rate of 40 lbs. of seed per acre, is sown. This will come up vigorously with the rains. After six weeks it is cut down and ploughed in situ, let it rot well to harrow again. At the end of the rains pits are dug for the fruit trees and between them a crop of deep-rooted legume is given to break up the sub-soil—a short season groundnut, such as small Japanese, is admirable. The nuts are harvested and the roots, stem, etc., are returned to the sub-soil."

PLAN OF PLANTING

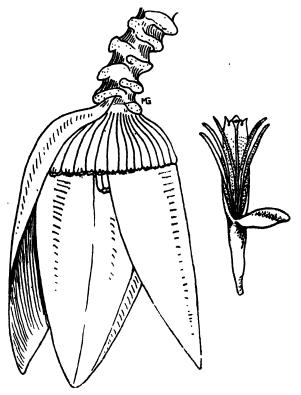
Banana and plantain cultivation is based on two different foundations. One is for home consumption and the other for export. The former forms a part of the village kitchen garden and the latter forms the big plantations.

The site for plantation should be as near a city and a railway station as possible, otherwise it will suffer greatly for transport difficulties. The approximate cost of cultivating one acre has been estimated at Rs. 225 as detailed below:

| (1) | Cost of 350 plants | Rs. 45 |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------|
| (2) | Cost of planting in the pit | Rs. 35 |
| | Cost of ploughing, etc. | Rs. 20 |
| (4) | Cost of manure, etc. | Rs. 125 |
| | • | |

Total Rs. 225

Apart from the cost of cultivation, cost of maintenance, supervision and fencing is also incurred, which are not detailed, as also the profit which may be obtained from the secondary crop cultivated in between the planting and fruiting time, as well as the price obtained from fibres extracted.



- 1. The end of the inflorescence (mocha), showing the cluster of flowers with the showy bracts
- One solitary flower showing the 'perigonium' and the 'scale,' on the rim of the inferior ovary. The five developed stamens as well as the style with single stigma can be seen

Annually from one acre more than 300 bunches of fruit may be obtained in the first year which is doubled in the next succeeding years, the average market price being Rs. 2 for each bunch.

TIME FOR PLANTING SEEDLINGS

One year after the start of soil operation pits are made at about 12 ft. apart within fields of standing aus paddy, arum, brinjal, turmeric, or ginger, if not nuts already mentioned; and suckers preferably

S. T. A. G. Firminger, A Monnoil of Gardening for Sungal and Upper India (1880), p. 175,

midden suckers, i.e., suckers about eight months old, with adult foliage as opposed to sword suckers, which are younger with narrow leaves, planted. Transplanting is usually made in the rainy season as already said. The pits should be about a cubit deep and manured. After harvesting the secondary crop the land should be ploughed twice or thrice. The plantation begins to bear fruit within a year and the ground is then usually devoted to the banana crop alone.

FERTILIZERS AND MANURES USED IN DIFFERENT AGES

We are one with 'Firminger', when he says:
"The number of fruits per tree is greatly increased with good manuring and cultivation, and is decreased by neglect." Also his scheme of manuring:
"The banana is a gross feeder and needs liberal manuring, best given in three doses, one month, two months and three months after planting. Castor cake 10 lbs. + fish 15 lbs. per plant is an excellent manure. Castor cake 4 lbs., sulphate of ammonia 1 lb., sulphate of potash 4/5 lb. and calcium superphosphate \(\frac{1}{2} \) lb., has proved useful."

Woodrow sounds a cautious note: "Oileake, which is too strong a manure for most plants, is excellent for banana. It should be broken small and dug in near the roots."

Compost is also an excellent manure for the banana; but if it is not procurable, fresh nightsoil may be used. Green manuring is desirable once a year and the soil must be kept well-hoed.

"When planting in the pit, for each plant' 15 lbs. of F.Y.M., 5 lbs. bone-meal, and 7 lbs. woodash may be used, decreasing them as 5 lbs. F.Y.M., bone-meal 5 oz. and 1 lb. wood-ash per plant next year. Manures should be used before the rains in the irrigation beds and mixed well with the earth. If soils lack in lime, 8 oz. slaked lime may be used per plant per annum, with the manure. This is, of course, merely a simple scheme of manuring for general fruit cultivation."—Firminger.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FLOWER

"Musa sapientum Linn. (M. paradisiaca Linn.) 18 trimerous in its floral organs. In a normal flower the inferior ovary carries on it the irregular perianth in two parts, one called the perigonium representing five perianth lobes, and the scale representing the sixth. Besides the five stamens which are found usually, the sixth rudimentary or fully developed one has been very often met with. Of the gynoecium, the ovary is three-carpelled and syncarpous, style single and stigma also single with undulating surface (in unusual cases, the number of styles is three)." Transitional stages are also found.

FRUITING TIME

There is a great variation in fruiting time among the different varieties of banana. The minimum time taken in one variety is 6 months, the maximum being 14 months in another variety. However in most cases the first crop comes in 10-12 months from planting, and is poorer than any succeeding crop. Succeeding crops in well-treated plantations should come on every five months and be twice the weight of the first crop.

To induce banana to bear fruit in a particular direction, the first leaf of each shoot should be placed in the direction of the plot desired to bear fruit.

When the bunch is fully grown and ripe, it is severed and is hung up in a dark cool place to ripen, and the plant is cut back to give space for the new suckers to develop.

NUMBER OF FRUITS IN A PLANT

It has been already said that the number of fruits in a bunch depends much on soil condition and manuring. However, it varies also among the different varieties, the minimum is 50 in a bunch, the maximum being 200 approximately.

THE FRUIT AND ITS EDIBLE PART

As in some other cultivated plants, major varieties of banana, produce 'scedless fruits', the walls of the ovaries developing extensively apart from any seed production.

The banana fruit is a berry. The edible part consists of the highly developed ovarian walls and placenta, the skin being formed from the thalamus and outer layer of the ovarian wall.

FOOD VALUE OF THE FLESH OF THE FRUIT

A comparative chart (adapted from Datta*) of the 8. S. Datta, Science and Culture, Vol. XI, No. 8, p. 394. food value of banana and the most important fruit of India—mango— is given below:

| Banana | Mango |
|--------------|------------|
| 0.1 | 0.15 |
| 0.1 | 0.77 |
| 7.9 | 18.2 |
| + | ++ |
| ÷ | '- |
| <u> </u> | 444 |
| ÷ | ' ' ' |
| +÷ | |
| ' <u>i</u> . | - |
| i. | |
| <u> </u> | т |
| | 0·1 0·1 |

- indicates either nil or not ascertained.
- + indicates the presence of a good quantity.
- ++ indicates the presence of a very good quantity. +++ indicates the presence of rich contents.

DISEASE AND PEST-THEIR CONTROL

In the East serious loss is caused by a disease, which passes under the name of 'bunchy top'; it was originally supposed to be associated with the attacks of the nematode *Heteradora radicioola* gref. This supposition is reviewed by scientists, and work done by several others indicates that the disease falls into the group of Virus Diseases not directly transmissible. In this case the agent of transmission is the Aphis *Pentalonia nigronervose* coql., and they definitely conclude that there is no association between the disease and the nematodes.

^{4.} Woodsow, Gardening in India (1903), p. 485.

^{7.} Chandrasakharan aud Sundararal, Current Science, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 40-81,

In the west, with Panama disease is associated the fungus Fusurium cubense; E. S. Smith first attracted attention to it in Panama and Costa Rica early in the century. From the survey of the banana areas of tropical America and the West Indies, it is concluded that fundamentally the disease developed as the result of unfavourable soil conditions. Substitution of varieties which show a marked degree of resistance leading to practical immunity, however, raises serious question as to their suitability for transport.

The tendency to occasional development of viable seeds should be taken advantage of, to raise crosses between the affected and the immune varieties.

The 'Black rot' disease caused by the fungus Glocosporium musarum, is responsible for the loss of fruits on the plant as well as in the store. Spraying with Ammoniacal Copper Carbonate will prevent it from the malady.

TRANSPORT AND STORAGE

As already mentioned plantations are meant for an export trade which, from the perishable nature of the fruit, necessitates special handling. The fruit must be cut at a stage of maturity adapted to the length of the journey and, in the case of the longer journeys, special provision for cool chambers are necessary. It is its special adaptability to conform to these requirements which is responsible for the extended cultivation of champa varieties, in Northern and Eastern India—since the stems are strong and fruits are recurved, and stands the journey well without necessitating individual care. On the contrary, the best provincial varieties are generally limited even to a single district due to their soft 'peel', which requires separate crating of the individual hands.

INDUSTRIAL USES

The fibre of banana closely resembles Manila hemp, though not strong. J. K. Sarker, a great advocate for the fibre industry, says:

"Generally speaking rope, twine, cord, nets, lace, plaits, braids, bagging, sacking, matting, carpeting and handkerchief can be made. The coarsest fibre can be utilised for paper-making and the rejected tow for packing and stuffing purposes."

• The chief difficulty in the utilisation of banana plant as sources of fibre or as paper material is the expense of collecting and carting to the factory. Only with large plantations, profitable results are likely to be attained.

The plantain or banana meal—dried, powdered and sifted flesh of the fruit—can be stored for future use. The meal should preferably be manufactured from

9. J. K. Surker, Handbook of Plantain Fibre and Fruit Industry (1917), p. 10.

mature but unripe fruits, as the starch changes into sugar during the process of ripening. It has got a greater importance specially in these days of food shortage, when we are groping for edible substitutes to fill up the gaps.

Essences and attars, as well as alcohol may be prepared from ripe bananas. Ripe bananas may further be utilised for the preparation of jams, jellies and marmalades with profit.

From time immemorial, village people of our country are still using kshar (a detergent equal in action to washing soda), prepared by burning dried leaf sheather of banana or plantain, to boil their clothes for washing.

"In Brihatsamhita, it has been stated that, it one prepares a compound of ashes of plaintain tree and whey, keeps it for a day and night, and besmears the sword the next day therewith, then the sword becomes so hard that it will not break even when one strikes another sword with it. The famous Damascus blades were of Indian steel manufactured in India.10

Maybe banana or plantain plant had some importance on that line also in olden days.

Conclusion

Our age-old social system had been under the tentacles of the religious octopus, which never gave us any choice. Evils entered with the good ideas of our forefathers. That is why we find that the good instructions to our cultivators through religious rites has turned into superstitions. The use of every bit of the banana plant from leaf to fruit, in our day to day religious rites, reminds us of its importance as a plant, which should be cultivated with care, as we find also in the case of other important fruit trees.

The world food shortage and the prevailing famine conditions in India, has engaged the attention of the best brains of India, to find a way out of this dark spectre. There is no way out, other than through development and improvement of agricultural products. Every bit of the cultivable lands must come under the plough, if not under the modern tractors. Famished India must get not only food to eat, but fruits also to give nourishment. Banana, the cheapest best fruit of India, must revive its old position in each and every of our millions of villages. Let us work together for those times when we shall export our fruits in our own ships, to distant lands, after feeding our own people.

And let me conclude with the words of Shelley:
"Be through my lips to unawakened earth
The trumpet of a prophecy! O, Wind,
If Winter comes, can Spring be for behind?"

10. G. P. Majumdar, Upovana-Vinada (1935), p. 26.

NEW ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES FOR AMERICAN HOUSEWIVES

Dasign and electrical engineers, inventors, metallurgists, research scientists and manufacturers of the United States, who co-operated to produce the machines of war, have applied their knowledge, experience and

Countrywide use of these and other devices for the home is possible because of the huge networks of electric power systems operated by governmentsponsored and privately-owned utilities. Power is avail-



A new automatic dish-washer

genius to production of better living in the home. To fill the great and ever-increasing demand for electrical equipment not obtainable during the last four years,



The upright home freezer, built on the lines of the household electric refrigerator

able to rural residents as well as to city dwellers, with Federal hydro-electric facilities bringing power from generators at gigantic dams to the farms. The Rural



An up-to-date home laundry

they have developed and are producing for the American housewife, a wide variety of labor and time-saving appliances, including refrigerators, lighting systems, cooking aids, freezers and bacteria-destroying learns.



The ingredients for a complete dinner can be cooked simultaneously in the earthenware dishes of this electric roaster

Electrification Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture has a five-year plan which aims to provide electric service for at least 85 per cent of

American farmers, the power being used to operate agricultural as well as household equipment.



Side by side and similar in size and shape, the automatic washing machine and the automatic clothes drier complete their work in almost the same time

More amazing are the new electrical gadgets and machines for the household; automatic washing machines wash, rinse and damp-dry clothes in half an hour. untouched by a housewife's hand; automatic-dryer tumbles clothes in warm forced air until they are completely dry; miniature washers wash and spin-dry a small quantity of clothes; some of the washers can be used for dishes as well as for clothes.

A new automatic dish-washer reduces the numerous operations required to operate pre-war models to two-placing the dish in the machine and turning the switch. The machine sprays the dishes, washes them, rinses them twice; cleans and drains automatically and shuts itself off.

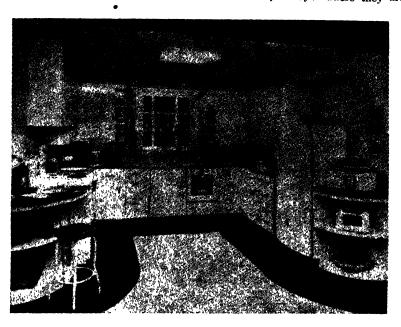
One chore the climination of which will be welcomed by all housewives is the disposal of garbage. This work has been taken over by an electrical machine in the form of a sink

A new development in the cooking line is the electric roaster in which the ingredients of a complete

dinner can be cooked simultaneously in separate earthenware dishes. A "window" enables the housewife to watch the progress of the cooking inside the roaster. Quick freezers will keep food both cooked and raw in good condition for longer periods. This enables the housewife to have a wider variety of food on hand as well as to shop less often, buying larger quantities at a time.

Lamps have hitherto had one purpose-to light the home. New types have extended their usefulness Special infra-red lamps, for example, provide a rapid source of heat which can be used for drying the hair or for other supplementary "comfort" heating in the home.

Ultra-violet lamps provide a valuable germ-destruction agency for the home. Natural air currents caused by the heat of the lamp lift the bacteria into the range of the lamp's rays where they are



In this carefully planned modern kitchen three work-centres are arranged: on the right the refrigeration and preparation centre, in the middle the sink and dish-washing centre and on the left the electric stove and serving centre

bones—so fine that it can be washed down the sinks.

attachment. It grinds the refuse of cooking-including destroyed. These lamps are shielded so that the direct rays do not strike the eyes of the occupants of the

room. Another version of the same lamp provides a sunbath three times faster than a midsummer sun and is invaluable in the witter.

Soft indirect lighting with florescent lamps is now within the reach of the average householder. Besides providing a cheaper source of light it helps reduce

eye-strain by its even and shadowless illumination.

Cold feet in the winter will be a thing of the past
with a new type of electrically heated blanket which
keeps the temperature even the whole night through.

Normal house current supplies a heating unit woven

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inside the blanket.-USIS.

END OF AN EPOCH

BY U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) London

The passing away of Gandhiji, like that of Lord Krishna, marks in a very proper sense, the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. He personified not only the inner spiritual urges and sufferings of India but the struggle of humanity against forces of evil In an atomic age when the shadow of extinction hangs upon the world, men turned to him with hope. He stood on the crossing of ways, pointing towards the way of love, blessings and hope and the way of salvation. He was a force more volcanic than any weapon invented by man. His frail-looking form hid an energy hardly witnessed on this planet before. Every time that he undertook a long-term or indefinite fast, and the sceptics shook their heads and thought it was the end, he came through with speed. His range of interests varying from politics to dietetics were, however, all integrated and revolved round the basic principles of truth and non-violence. Long after his achievements in the political and social field have been forgotten he will be remembered as the apostle of truth and love, a saint in the line of succession of Buddha, Christ and Ramakrishna, a spiritual giant whose message would spread far beyond the limits of the land n which he lived.

We who stand so near in time to him may be lorgiven if we judge him from the immediate point of view, from the point of view of his struggles in the cause of Indian freedom, his championship of the low and the downtrodden, his efforts to bridge the gult between communities, for which indeed he laid down his life, his lifting of the political into the moral plane, his support of mass-literacy and of women's movement, indeed a myriad things with which he was connected. His personality was as various as that of Lord Krishna and he stands to us in the same way as Shri Krishna must have stood to his generation, a sagacious rajnitika, a philosopher and fighter for just cause, a man gifted with spiritual wisdom and miraculous powers.

In the political field, Gandhiji's contribution lay in this that he carried on the message of Swaraj to every nook and corner of this vast land. In that sense he completed the work of Tilak, who for the first time after the War of Independence of 1857, awakened the masses with his call for Swaraj. He came to India after his struggle in South Africa and as such he came with

a certain prestige. He immediately turned his attention to the poverty-stricken masses of his country and made the fateful decision to devote his life to their cause. On foot, in bullock-cart and in train, he traversed this vast land and made the lumblest and the lowliest conscious of his birth-right, Swaraj. He looked straight into their eyes, and in his eyes the dumb millions saw deep love for them and in him they recognized as one of their own who would lift them out of the slumber of centuries. He identified himself so completely with their inner urges and struggles that he in turn became the pulse with which to judge the temper and thought of the Indian people. Before him politics had remained the occupation of individuals and a section of the middle classes. With him, the vast milhons of India were moved to a noble struggle and height of emotion which they had not experienced for a thousand years He made them not only politically conscious, but made them participate in political movement and thus completed the task of the political awakening of the country.

Next in importance, though not to him, I should like to place his efforts for the upliftment of those whom he called Harrians (people of God) and who were generally known as depressed classes. Such was the intensity of his passion for them that, when the Bihar carthquake occurred way back in the thirties, he did not hesitate to call it as a just vengeance of God for our sin of untouchability. His strong language was only an expression of his deep love of the Harijans and his sense of indignation at the way they had been treated by us through centuries. His advocacy was more powerful than the breeze of modernism which was blowing slowly across this country; no amount of modern education or the influence of levelizing agents, such as the railway and the restaurant, could have achieved one-hundreth of what Gandhiji's open advocacy and appeal did. Again and again he turned the spotlight on the Harijans, even undertaking indefinite fasts to focus attention on their wrongs.

Indeed he lived with them as one of them and removed the stigma attaching to them once for all. In doing that, he taught us the dignity of labour as no theorising would have done. If we are to survive as a nation and if our existence is to have any significance,

we must proceed forthwith to put into practice Gandhiji's precepts and ideals.

Another revolutionary change brought about him in this slumbering continent was his interest in women's emancipation. He unlocked the gates women and welcomed them into political and social work. In the 1930 movement hundreds of thousands of women marched alongside of men and for the first time after a thousand years, women began to go about freely standing shoulder to shoulder with men. This was perhaps an accidental result of the nation-wide mass movements introduced by Gandhiji, but its significance in the building up of modern India cannot be under-rated. Nearly a half of the Indian humanity found their prison walls shattered and they emerged into the open air of freedom under Gandhiji's blessings. Not only in the political field, but also in the social, Gandhiji's inspiration and welcome, brought women into useful human contact with men. He imbued them with a spirit of service, with which indeed he imbued all with whom he came into contact.

No less important for India was Gandhin's economic programme and his cult of the charkha. While some laughed at his old-fangled notions and others doubted the efficacy of his weapons, he went ahead with the charkha and spread the cult of Khaddar throughout the land. During the thirties, the charkha had nearly beaten the British and the wheels of Paisely and Manchester had come to a standstill. Its efficacy as a political weapon stood clearly demonstrated but neare than that its significance in providing employment to millions of unemployed and idle people of this country and lifting their standard of living was extraordinary. Shorn of its moral and emotional penumbra,

the cult of the charkha will be found to be a highly efficacious economic measure and a political weapon in the context of the times. With Gandhiji the charkha was an article of faith, a symbol at once of the dignity of labour and of moral regeneration.

Gandhiji's achievements in spreading literacy amongst the masses and in basic education were of no mean order. Indeed his personality overcame almost superhuman obstacles, which were none other than the mertia of the masses and a decadent spirit of helplessness. It is impossible to conceive of any single individual who with his magic personality had achieved so much, whose efforts were nothing short of Herculean and of such startling success.

To my mind the other most outstanding achievement of Gandhiji was the training of a band of sellless workers and inspiring them with devotion and discipline, in the service of India. Our outstanding leaders are in a sense the creation of Gandhiji. This is not to deny their originality, genius, innate spirit of self-sacrifice and their capacity for leadership. They are great in their own right But the moulding of their character and of their destiny was done by Gandhiji. He was a real Guru who seemed to have walked out of a Vedic Ashrama, instructing and inspiring his pupils. India is fortunate to have them, and so long as the reins of Government lie in their hands, we may feel reassured.

I have written at random and selected for my purpose only such aspects of Gandhiji's achievements which have appeared to me more significant than others. I have in no way intended to give an appreciation of his life's works. But even from this small outline it will be seen that Gandhiji's death has left "an aching void the world can never fill."

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GANDHI AND THOREAU

The view is prevalent, particularly in the U. S., that Mahatma Gandhi derived his idea of Civil Disobedience from the writings of Thoreau. In reply to an enquiry, the Mahatma wrote the following letter, dated the 10th September, 1935, to Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, of the Servants of India Society, who was then in America.

Wardha, 10th September, '35.

Dear Kodanda Rao,

The statement in that I had derived my idea of
Civil Disobedience from the writings of Thoreau is
wrong. The resistance to authority in South Africa

was well advanced before I got the essay of Thoreau on Civil Disobedience. But the movement was then known as Passive Resistance. As it was incomplete I had coined the word Satyagraha for the Gujarathi readers. When I saw the title of Thoreau's great essay, I began the use of his phrase to explain our struggle to the English readers. But I found that even 'Civil Disobedience' failed to convey the full meaning of the struggle. I, therefore, adopted the phrase Civil Resistance. Non-violence was always an integral part of our struggle.

As per your advice, a copy is going to Mr. Pearson. I hope you have done well. Mahadev is in Bombay just now.

Sit. Kodanda Rao.

Yours sincerely, (Sd.) M. K. Gandhi

STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DESTITUTE RELIEF

Fulfilment of "Cradle-To-Grave" Act

By ROBERT MACKAY

By a new measure—the National Assistance Bill—now being passed through Britain's Parliament, the care of the old, the infirm, and the destitute will be a direct responsibility of the State.

In a period which the prolonged effect of six years of war still justifies us in calling the "post-war period", Britain's chief effort is in the economic field; it is a national effort for rebuilding national prosperity—an effort that demands both sacrifice and concentration. Characteristically enough, however, the work of social reform goes steadily forward, and the National Assistance Bill is the latest example of this.

Of the various social measures introduced since World War II ended, the National Insurance Act—the Cradle-to-Grave Act, as it was called—may rightly be considered the most important because of its wide scope. It banished the spectre of want. The establishment or extension of pensions covering old age, sickness and unemployment, and the introduction of maternity benefits, made this measure one of the most comprehensive forms of State insurance imaginable.

The Act codified, so to speak, existing schemes, and at the same time enlarged their range so that only the contingencies now covered by the National Assistance Bill remained to be provided for. Thus the present Bill may be said to be the legislative completion of the main structure of Britain's new social service schemes that are due to come fully into operation on July 5, 1948.

SCOPE OF BILL

Some idea of the scope of the new Bill can be gathered from the fact that children deprived of parental care, patients suffering from tuberculosis, mental cases, and registered blind persons will all come under the direct care and responsibility of the Minister of National Insurance, instead of under a miscellary of local authorities.

The fundamental object of the new Bill is (in the words of an explanatory White Paper) "to achieve the final break-up of the Poor Law and to create entirely new services founded on modern conceptions of social welfare." The Bill, when it becomes law, will, like the National Insurance Act, be very largely a codification of measures already existing for the relief of destitution. Hitherto, such relief has been the direct social and financial responsibility of local authorities. The State now takes over that responsibility, using local authorities as its agents. The latter have always been powerfully aided in their relief work by voluntary

welfare societies, and this assistance is not likely to cease merely because the system will henceforth be a centralised one.

It is pertinent to observe that the various State schemes of relief for the aged, the destitute, the sick, and the unemployed, which began in 1968, have resulted in a progressive decline in calls for assistance from local welfare authorities. For instance, since October, 1946, the payment of pensions on the scale provided in the National Insurance Act has reduced the number of people applying to local authorities for financial aid from 1,500,000 to 500,000.

Thus, the role of the local authorities as regards such aid, having in effect become restricted to dealing with eases imperfectly provided for under the State schemes, it was logical that local public assistance should end by being nationalised in the sense of being made uniform under centralised direction and of being financed by the State. In a word, the State now accepts on behalf of the people the responsibility for preventing any citizen from falling voluntarily below a minimum subsistence standard of living.

SHAKESPEARE'S DAYS

The fact that the new Bill is described in the explanatory White Paper as "finally breaking up the Poor Law" is historically interesting, but may be unintentionally misleading.

The law referred to has long since been obsolescent in practice, although it only becomes legally obsolete now. It dates back to the days of Shakespeare (it was passed in 1601) and has never been formally revoked. But only vestigial traces of it survive; as, for instance, in the term "workhouse", still in common use among the poor, to designate what has for many years now been a relief institution to which the original stigma of vagrancy no longer attached.

Poor relief in England was part of the feudal system and broke down with it; and a law of 1536 was designed, like the law of 1601, to fill the vacuum by requiring local authorities to "set and keep vagabonds and beggars at continual labour." The official approach to the matter of poor relief in the following centuries was halting and even heartless, and it was not until 1834 that the Poor Law Amendment Act established a reasonable system of poor relief. But the taint of being poor remained.

The important psychological effect of the new Bill now before Farliament is that it abolishes that taint. The "workhouse," long since a misnomer in poor-relief administration, will finally disappear from the popular

vocabulary, existing relief institutions being replaced by Homes in which the old and infirm will really be "paying guests", since they will be contributing towards the cost of their accommodation out of the pensions to which they are by law entitled under the National Insurance Act.

HUMANE METHOD

Hundreds of thousands of old and infirm people, of course, will continue to be cared for by their own families. But there are possibly as many as 500,000 of the old and infirm who, for one reason or another, are alone in the world, and it is an outstanding feature of the new Bill that it officially establishes a humane method of meeting their needs. Sympathetic understanding, so to speak, becomes an official injunction.

A Survey carried out last year for the Nuffield Foundation by the Rowntree Committee on "the Problems of Ageing and the Care of Old People" showed that there is "no longer acute poverty among the aged" to the extent that existed formerly. This is one of the beneficial effects of the recent social legislation. But the tragedy of loneliness persists tor thousands of old people, who, although living alone, are not really fit to do so, and would be far happier sharing the life of a small community rather than being

housed in the large institutions which are their only alternative to living alone.

The provision of such small community homes for the old and infirm is one of the needs that the new Bill is intended to supply. The new services and the homes to be provided under the National Assistance Bill will make heavy demands on finance and on building material and labour, so that it may be some years before the projects can materialise. But there is universal approval for a measure which will place the whole system of relief and welfare on a footing of pational co-ordination.

The Rowntree Report showed that income from charitable endowments for the care of the aged amounts to £5,000,000 a year, and since the State, even with the most enlightened legislation, can hardly do more than provide a minimum of guaranteed reliet for the aged, the destitute, and the unfortunate, there will always be scope for voluntary service in supplementing that minimum by providing the amenities. But such service is a national tradition, and experience has proved that the considerably extended social services provided by the State since the beginning of this century have done nothing to weaken that tradition.

PRODUCTION TRENDS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

By KANTILAL L. DALAL, B.com. (Bom.), B.Sc. (Econ.) London

This article attempts to examine the production trends facing our country in the post-war period in perspective of the production trends during the war as well as the similar production trends in foreign countries for which published data are available.

One of the basic facts to be taken into account in understanding the production trends in this country as well as other countries, is that the production trends do not reveal a common pattern for all the countries during and after the war of 1939-45. It is, no doubt, true that all the countries have aimed to maximise their war potential during the war, and their total output of consumption and capital goods after the war. But this is only a truism. The intensity, the urgency of the economic situation and the relative emphasis on the direction and uses of the productive resources have, however, varied in different countries during the war and post-war period.

For the analysis of the production trends the countries (excluding Germany, Italy, Japan and their satellites) can be divided broadly in three groups:

(1) The countries whose economies contributed most to the war effort, and whose production was directly influenced by the war effort. In this group are United States, United Kingdom and Canada.

(2) The occupied countries of Europe and Asia whose economies were under the conflicting forces of occupying powers and the patriotic movements opposed to them. Holland, Belgium, Norway, France and Poland in Europe and China and Burma in Asia are the typical examples of this group.

(3) The neutral countries and those whose economics were remotely and indirectly influenced by the war and post-war developments in the chief belligerent powers. Switzerland, Sweden and Mexico are the characteristic countries of this group.

Russia and India cannot be classified in any of the three groups on the basis of their productive trends during the war and the post-war period. The Russian production trends are not easily accessible but it can be imagined that they show mixed patterns characteristic of the occupied countries of Europe and Asia and the Western Powers with whom Russia made a major contribution to the combined war effort. Although India, too, played an important part in the war production effort and was described as the "arsenal of democracy" in the Eastern theatre of war, the production in India during the war did not undergo the spectacular increase which marked the production trends in United States, United Kingdom and Canada.

TABLE I*

| Group I | | | | | Gr | oup 2. | 1937 : | 100 | | Gro | up 3. | | |
|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------|---------------|---------------|
| Year | U. S. | Canada | U. K. | Belgium. | Denmari | k. Fin | nd Hol- | Norway. | Poland. | Sweden. | Ire- | Ind | la . |
| | '37: 100 | '37: 100 | '38: 100 | _ | | | land. | • | | | land. | 1939: | 100 |
| | | | | | Nat. | In. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | • | In | dex. | | | | | | | |
| 1938 | | | | | - | 100 | | | 100 | | | | |
| 1939 | 96 | 101 | 108 | 86 | 107 | | 112 | 106 | | 103 | 102 | 39-4 0 | 114.0 |
| 1940 | 111 | 121 | 128 | | 86 | | 104 | 94 | | 94 | 102 | 40-41 | 117.3 |
| 1941 | 143 | 146 | 149 | | 82 | 62 | 89 | 94 | | 87 | 94 | 41-42 | $122 \cdot 7$ |
| 1942 | 176 | 172 | 164 | | 86 | 55 | 72 | 83 | | 90 | 77 | 42-43 | 108.8 |
| 1943 | 212 | 184 | 175 | | 88 | 5 6 | 65 | 81 | | 91 | 79 | 43-44 | 109 · 2 |
| 1944 | 208 | 184 | 179 | | 87 | 52 | 43 | 76 | | 91 | 83 | 44-45 | 120.7 |
| 1945 | 180 | 163 | 178 | 31 | 74 | 52 | 31 | 69 | 45 | 88 | 93 | 45-46 | 127 5 |
| 1946 | 151 | 147 | 172 | 72 | 96 | 70 | 74 | 100 | 91 | 107 | 107 | 46-47 | 115-4 |
| Average 2nd | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| quarter 1947 | 164 | 163 | _ | 86 | 100 | - | 90 | 108 | 113 | 108 | 109 | | 105.3 |

Table I shows the indices of production for a number of countries falling in all the three categories mentioned, as well as India. For U. K. the index number of national income is constructed from national income statistics as the index number of production is not available, to indicate the broad changes in productive activity.

In Group I countries production expanded as war mobilisation proceeded. The general level of production in 1943—the peak of war mobilisation—was 221% and 182% of that in 1939 in U.S. and Canada respectively. The national income of U. K. at 1938 prices, was, in 1944, 166% of that in 1939. The indices of production in the Group II countries show a precipitate decline following their occupation by the enemy powers. In the Group III countries the production was rather stagnant, at a level lower than the one in 1939. Industrial production in India does not reveal any basic dynamics characteristic of the three different groups of countries. The Capital index number of industrial production shows that it was 112% of 1939 in 1945-46 after having reached 108% of 1939 in 1941-42 and again declining in 1942-43 and 1943-44. There was, clearly, no overall industrial mobilisation for war effort. There are further indications of conflicting influences operating on the production level. On the one hand, under the pressure of war contracts, scarcities of consumers' goods, higher prices etc., the existing industrial capacity was being exploited to the full, while on the other hand, the expansion of the basic production potential was neglected because of a number of causes of which political framework was an important one.

The production trends for the period beginning from the end of hostilities in the August of 1945 show striking contrasts for all the countries is the different groups.

In the Group I countries, two important developments are visible in the post-war production trends. The general level of production declined up to the beginning and middle of 1946, but it had again

Spaces r Monthly Bulletin of Statistics (U. N.) October, 1947.

Gapital, December 18th, 1947.

resumed its upward trend by the end of 1946. The average production for 1946 was 71% and 80% of that in 1943 for U. S. and Canada respectively. Towards the middle of 1947, the production had recovered to 77% and 88% of that in 1943 and was steadily rising. The national income of U. K. in 1946 was 95% of that in 1944 and although no figures are as yet available for its movements in 1947, the figures for exports, and coal and iron and steel production show an upward trend in production as compared to the latter half of 1945.

These movements in the level of production can easily be understood. The process of reconversion from war to peace-time production, the mushroom growth of labour disputes and shortages of certain key raw materials pulled down the level of production soon after the end of hostilities. The process of reconversion and shortages of raw materials creating bottlenecks in production were inherent in the situation in which the whole productive economy which had been feverishly working during the war with the aid of patriotic appeals for longer hours of work, restriction on consmers' goods, and greatest efforts on the part of all concerned, found itself freed from these nonpecuniary incentives as well as from the demands of war products and services no more needed in peace. The labour disputes, although not inherent, were unavoidable. Labour was the one single scare factor which considerably improved its real income position in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada during the war. Now in the post-war situation of decreasing total earnings and increasing inflationary prices it tried to make the most of its scarcity value to consolidate as well as increase its war-time gains. However, with the reconversion process well under way, the bottlenecks were disappearing and the labour disputes were getting settled. The production level again rose in view of the pressure of the pent-up demand of the consumers who were starved of necessary goods during the war and also due to the overall Government policies of maintaining the economy at a high level of activity and ensuring a gradual increase in the standard of living of the, people. The disruption of foreign trade of most

of the countries prevented the gradual return of the production pattern to that of the pre-war period.

In the countries under the Group II the production has gradually increased from the level of July-August 1945 when the hostilities ended. There have, no doubt, been strikes and lock-outs, shortages of capital goods, problems of reconversion and re-equipment and political instability but they have not brought the production level to a standstill but only slowed down its rise. In July, 1945, the production was 33%, 61% and 43% of 1939 in Belgium, Denmark and Norway respectively. It was 28% of 1939 in August 1945 for Holland and 60% and 43% of 1938 for France in January 1946 and for Poland in July 1945 respectively. In Finland it was 58% of 1938 in September 1945. In the middle of 1947, however, the production was running at the rate of 100%, 93%, 80% and 110% of 1939 for Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Norway respectively. It was 97%, 112% and 87% of 1938 for France, Poland and Finland respectively for the same period.

Production level for countries in Group III also rose from that during the war and at the end of hostilities in 1945. For Sweden it rose from 85% of 1939 in 1945 to 105% of 1939 in the second quarter of 1947. For Mexico the production indices show a fairly continuous increase throughout the war and post-war period reaching a record level of 134% of 1939 in the middle of 1947.

Production trends in India in the post-war period have no parallel with any of the three groups of countries examined above. The Capital general production index number shows an uneven, slow but steady decline in the overall production situation. Production levels in all the major industries more or less maintained their war-time heights up to the end of 1945. It began to decline from the end of 1945 and the decline has remained unrelieved up to now except for some temporary increases in early 1947 and certain fitful movements in individual industries throughout the post-war period.

The gravity of the post-war production trends in India lies not merely in the decline of production after the hostilities although this poor country could ill afford it. Production levels had declined in all those countries where production was feverishly geared to the total war effort, i.e., in U. S. A., Canada and United Kingdom. The gravity of "crisis" consists in the fact, that the decline in the production has not reversed itself as in the case of group I countries, following the readjustments of all the factors concerned. This raises the suspicious question as to whether there are special influences affecting the production levels in India, other than those which produced the decline in Group I countries, namely, labour unrest, shortages of raw materials, reconstruction and re-equipment difficulties.

• The other factor contributing to the "crisis" is the fact that the decline has come about at the very time when expectations were entertained for a planned and a steep rise in the productive activities. The preparation and discussion of economic plans and the hope of their implementation at the end of the war and the dawn of political freedom heightened the contrasts between expectations and reality. It is also interesting to observe that production level has decreased in India although we have had no problem of reconversion of a magnitude comparable to that in the Group I countries.

It is not intended to discuss in details the various factors which have entailed the decline in production and the remedies suggested. The more obvious and the more important of them have been well analysed and discussed in the recent tripartite Industrial Conferences in New Delhi. It would, however, be worthwhile to mention a number of special factors which have distinguished the production trends in India from that of the other countries.

(A) All countries depend on import of essential materials for the healthy working of its industrial production. But India depends for a very large number of basic industrial equipments on a relatively small number of countries exporting them, so that any dislocation in the countries concerned creates sudden and deep-rooted bottlenecks which cannot be easily remedied.

(B) In the short run the increase in production could only be achieved by a fuller use of productive capacity or in other words by making the actual production very nearly equal to the capacity production, for, the productive capacity being dependent on certain key imports cannot be quickly expanded. The following figures show the capacity output, producton and demand of some of the key industries for 1947:—

In Tons Capacity Production Demand
Steel 1,264,000 875,000 over 2 millions
Cement 2,076,000 1 344,000 3,000,000 Paper 110,000 86,000 ----

The industries in their efforts for fuller utilisation of productive capacity are likely to encounter increasing cost of production, if there is to be a considerable rise in the output. The increasing prices which this would necessitate has to be anxiously considered in view of the dangers of the inflationary tendencies.

(C) The decline in production or shortages are more marked and keenly felt in the supplies of daily necessities relative to the luxuries and comforts of life and in case of producers' goods relative to the consumers' goods industries. In this respect there is a parallel between India and the countries in Group I and Group II, for the inflationary pressure in all these countries by making relatively less important things more profitable to produce tends to distort the economic structure as this results in diverting resources away from the production of things claiming priorites from the national point of view.

(D) At present there is a confusing as well as tragic paradox of idle resources side by side with labour shortages of almost all kinds of labour. This paradox has to be resolved in the interests of increasing production and can be resolved only it "investments" are made in labour equal to if not more than planned investments in capital goods, land improvements and agriculture. This is not a labour

appeasement policy. The social and economic productivity of the idle as well as the marginal labour resources is very low. Improvements in the quality of the idle, the marginal as well as the employed labour resources would break the shortages of skilled and unskilled labour which has been the important factor contributing to the adoption of the faulty labour policies to gain temporary advantages.

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THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY Bengal Branch

By G. F. MUIRHEAD,

Hony. Director, I. R. C. S., Bengal Provincial Branch

The idea of the Red Cross Society originated with a Swiss gentleman, Mr. Henry Dunant in 1859 who was apalled by the lack of medical attention for soldiers wounded in battle. He succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of diplomatists in various countries and a Conference was held in Switzerland in 1863 as a result of which the famous Geneva Convention was signed in 1864, which recognised the principle of neutrality of the wounded in wartime. From that time the Red Cross Society worked unceasingly for the sufferings of the wounded and the prisoners of war until it came finally to be recognised that this vast organisation had also a very urgent task to do in peacetime as well; and finally in 1919 it was officially laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations that

"The members of the League (of Nations) agree to encourage and promote the establishment and cooperation of duly authorised National Red Cross Societies, having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

And a League of Red Cross Societies was formed which now includes in its membership some 65 National Red Cross Societies.

The Symbol of the Red Cross on the Red Cross Flag has no sectarian significance, and it was adopted merely as a recognition of the great part played by the Swiss in the formation of the organisation, and is simply the reverse of the Swiss National Flag which is a White Cross on a Red Ground.

The Bengal Red Cross Society is affiliated to the Indian Red Cross Society whose head office is in Delhi, and which is in turn affiliated to the International Red Cross at Geneva. In 1945, with the active help and cooperation of our President, the Right Hon'ble R. G. Casey, the then Governor of Bengal, a large Civilian Expansion Scheme was embarked on in Bengal. The Society's activities are numerous and widespread but the following is a short description of the work which is being done.

The Bengal Red Cross has for some time been training Indian girls as Health Visitors through the St. John Anderson Health School in Calcutta, and has also sent ? girls to England for further specialised training so the they can return to Bengal to train others in their turn. Grants are made annually to Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics throughout the Province, and inspections made to ensure a proper standard for those Institutions. In addition the Society is planning to build out of its own funda and from those raised in the Districts, Model Maternity Centres where the health of mothers and children can be cared for, and where these mothers can learn the principles of health, and where training will be given to indigenous Dais. Owing to the very disturbed state of the province over the past year it has not been possible to go ahead with our plans as quickly as we would have liked but during the next few months we will attempt to push ahead.

Another part of our programme which is well known, is the running of Free Milk Canteens for children. Thesecanteens were started at the time of the Bengal Famine, and since then the Government of Bengal have purchased large quantities of dried milk from abroad which is distributed daily by the paid and voluntary workers of the Society of whom the latter numbers some 10,000 throughout East and West Bengal. Through this scheme over two lakhs of children receive a powa of milk free every day of the year, and in this way the Society is trying to do something towards improving the standard of health of the children of Bengal. These canteens are running not only in Calcutta and in the larger towns but are operating as well in the remotest villages of the province, and altogether there are about 2,000 of such canteens offering daily free feeds. As an adjunct to this work the Society is responsible for organising free-midday tiffin for school children in the districts, for the health of the school children must not be overlooked. And for these school children also there is the Junior Red Cross which organise them into groups to teach them the principles of health and hygiene and good citizenship.

Then there is the work in Civilian Hospitals. Supplies are issued to Hospitals all over Bengal and Hospital Welfare Service is being organised to provide these comforts which means so much to patients. The Welfare workers write letters to relatives, do personal shopping, provide reading materials and generally act as a guide, philosopher and friend. A start has also been made on Diversional Therapy Work.

And alongside all this constructive work goes the task of giving relief in emergencies. Unfortunately they have been far too frequent during the past months. From the time of the August 1946 riots until just after Independence Day the Red Cross workers and volunteers have been constantly in action. Their aim has been to give succour to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion and even at the time when communal feelings were at their highest our Ambulance drivers and workers never ceased their duty even when it meant going into areas predominantly inhabited by those of a community other than their own. During the Noakhali riots the Society sent supplies and workers, and after the initial emergency was over a rehabilitation camp was opened in Noakhali District where Hindus, Muslims and Christians worked side by side and where an effective piece of rehabilitation work was carried out. The Red Cross Camp was in close touch with Mahatma Gandhiji during this time and our workers were happy to know that their endeavours had the blessing of that great leader. Recently in Calcutta a similar scheme of rehabilitation has been carried on with satisfactory results having been planned in the light of the experience gained in Noakhali. As a result of the devastating flood which

occurred in East Bengal last August, the Bengal Red Cross again extended its help and it sent workers and supplies by air and by rail and has helped in the organising of the system of relief in the affected areas through a Coordinating Committee. In this connection it is very satisfastory to note that over Rs. 60,000 has been received for the relief of the flood-stricken people of East Bengal as voluntary donations from individuals and firms in West Bengal besides quantities of food, clothings and medicines. In all this Relief work, the Society has co-operated with other voluntary organisations and worked alongside their workers, has given them and in its turn has been grateful for the co-operation which many of these organisations have given.

Some indication of the popularity of the Red Cross Society in Bengal is shown by the greatly increased membership. From the 700 members in 1945 it had grown to 6,271 at the end of 1946 and this figure will be exceeded during the present year. I cannot conclude without saying that I think we are all aware that with the new freedom which India has attained we know that we shall be judged by what we do and not merely by what we say. There is always the tendency to paint a too rosy picture but we are alive to our faults and know that if the Red Cross Society is to be worthy of the name it must touch the lives of those who are poor, and those who are needy, it must touch the villages and not merely the big towns and must be an effective force which will operate alongside official schemes in the fields of health and hygiene and Social Welfare.

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MAHATMA GANDHI

By DANIEL THOMAS,

Minister for Prohibition and Transport, Madras

A great darkness has fallen on the land and a sense of personal and national desolation has overwhelmed the hearts and minds of the people throughout the country. The beloved father of the people and the venerated leader, not only of India, but of the world at large, has passed away. It was destined that the Apostle of love and peace, who had preached and practised his doctrine of Ahimsa to the wonder and admiration of the world, should meet his end at the hands of a common assassin. Perhaps, it is fitting that it should be so. Christ preached His saving evangel of love and performed His miracles of healing and redemption, but was crucified on the Cross. Mahatma Gandhi, who all his life was a devout follower of Christ's life and teaching, has achieved a similar end. Christ, Buddha, Mahomed and Gandhi: These names are abiding land-marks in the history and progress of mankind. Scientists tell us that, though a star may be entinguished in the heavens, its light will continue to shine on earth for millions of future years. Though the Physical presence of Mahatma Gandhi is ended, the

light of his life will continue to shine and irradiate the hearts of millions of people for long ages to come.

Everyone in the country, man and woman, bemoans personally the loss of a beloved father. That enchanting smile of his and that inspiring voice can be seen and heard no more. But let us go forward and treasure in our hearts the spirit and example of Mahatma Gandhi and re-dedicate ourselves to the cause and service of our Motherland and for the spreading of peace and goodwill for all mankind.

In his life, Mahatma Gandhi was 'the pillar of the people's hope and the centre of a world's desire.' In his death, his country and the world experience the bitterness of death and of desolution. But he is not dead. His spirit will be a living inspiration and a beacon-light to guide the people of this country to a destiny worthy of its great traditions and worthy of the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi himself.

"Dear Friend, far-off, our lost desire So far, so near in wos and weal Behold we dream a dream of good And mingle all the world with thes."

GOLD IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

By K. P. THAKUR, CALLE, (Bom.), CALE, (Lond.)

"ALL that glitters is not gold"—we are taught throughout the ages. By a queer analogy the rider may be established, "Gold is gold though lustreless and old."

The yellow metal has long ceased to function as money in active circulation, Gold coin which was so fascinating when it flowed in or out of a Banker's vault or a businessman's counter has long disappeared; in exchange we find coins of baser metals and notes of varying denominations at home and abroad. Yet gold has nonetheless lost its pigment or aroma.

In the domestic sphere it does not function today as a standard of value; its use being sparingly confined to commercial, medicinal purposes as also in the fancy wares and ornaments of the Eves in the East as well as in the West. From the orthodox Gold standard, the world switched over to Bullion standard, then experimented upon Evenange standard which also against the ever-increasing complexities of human living was found to be madequate for our needs till we are leaning on paper in the living present.

Retiring from the national humdrum circulation, gold has taken up an unassailable position in the international field for seitlement of balance of payments and from there it is exerting a powerful influence over the economic life of nations in the wide world. The Bretton-Woods Conference and the formation of the International Monetary Fund added additional colour to the yellow metal making it the sole arbiter in the international economic disputes.

One of the purposes for which the International Monetary Fund was created was to avoid movement of specie in adjustment of balance of international payments; yet we are constrained to note that it is an irony of fate to find that the Fund by its action and deed admitted that in the ultimate analysis gold, it is only gold, which controls the gear of international trade automobile. The International Monetary Fund reiterated the essential characteristics of the yellow metal and re-affirmed that even in the present era of managed currencies gold is pre-eminently suited as an adjusting lever for setting aright dis-equilibrium in international trade machinery, Accordingly, under the rules of the Fund, it has been made obligatory on the part of a member to subscribe in gold 25 per cent of its quota or 10 per cent of its net official holdings of gold and U. S. dollars whichever was less, Naturally, therefore, in its initial composition of 6535 million dollars paid as on 30th June, 1947, by 29 nations out of 34 members, par values of whose currencies had been agreed, 1344 million dollars have been paid in gold, 2063 millions in U.S. dollars and the remaining \$3128 millions in miscellaneous currencies. Thus 20.57 per cent of the Fund rests in gold, 37.57 per cent in U. S. dollars and 41:86 per cent in other currencies.

Against such a redoubtable background we are to seview the price trend of gold.

The price of gold in the international market as with various other commodities, is virtually regulated by the United States of America, who pegged its price to \$35.00 per ounce since 1935 at which rate gold is saleable to the U.S. Treasury. With the outbreak of war, the entire economic outlook of the belligerent countries began to undergo a revolutionary change. Partly due to the impact of inflationary forces, partly due to re-distribution of wealth among population, the lust for bullion increased particularly among a certain section of people who belonged to the group of taxdodgers and black-marketers. The fright of being caught in the post-war period with consequentiat damages became uppermost in their mind and in Bullion they found a safe corner to camouflage their fortune and to keep Governmental anti-corruption measures at bay.

This pernicious activity amongst a vicious circle of population was noticeable in a greater volume, and variety in the countries of the Middle East, Iraq, Iran. Palestine, Egypt, India, etc., than in the United Kingdom and the United States, where due to the vigilance of the respective national governments and exercise of effective control over production and consumption of goods, grass in black markets found no time to grow under feet. In the latter group of countries another factor accounted for this difference. In the Anglo-American countries, it was the burning patriotism of their citizens, the crying need for saving the country against Hitlerism, which had the sway; against these sentiments no avarice, no corruption could make any headway. In the former set of countries, however, the basic idea was divergent. As none of these countries spontaneously participated in war but were merely dragged into it, except a limited few, many found in it a golden opportunity to make hav while the sun shone. In the successful prosecution of their clandestine operations they sacrificed not only national or business morals but also valuable human lives. Posterity will shudder to learn that for every thousand rupees earned by profiteering during the Bengal Famine of 1943, one human life was lost.*

With the rolling of the war chariot, inflation began to gather moss, prices began to soar high, with it demand for bullion particularly in the Eastern countries, pushed its price to a higher level.

Let us now look to the side of supply. With the exception of 1946, production of fresh gold all over the world exhibited a downward tendency. Added to this, the Eastern countries which were disgorging gold on a huge scale since Great Britain went off gold standard in 1931, appeared on the scene as importers of the yellow metal. As a result, after meeting industrial demand, the balance available for monetary use gradually dwindled at accelerated rate. The following

table quoted from the Report on Currency and Finance, 1946-47, published by the Reserve Bank of India is illustrative:

Consumption and Distribution of Gold (In millions of five ounces)

| | remained ner consumption in | et absorption it kastein countries | det ron-monetary deserption | ۲۰۰۰- producti on | Balance available for monetary use |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1940 | 1.0 | $-2 \cdot 2$ | -1.2 | 40.7 | 41.9 |
| 1941 | 2.0 | 0.1 | 1.9 | 39.6 | $37 \cdot 7$ |
| 1942 | $2 \cdot 8$ | 0 · 1 | $3 \cdot 2$ | $34 \cdot 2$ | 31.0 |
| 1943 | 4 - 1 | 1 - 1 | 5.5 | $27 \cdot 5$ | $22 \cdot 0$ |
| 1944 | 5.8 | 1.7 | 7.5 | 24.9 | 17 · 4 |
| 1945 | $7 \cdot 5$ | 1.8 | $9 \cdot 3$ | 24.3 | 15.0 |
| 1946 | $9 \cdot 3$ | 1.1 | 10.4 | $25 \cdot 0$ | 14.6 |

The quantity of 14.6 million ounces of gold available for monetary use represents a fall of 65 per cent over 41.9 million ounces existing in 1940. With a demand ever growing against a supply which remained static or dimmishing, bullion price naturally shot up to levels much above the official parity. Yet movements of the precious metals on an appreciable extent could not take place due to the prevalence of Exchange Controls and war-time restrictions on import and export of specie into and out of countries. An exception was, however, noticeable in the sale of gold in India and various other Middle East countries on Anglo-American account. According to Reuter's message, dated the 18th December, 1944, the Federal Reserve Bank's December 1944 issue reviews that the motive behind such sales of gold in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanou. Arabia, Iran, China and in India, too, at a rate much above the official parity, was to combat inflation in these territories as also to cover allied needs for local currency and expenditure. During the years 1943 to 1945 such sales in India alone aggregated 7.5 million ounces.

After the suspension of hostilities, movements of precious metals across national boundaries began to re-appear in July, 1946. The Bank of Mexico offered gold freely for export at a price equivalent to 40.53 U. S. dollars per ounce, i.e., at \$5.53 over the buying rate of U. S. Treasury. Switzerland and Turkey tollowed suit. Dollars obtained out of the balance of payments were converted into bullion and such bullion was employed in the profitable business of selling in the gold-thirsty territories. For some time sales continued but soon difficulty arose. The purchasers of gold had to pay for it in U. S. dollars or in any other Hard Currency such as Canadian dollars, Swiss france, Swedish kroner, Argentine pesos, Mexican dollars, etc., which they were not in a position to acquire as they were short of it. The selling countries were not finding it an easy job to keep up the game going. Their own gold stock was meagre to feed the hungry populace. Consequently they had to look askance from the U. S. A. who alone was in a position to face the

situation. The following statistical table exhibits—the comparative gold stock of some important countries of the world.

Value of monetary stock of gold in important
oountries
(In million of dollars)

| | Y.S. | ኍ | <i>7</i> 2.≖ | Sout | Mexico | T key | In | Ē |
|------|--------|---------------|--------------|------|--------|-------|-----|---|
| 1939 | 17,644 | 2,709 | 549 | 249 | 32 | 29 | 274 | * |
| 1940 | 21,995 | 2,000 | 502 | 367 | 47 | 88 | 274 | |
| 1941 | 22,737 | 2,000 | 665 | 366 | 47 | 92 | 274 | |
| 1942 | 22,726 | 2,000 | 824 | 634 | 39 | 114 | 274 | |
| 1943 | 21,938 | 2.000 | 965 | 706 | 203 | 161 | 274 | |
| 1944 | 20.619 | 1.777 | 1,158 | 814 | 222 | 221 | 274 | |
| 1945 | 20,065 | 1,090 | 1.342 | 914 | 294 | 241 | 274 | |
| 1946 | 20,529 | 796 (Nov.) | 1,144 | 941 | 181 | 235 | 274 | |

Further such sales of gold by Mexico, Switzerland, etc. was rehemently criticised by the members of the International Monetary Fund. The Committee of the Fund appealed to member countries to stop sales of gold above the official rate in the black market, Eminent bankers, economists including Dr. Dekock, Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, condemned this practice as such sales will result in exchange instability in the long run. In response, the Mexican gold sales were stopped. The Swiss National Bank and the Agricultural Bank and the Commercial Bank, Turkey, suspended sales of gold above parity to the public. The United States of America banned export of gold on private account. Licences were strictly confined to export of "semi-processed gold." In the United Kingdom, the Bank of England banned all transactions in foreign gold above the international parity price. As regards India, since February, 1946, a duty of Rs. 25 per tolla was imposed on the import of gold into the country. The import duty was, however, reduced by 50 per cent on 12th August, 1946,, but from 6th March. 1947, issue of licences for the import of bulhon was completely discontinued.

The above, in brief, covers the contemporary history of gold.

The efforts of the members of the International Monetary Fund have been successful in the suspension of gold sales in open market, but were they able to eradicate the evil of free market in gold? No, certainly not. In none of the countries subscribing to the International Monetary Fund gold is sold officially—yet the yellow metal can be acquired and disposed of in darkness in London and New York. Owing to the abolition of open gold market, official free market quotations are not available these days; but it is reported that in New York gold is unofficially quoted around 40 to 43 dollars per ounce; the average price

^{*} During 1939 gold holdings of the Bank of England were transferred to Eritish Exchange Equalisation Fund, whose volume is estimated at 2,240 million dollars although the exact total is a Government secret.—

Statemen, 11. 10. 47.

of gold in India during 1945-46 and 1946-47 being Rs. 80-3-0 and Rs. 101-1-2 per tolla approximately.

Against such a concerted action by the big powers of the world why the black or free market in gold cannot be exterminated? The reason is obvious. Why black markets in rice, sugar, cloth, etc., cannot be removed, although sales of such goods are controlled by Governments? If it is not possible to exercise perfect control in the consumers' goods which may not be stored for distant future, in smaller bulk and greater value, how can we expect to succeed in the case of gold? On the contrary, in the present unsettled conditions of the world particularly in India, where the cost of production of commodities both agricultural and manufactured is rising by leaps and bounds, where labour trouble is a semi-regular feature of industrial life, where wages are chasing prices against a rising tempo of inflation, gold is one of those commodities whose price is anchored at a price prevailing in the pre-war era regardless of its cost of production and its relationship with other sister commodities in the world of exchange.

A section of people argue that the present unbalanced economy will soon disappear and commodity prices will saturate at a reasonable base. To tell accurately what will be the actual shape of things to come, is possible only for foretellers but not for economists, who can, of course, analyse present factors against the past and suggest possibilities in the future. That price level may come down from its Olympic height none should deny but when? On the contrary, the tendency of prices all over the world is to soar upward.

During the years of war, prices in the U.S.A., U.K., Canada, etc., were kept under vigilant control. With the termination of hostilities, in some country commodities were gradually decontrolled. In Canada at present (December, 1947), control has been taken out from all commodities. In the U.S.A., with the exception of sugar, rice, rent and nominal control over a few other materials, commodities have been decontrolled. In India, too, public opinion is against continuance of control any longer in commodities except foodstuff. In the United Kingdom control still continues and is likely to continue for some time to come due to the acute shortage of food and drink in that land. Relaxation of control over manufactured and semi-manufactured goods has been shown by the British Government. The green grocery, fruit, vegetable, tomato trades, the fish trades (where abuses were frequent and the removal of controls was strongly requested) and the soft drink industry have to some extent been decontrolled and opened to new entrants. What has been the result? A rise in price level is the only consequence. In the U.S.A. in March, 1947, wholesale prices and cost of living stood at 196 and 157 respectively as against 143 and 131 for the corresponding month in the previous year. In the U. K., the cost of living remains almost stationary while wholesale

prices jumped by 12 points. In Canada, the wholesale prices and cost of living in March, 1947, rose by 20 and 10 points respectively when compared to 1946. In India, the rise was steeper, the wholesale prices rose by 68 points and retail price by 22 points. The comparative table is given below.

(Base January-June, 1939=100)

| | Who | rice | Cost of living | | | | |
|----------|--------|------|----------------|------|------|------------|--|
| | 1939 | 1946 | 1947 March | 1939 | 1946 | 1947 March | |
| U. S. A. | A. 101 | 143 | 196 | 100 | 131 | 157 | |
| U. K. | 106 | 177 | 189 | 103 | 132 | 133 | |
| Canada | 103 | 144 | 164 | 101 | 119 | 128 | |
| India | 109 | 306 | 374 | 102 | 238 | 260 | |

Thus the price trend all over the world indicates that in the near future we may not expect any heavy reduction in our onerous cost of living. Against the upsurge of labouring group any reduction in their wage bill will result in strikes, stay-in-process and similar such devices resulting in curtailment of production so essential to us at the present moment. The attempt will, therefore, militate against the end for the achievement of which it will be resorted to. As long as the supply of commodities falls short of effective demand, so long production is less than requirement. Labour group will have the control key in their hands and only when the supply market is flooded with a plethora of goods and when satisfy is attained by hungry mouths, then only a reduction of price level may be anticipated but not earlier. Such a state of affairs has another contingency; behind the spectre of depression there is the dreaded monster of aggression. Except with the appearance of depression of a wide magnitude a large-scale reduction of wage level may not be feasible; and of the two which one we fear more, rising price level or depression? The concensus of opinion in a ballot will probably be in favour of the former.

If such be the situation, if a reduction in price level is not likely to come up in the near future why then isolate gold from other commodities entering into domestic and international trade? Considered as a commercial undertaking, the cost of production of materials, as already stated, shot up to a high pitch and coupled with drastic taxation of the Government of the producing countries, the control price of gold did not adequately cover its cost of production not to speak of profits of mine-owners. In consequence many of the marginal mines had to close down operation. Mines which were adversely affected by warfare in Burma, Korea, New Guinea, the Philippines, etc., cannot be renovated and reconstructed unless prices offered compensate the cost of labour and capital sunk afresh.

Yet the important nations of the world do not show any inclination to raise the official parity price of gold. The U. S. A. is definitely against any such move as by it U. S. A. apprehends devaluation of dollars. The United Kingdom faithfully adhering to the dictates of uncle Sam will not say otherwise and any attempt on the part of any member of the Later-

national Monetary Fund to alter the price of the yellow metal is likely to be vetoed successfully by the Anglo-American interests as under the constitution of the fund any proposal can be so vetoed by either U.S.A. or Britain who own each more than 10 per cent of the aggregate fund quota. The British press has in a number of recent despatches categorically stated that Britain would neither raise the price of gold nor promote any such proposal, on the contrary, the British policy 18 flatly opposed to devaluation of sterling against gold or U.S.A. dollars.

The protagonists of the Anglo-American school of thought believe that a rise in the price of gold will prompt the United Nations to revalue the gold holdings of their Central Banking Institution at current coins. The augmentation of the Reserve value may tempt the holders to issue additional notes, resulting in further inflation and its consequential chain of evils. In the all-round rising tempo American price level will also be affected, making American goods dearer to the hungry world outside. The benefit of the little new extra spending power thus created will be wiped out in securing costlier dollars for payment of American goods. The antagonists, however, argue that if gold price is raised to 40 dollars per ounce and the gold value of various currencies are adjusted proportionately there may not be any alteration between the values of currencies against one another. Further, it is not conclusively established that a rise in the price of gold will invaribly result in the further increase of the price level of other commodities. Although the price of gold is pegged to 35 dollars per ounce since 1935, it has not prevented other commodities rising in value; conversley it may be argued that even if the price of gold be raised to 40 dollars an ounce, there is no clear evidence to show that any automatic adjustment in the value of other commodities would also take place.

The Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund and the President of the International Bank have denied the rumour regarding higher prices of gold. The rumour that Britain will pay a premium for South African gold has also been denied from official quarters. Yet the possibility of an eventual rise in the gold price cannot be completely brushed aside. The arguments of those who are for an increase appeared to possess strong reasons behind and even in British quarters informal intimation holds the view that a higher price of gold may come in future. An authority like Dr. Dekock admits that while an immediate increase in the gold price could nearly aggravate world inflation, prospective change to deflation might make the world want a higher gold price as an antideflationery measure about a year from now.*

The initiative for that would also lie with U.S.A.; in a U.S. slump, the U.S.A. may prefer to cut the gold content in the dollar thus raising the dollar price of gold rather than cut prices and provoke unemployment.

Informed quarters, however, believe that there are some officials in Washington who are in favour of distributing a big parcel of gold say 2 to 3 billions of dollars of gold out of U. S.'s holding throughout the world which would go a long way to check inflation and bring exchange stability. Mr. Bevin while addressing the annual Trade Union Conference at South Port also pleaded for a redistribution of the Fort Knox gold. It is reported that a proposal to shift American gold worth about 3 billion dollars to devastated Europe is receiving serious attention from leading U. S. Government officials and may be submitted to the Senate as part of the plan to aid Europe as a supplementary plan to Marshall programme.*

But what is all this fuss about? What is the necessity of such re-distribution? What the world needs today is U.S. dollars for the purchase of U.S. goods and not their gold. The volume of such despatches may be doubled or made four-fold, but it is certain that all such gold will find its way back to the States. Gold seized by the Nazis may be re-distributed but that may not stop U.S.A. getting them back in no time.† It is observed from a New York report, dated 18th October, 1947 that the Federal Reserve Bank received \$11,000,000 worth of gold from France. A report dated 20th October, 1947 discloses that the Bank also received from England gold worth £50,000,000 since September 15, 1947. It is a pity, no doubt, that the world after labouring over centuries found out managed flexible currency best fitted to work out smoothly monetary function. To a certain extent managed currency system was successful to show how currency and credit may overthrow the shackles of gold; but Bretton-Woods may be a limiting point whereafter gold standard in a modified form may stage a come-back. The golden rope-way was once built up by men and it was quite useful for the purpose to serve the cause of which it was inaugurated. At the time of its inception and long after when the world was still young and the volume of goods entering into international trade was meagre the ropeway was smooth and easy-going but of late knots have grown over it to make it rough and obstructive. Attempts were, therefore, made to explore new ways unconnected with gold. It was discarded to a great extent but why then arrange for its come-back now? And with what prospects? By force of circumstances U.S.A. now controls the lion's share of the entire world's stock of gold and she is the only country who is capable of sparing goods, consumers and capital, to outside world after meeting her own requirements. If U.S.A. continues to pin her faith only on the yellow metal and disagrees to accept any other medium of settlement in international payments a situation may soon arise when importing countries will be left with no means of payment except by borrowing

Sieteiffen, dated 28th Boptember, 1847.

^{*} Statesman, dated 9.11.47

[†] It is reported that out of Nazi-hooted gald, France, Netherlands, Austria and Italy received gold to the extent of 104,150,000 dollars, 40,376,600 dollars, 29,460,000 dellars, 4,260,000 dellars.—Esstermen. dated 21,10,47.

in the States The fear of such a contingency may be said to have already cost its shidow on the face of the eath Whether at ingenents are made to strengthen the purchasing power of war-worn Europe or Listern countries through the Mushall plan or by 10distribution of gold such spoon-feeding will not have invthing but trusiting effect on world economy People may subsist on chairty for a short while but cannot exist thereupon for long. What is wanted is requirements on of lost national wealth of the nations and for this the deficient should get what they need and should give out what they can afford to space On the contains, if U.S.A. desires merely to send out her own moduct and accept nothing in exchange only by giving other people purchasing power by I ais or gold (when she knows such gold or loans will only be spent in her market), the situ tion may not improve. When the loan will be exhausted a when gold will be shipped back to I ort know the communic plight of the borrowing countries will be no letter than before over and above these countries will be builden I with her v loreign debts with U.S.A.

If on the other hand U > Viewe o recignise

only gold in settlement of international payment and agices to accept goods in hea thereof the pressure on gold will be considerably minimised. The basic industries of the non-American countries will get a fallip and then national wealth will increase International trade is it bottom a builter or goods only. During the last war did we not witness Indian jute and piece-goods being used is exchange for Argentine wheat and Australian wood? It buter a commodities would serve our needs it some time why may we not experiment upon it at ther times without complicating matters by bringing in intermediary in the fam of gold wherever possible? And what also we desire to get out of international tride except exchange or As goods for B's? In so doing the up-wing of glid time may be checked and a till pregnitted. The vin attempt of the United Nations to control the price of gold whose demand is too volumintous igainst a pallay supply as bound to turn out unsuccessful is we have seen the fulure of various control meisures in food drink, clothing etc. It the gold standard in a modified term is kept, three the chance of a future tale in the price of gold is purely nn igin ay

JOHN GAWSWORTH

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By Prof. PHANIBHUSMAN MUKHERILL MA

Tons Cawsworth (boin 1912) i one of the few I nglish poets who served in India during the list war and who grew to know and o to love the Indian people." In India and My Veises Cawsworth Consess his intention to return to India tor at is his deepest desire he says to treat a her worthly in his work.

Legacy to Fore The Crimson Thorn In Figlish Field and Facuell to Voith represent his preliminary efforts in an executing at In Figlish Field contains a selection from poems written between 1931 and 1941. The Crimson Fhore contains poems for lovers written between 1930 and 1941. Snow and Sand is a collection of verses most of which were written during 1942 to 1944 when the poet was serving in the R.A. It is amount sectors of the Mediterrane in Front Blow No Bugles contains poems mainly in date of composition a companion volume to Snow and Sand though with the few verses of his interaction in India where he Linded in December 1941.

Grassworth writes pure poetry. This is his supreme distinction in an ign when literal a and poetry too has been buildened perhaps overmuch with theories of superficial realism propagands or psychology. He, therefore finds a ready response in the hearts of all lovers of life. He describes the poet's process as "the listening-in to the Infinite." Though identified with the post-war English lyre movement, he stands aloof from the modernist school, and his verses "give to airy

nothing a local habitation and a name. If 'pure poetry' is the language of the imagination and the passions on the suggestan by the imagination, of noble grounds for the noble emotion, 'no critic can deny a high place in the hierarchy of English poets to Gawsworth in whom is continued the traditions of formatic movement of the Hisrabethin age and the cally nineteenth century.

Gawsworth describes his aim in poetry in Request in which he only isks of his

I'o pluck the strings
Of vision's lipic for rife
Imaginings,"

nd one should say that he has succeeded adminably in his efforts Reve in Last Days Fulchs Poor Foolish Man Presentiment The Mind of Man, Adolescence, Adjunation Demi-Dirge Supplient Death's Evangelist, Resignation Seduces Song are delightful creations till of concrete integeries and suggestiveness There is genus in his exquisiter livital veises in which intensity of feeling finds 'impassioned expression" in The Eternal Themes the poet describes how

"Love Life and Death are the eternal themes
The nearest and the dearest, and the best;
From the beginnings, visionings and dreams
Simpled the sunt and the sect from the rest."
Gausworth glothes love and verse in Blitz

"Nadness is deadened, Foar is numbed Where exist verse and love" and says in Will You Remember?

Life being that eternal moment when We kussed for all time, finding love as God?'
He feels

For to refiain from loving is to claim

More power more somewed splendom than to die

The cell of romance is expressed in

"Over every stream that flows Beyond every mountain, Lies the rumour of the Rose The glimmer of the fountain

The poet is keenly alive to the joys of life but if at the same time poignantly conscious of those days of death, that follow passions course, and the channel-chain of grey death."

The thought how switt on the spring of youth comes horr December deje to the poor diermer and benumbs his jos. The poet glorifics Love i Divinity and regrets that Time is your peofle that will grand us down."

Gawsworth does not sing of the glory of win like Rupert Brooke but of it grim trigedy like Owen

We say nothing but then only (Heart-constructed a moment lonely) Who will be killed this time And for what erime?

In To 1 the Pellegine the author preliams that "Contentment was the life that Allah planned but the war made a havor of the world."

The World 1945 brings out vividly the picture of a the wir-weary world

"And death's dem-peopled halls
Dazed witness the blight
On earth's bare bough,
Aued, mute at the Trayedy
Of here and now"

With grim near the poet describes will as "the theorem of sine demeries in lusty action." Will is the poet's pagan festival. "Christ gives me blood for wine." But peace is greater than will and he sings in Croce at Somento.

"I saw today the pursance of the pen And the fullity of the sharp sword"

The pen is mightice than the sword and in Flower of Peace he says

"When the lotus unfolds, Its perfume arrises;

So peace as man moulds
Shows arrant surprises "

"(1) Champak blossom, concords flower, Lend courage now in the threatening hour, Concord is but man speaking to man With kind eyes and no after-plan"

In Christmas Bells he proclaims the glory of Jesus the peace-maker:

"None hearn the Christman Belly that night But feels a star within his heart, That his dark sky han fleeced to white That he will dare the braver part: For Peace, they say, and Peace they mean thermal, steadfast and serene.

Who brought this peace of world release Was Christ, the Sout of Man."

The English Tune 1945 brings out the essential linglish character

For life the day-obliterated star,

Be share in right and have our glory then'
The reder is a minded of I in' Baldwin's characterization of the laughshas a nation made for a time of
crisis

There is in open to treshness in Gawsworths imagenes and one of his sonnets have a classical retrinit and deep subdued emotion reamining one of Shakespeare many of whose lines they almost echo. In Receivers and some ether poems the poet exploits to the full like Milton, the melody of place-names. Some or his poems full of a contemplative very mark out the contrast between man and nature and have in them, anomist ikable strain of invisiosin.

There is, in Gow-weith's verse in intimate sense in exquire and perfect rendering if the moods of the mind in its vinety of experiences in language replete with it house tem and redolent of the from cot great masters in English poetry Not in Cline desent finds expression in his swift and vivid power and made is and his constituences is instituct with an abiding sense of beinty in nature and human life. He combines in him deep onteinplativeness enchaning visi in sweet sensionsness swift and so ring in gination and the melancholy of all who have felt the sense of tens in things only. The union t deep tendernes and deheate reserve marks ms poetry out with in individual quality. He less a fine ense of the melody of words and he exploits fully the device of language to culture the beauty of thythm The rounded perfection of many of his pains reminds me at Kentes odes

His poems to Bengal me partial ally remeshing The beauty of her women and her flore inspired him with a lyne passion. Says he

On a burnished breast,
A tawny thigh beside—
The balms of a Bengal bride

The balms of a Bengal bride He describes the beauties of Bengal in Benga Blossom

Benguli blossoms from what hough Clameli, Ashok and Champak Di you cascade to tease me now With all the love I lack t Bengalis well those speaking eyes And glide less lissom for you call Aloud the sacred mysteries Inherent in your green Bengal

He pays a warm tribute to Bengal in Thora

"When Beauty is so prodigal— And not furtive in its revealing— As it is in Divine Bengal Who has selective feeling!"



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS: By M. Ramaswamy, B.A., B.L. Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 6-8.

The basic problem mooted in the book under review is one of perennial interest in political science, viz., that of reconciliation of human liberty and State authority with a view to furthering best the ends of society and maximising human welfare. The problem has passed through many changing phases in this dynamic world and the line demarcating the frontier of human freedoms and State intervention is an evershifting one. Yet the value of human freedoms embodied in certain fundamental rights of man placed beyond possible encroachment by public authority is indisputable. As the author has stated in the preface (p. IX), "Liberty is not a mere decorative frill which lends a certain grace and charm to human existence but it is of the very essence of life itself," or as Rousseau observed about two centuries ago, "To renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties." It is true as the author has stated (p. 90) that liberty is a concept of multiple strands. It is no longer viewed as merely a native concept consisting in freedom from restraint as conceived by the Laissez Faire school in the nineteenth century, but as something positive calculated to provide the individual with the fullest opportunities of realising his human personality by cultivating all his latent potentialities.

One of the devices by which the liberty of the individual is sought to be safeguarded—no longer from the tyranny of the despotic monarch but from the tyranny of the legislative majorities-is the introduction of a bill of rights in the constitutional text. Experience of recent history particularly in Europe does not make one enthusiastic about the efficacy of this device for securing fundamental human rights. Yet the importance of writing into the text of a modern constitution a bill of human rights sheltered from the encroachment of legislative majorities as well as the executive can hardly be minimised, if for no other reason than at least to emphasize the great signifiance of these rights and to serve as a constant reminder of that fact to all concerned. Moreover, if the experience of some countries of Europe has been disappointing in this respect it has been otherwise in the U.S. A. and the author has been able to show "how the American Bill of Rights, reinforced by later additions, has, with the wise and powerful support of the judiciary, been able to establish and foster a high and priceless tradition of liberty and free institutions in the U. S. A."
(preface page IX). In his approach to the problem he has wisely followed the American example rather than the British, because India's problems are more similar to those of America than of Britain. With her federal

set-up, with her crying minority and untouchability problems India would do well to imitate the American example rather than the British where the principal safeguard for fundamental rights of citizens lies mainly in the force of an ever-vigilant public opinion which has yet to be developed in our country. But while the author has based his conclusions mainly on American experience he has not indulged in blind imitation but has suggested suitable modifications in conformity with the peculiar conditions and requirements of India. He has not merely made out a case for the incorporation of a bill of fundamental rights in the constitutional instrument of India and suggested effective means of realising and enforcing them through courts of law, he has been at considerable pains to formulate a detailed draft Bill of Rights to be incorporated in the new constitution of India setting out his reasons for the inclusion of each of its articles and explaining fully its import and scope. A bill of rights embodied in the constitution is and also meant to be limitation on the powers of the government both in its executive and legislative sphere, because its avowed object is to protect the liberty of the citizen against inroads of the government and as such opens up opportunities for frequent disputes and legal proceedings which may be embarrassing to the government. To guard against this danger the drafting of the bill requires the utmost care and judicious selection to make it at once legally effective and at the same time avoiding needless and embarrassing restrictions on the powers of the legis-lature. Mr. Ramaswamy's draft Bill of Rights for India set forth in the fourth chapter with comments and explanations and enumerated in the Appendix satisfy in our opinion both these tests.

The book is a very timely publication dealing with one of the most important problems that the fathers of the constitution of a free India have been engaged in grappling with for some time past and affecting the destinies of a considerable part of the world's population. We fully share the author's hope that the book although written primarily in the context of Indian conditions, yet dealing as it does with a problem transcending all limitations of race, religion and territory will make an appeal far beyond its confines.

tory will make an appeal far beyond its confines.'

The book therefore may be commended to the students of constitution and constitutional history, not only of this country but in other lands as well, as a work of highly topical interest but one not likely to lose its interest with the lapse of time.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DOMINSON OF INDIA: By P. N. Murty and K. V. Padmenabhan. Metropolitan Book Company, Delhi, 1947. Price Rs. 6-12.

"All over India and indeed over the world have men would be endeavouring to accertain what is this new Dominion starts its existence, above all, what changes have been effected in the pre-existing constitutional and legal position". It is in response to this need that the Registrar of the Federal Court and the Under-Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India have collected together in this book the several important documents connected with partition and with the creation of the independent State of India.

Part I gives the text of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and the reports of the Boundary Commissions. Part II gives the text of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted and modified by the Independence legislation. Part III gives the orders made by the Governor-General in relation to India

and the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

The author has contributed to the book a brief introduction in which the relationship between the pre-existing position and the new constitutional arrangements has been explained. The Indian Independence Act, 1947 formed the culminating point, said the British Prime Minister in the course of debate in the House of Commons, in a long course of events. The House of Commons, in a long course of events. authors rightly do not go into the details of these events. They confine their observations to the description of the main features of the 1935 constitution and to the analysis of the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

Appended to the book are three appendices-(1) the form of the Instrument of Accession; (2) the form of the Standstill Agreement between the Dominion and the States; and (3) the text of the Statement made by the Cabinet Mission to India on 16th May,

The publication is both timely and useful and altogether not too dear, although the printing is not . free from glaring mistakes.

BOOL CHAND

SUBLIMATION: By Trevor Davies, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. Foreword by E. S. Waterhouse, M.A. D.Litt. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1947. Price 68.

One cannot but admire the wide studies of the author and still more his fervent zeal to introduce moral arguments in the consideration of the topic of sublimation. He has in the book under review introduced the views of many authorities on sublimation but the chief target towards which his batteries of criticism are directed is of course Freud "to whom belongs the honour of having brought the process into limelight both of critical and popular thought." (p. 10). He does not question the fact of sublimation but the point that he has sought to make out is that this process of sublimation—"the deflection of instinctual energy to 'higher' social aims-cannot be accomplished without a 'pull' from the front" and cannot be explained unless one admits the objective existence of moral values. Instinctive energy cannot direct itself to higher channels just as man cannot lift himself by tugging at his own bootlaces or pulling his own hair. It is the objective moral standard that is ultimately responsible for deflecting the libido energy towards the channels of culture, art, religion and the higher values

The whole thesis of the book is only a particular instance of the age-old controversy between Science and Philosophy. The author is for Philosophy and for a particular bread of it too, and therefore he cannot rest annihild with the explanation of a phenomenon, much less of a mental phenomenon, in terms of its past annihilation only in the control of the past powerer, cannot but do that

constitution, what are the laws with which this great and cannot but be deterministic in its outlook. In the scientific interpretation that Freud and persons of his way of thinking have given of sublimation, they have not violated the canons of logic. That the sins of men are responsible for an earthquake disaster may be a very satisfying explanation to some but certainly cannot be considered a scientific interpretation of the event.

> All the subtle and ingenuous arguments that the author has quoted and put forth in considering the various problems relating to sublimation rest upon the repudiation of the fundamental deterministic stand-point of Freud. "Are we then simply mechanisms biologically and psychologically determined? This does seem to be Freud's philosophical standpoint, so far he has one at all; it is a standpoint which we emphatically repudiate." (p. 54). If that be emphatically repudiated then not only sublimation but all that Freud has discovered may easily be thrown overboard in one sweep. Will the intellectual world-philosophers includedagree to do it?

> Freud and his followers have sought to trace the conditions under which sublimation takes place. It may be freely admitted that their study of sublimation still remains incomplete. But they have not certainly attempted to find out the ultimate final cause of sublimation just as the physicist while measuring the speed and intensity of light does not feel called upon to settle the question as to why light is propagated

at all?

The volume does not present any new argument but is just a collection of much that has been said many times against the Freudian standpoint and retuted as many times. The reviewer is rather surprised to see that so much confusion not only regarding Freudianism but regarding the fundamental standpoint of Sciences even should be displayed at such high quarters. That only confirms the knowledge that we have gained from the spread of the Freudian views that Man after all is guided more by Emotion than by Reason.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES: By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Fourth edition, thoroughly revised and partly rewritten. With three portraits. S. C. Sarkar and Sone, Caloutta. Pp. xii + 394. Price Rs. 10.

The new edition of this authoritative life of . Shivaji, which has just come out, embodies the new materials discovered and the revised opinions formed by Sir Jadunath during the last 19 years. Especially the use of the invaluable Jaipur records (which were brought to light in 1939 after nearly three centuries of concealment, has enabled the author to write a new and astonishing account of the great Maratha hero's visit to the Court of Aurangzib and his escape from the jaws of that tiger. Similarly more Portuguese and Marathi sources published during the interval have been utilised to amplify or correct several other sections. The improvements and additions are thus described: "The aggregate result of these changes is that in this edition, a new presentation of the Young Shivaji has been given, the Javli and Purandar episodes and also Shahji's captivity in 1648 entirely rewritten, the Afzal Khan affair more fully explored, the accounts of Shivaji's audience with Aurangsib and captive life in Agra entirely reconstructed, the second coronation of Shivaji with Tantrik rites added as an entirely new story, the battles with Khawas Khan and Baji Ghorpare near Rudal more fully and correctly described.

The critical bibliography has been recast and brought up-to-date, while the Index has been as

panded." The book has been out of print for two years. We are confident the present edition will be welcomed by readers.

N. B. Roy

THE CALL OF THE EAST: By Jal K. Wadia. Published by Thacker Spink and Co., August 24, 1947. Pp. x + 121. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book under review saw the light of day on a significant date in recent memory. This is by itself a happy augury quite apart from the perennial appeal of the theme embodied herein. The pervading spirit of this booklet is in remarkable harmony with the grandeur of the sad occasion—rendered doubly sadder by the dramatically sudden disappearance of the high-priest of Eastern thought and culture—which witnesses its publication. There could be no more opportune moment for the announcement of the perpetual call of the East that has remained long unheard down the corridor of time. On the threshold of the New India of today and tomorrow, let us hail with befitting humility the call of the East!

With becoming modesty the authorship of this inspiring publication is disclaimed by Sri J. K. Wadia. In good faith he dedicates "this book to its true author—the Jagat Guru." That of course does not give it immunity from criticisms, wherever found inevitable.

But believing, as he does, that "it is not a mere scholastic study that one has to make of religion," author has given a timely direction to the professional reviewer-a direction which, alas, is more often honoured in the breach than in observance. He is to be complimented for having focussed our attention on the question of "what has to be derived from religious books" and on the categorical answer thereto, viz., 'Inspiration and Aspiration." Simple as it is in enunciation, it is nevertheless profound in its implication for the religious life of man. This is the point of focal importance which has got to be re-enthroned in its ancient glory on the pedestal of spiritual life. Religion is nothing if it does not rest on a foundation that is moral through and through. That is the religion that underlies religions in the plural. That also ensures the unity of religion which is the pang-born lesson for us today; and the way to achieve this desideratum is clear-cut and well-defined As Pascal once said, morality is one, while religions are many. In the nine chapters dealing respectively with (i) The Message of Pcace, (ii) The Religious Thoughts of the East, (iii) The Study of Religion, (iv) The Formation of Man, (v) From Savage to Saint, (vi) The Paths to Realisation of God, (vii) Spiritual Exercises for the Beginners, (viii) The Requirements of Spiritual Practices, (ix) The Call of the East, there are ever so many flashes of intuition and inspiration, chastened by the devotedness of a life of aspiration for the Holy Spirit that it would be unjust to pick and choose therefrom for random quotation here. The get-up of the book is all that could be desired. We heartly recommend this book to the devout soul for a reverent study which it eminently deserves.

S. K. DAS

LIGHTS ON THE UPANISHADS: By T. V. Kapali Sastry. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 369 Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 162. Price Rs. 2.

The book comprises seven chapters of which the first five appeared as articles serially in the Advent Quarterly under the title of 'Readings from the Upanishads.' The sixth chapter entitled 'Vedic Wisdom in the Vedants' was contributed to the second Annual

of the Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay. The book gives a fresh exposition of the Upanishads in the light or Sri Aurobindo's Yoga and Philosophy.

The Bhuma Vidya, Prana Vidya, Shandilya Vidya, Vaisvanara Vidya and Madhu Vidya of the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads are dealt with briefly in this book. Vidya means a spiritual discipline. According to Sri Aurobindo, the Upanishads are not at all metaphysical speculations but precious manuals of spiritual disciplines. The Upanishads are to the Sage of Pondicherry not theories and doctrines but words wisdom based upon Truth-Knowledge'-Truths realised by the Rishis and realisable by earnest aspirants. Sii Aurobindo holds that each of the realisations described in the Upanishads is true and the Truth of anyone need not and does not nullify the truth of any other. "In liberation the individual soul realises itself," observes Sri Aurobindo, "as the One that is yet Many. It may plunge into the One and merge or hide itself in its bosom—that is Maya of the Advarta: It may reel its Oneness and, yet as part of the Many that is the One enjoy the Divine-that is the Visistadwaita liberation: It may lay stress on its many aspects and go on playing with Krishna in the Eternal Brindavan—that is Dwaita liberation. Or, it may even being liberated remain in the Lila or manifestation or descend in it as often as it likes. The Divine is not bound by human philosophies. It is free in its play and free in its essence." This is the foundational principle of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and Sri Aurobindo has built his philosophical edifice on the Upanishads. The author of this book and other advocates of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy assert that Sri Aurobindo's speculations have thrown new lights on the Upanishads. This is not true and tenable. In the Ramayana, Hanuman says to Sri Rama: "When bodyidea prevails in me I am Thy servant; when I think I am a nva I am Thy part; when I know I am the Atman, I and Thou art one. This is my firm conviction." Is not Sri Aurobindo's philosophy an echo, or at best an amphication of Hanuman's wonderful experience?

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

ABHINAYAMKURAM: By Gopinath and Nagabhushan. Natana Niketana Publications, Madras. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a collection of extracts, accompanied by English translations, from works like Sangitaratnakara, Abhinayadarpana and Bharata's Natyashastra, dealing with the mythological origin, utility and types of histrionic art with special reference to various movements of the head and the eyes connected therewith. Separate sections are devoted to the description and illustration of the different facial expressions resulting from various emotions as also to the illustration and indication of the uses of the mudras or gestures of the hand manifested in the Kathakali dance of South India. It is regretted that the sources of the valuable information collected in the booklet, specially of the Sanskrit extracts quoted, have not been mentioned to help the inquisitive reader to secure more light on a difficult and obscure subject. It is needless to point out that the work under review touches only a small fringe of the extensive literature of old India on the interesting topic of histrionic art and the want of a comprehensive treatise based on this literature is felt very keenly.

CHINTAHARAN CHARRAVARTI

BENGALI

SARATCHANDRER PATRAVALI: Compiled and edited by Brajendranath Banerji. Bookland Ltd., 1 Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

Saratchandra is not only a great writer, he is more than that. The human qualities so prominent in his writings are also characteristic of the man. He who lives on a high pedestal and never comes down to our level may inspire awe and draw our admiration and respect but is not the man whom we may really love. Saratchandrer Patravali is an important collection of his letters. These letters reveal the great litterateur in all his strength and all his weaknesses, in his greatness and his frailties. Saratchandra has his strong likes and dislikes and he never minces matters. As in all his writings in these letters too his transparent sincerety is quite apparent. His warm heart, his tenderness, the love that he bears for those who are near and dear to him, his sympathy for those who are fallen and downcrodden are all there in these letters. He is not surely one who may be called a conscious artist, but he is always conscious of his great powers. At one time he somehow came to believe that he had not long to live. At that period his only regret was that though he had much to give the allotted span of his life would not allow him to bequeath to postcrity those precious gifts. Even at the time he had not attained fame he knew that except perhaps Rabindranath there were few among his contemporaries who were his equals. His ideas about art and literature, about their function and their technique and limitation are highly interesting, and they will help critics of Saratchandra's literature to explain the structure, form and characterisation of his novels and short stories. The editor has done well to bring out this bunch of valuable letters in a handy volume, for more than any biography can do-this epistolary compilation reveals the man in Saratchandra.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BHARATBARSHER SWADHINATA EBANG ANYANYA PRASANGA (India's Freedom and Other Topics): By Jogesh Chandra Bogal. Published by Shree Bharati Publishers, 209 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 32 + 252. Price Rs. 4-8.

Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal has already established his reputation as a student of affairs of India during the period since Raja Ram Mohun Roy's days. His Bengali book, Muktir Sundhane Bharat, gave a connected history of India's fight for political independence nurtured by the Renaissance that burst upon the country as a result of the impact of British methods of administration, of exploitation, of education on the life and thought of an ancient people. The present volume goes into the detailed description of the many problems that stirred our people's mind during the first seventy years of the 19th century—their grievances against the alien State authority, their reactions against its educational and fiscal policies, the controversies between reformers and the upholders of traditional life. All in all, the present volume holds the

mirror to the life and conduct of our predecessors whose struggles for better life we inherit and which we have brought to fulfilment, symbolized by the withdrawal of British authority and control on and from August 15, 1947.

The story related in this book is made up of articles published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika during the years 1868 to 1870 when the paper was appearing as mainly a Bengalee-language weekly. The choice of the subjects dealt with in the articles ranged from British misrule, from controverses between Indians of many ideas and conceptions of what was beneficial to the people, from agrarian discontent, to the separatist conceits and ambitions of the Muslims of India that have reached fruition in the setting of a separate State carved out of India. The curious reader will find in pp. 174-82 and 222-27 an eye-witness' account of how this separatism had been creating the conditions that have reached their natural consummation in 1947.

Compilations like this are a source book of history. In Bengal, Shri Brojendra Nath Bandhopadhyay has blazed the path by his book, The Recent Times Through the Periodical Press. The present compiler acknowledges his debt to this and other pioneers. Their example and guidance others can follow with profit to the instructed democracy that we hope to see developed in India.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDI

RASMAYI: By Ramlal Mahson. Available from the author at Kavi Sadan, Pp. 119. Price Rs. 2.

This is an epic, in Khari Bok, on the eternal theme of the meditation and song of all devotees; namely, the perpetual and perfect love of Radha and Krishna, which is at once human and divine. The 'scheme' is based on 29-33 chapters in the tenth Skandha in the Srimad Bhagavat. The poet's own devotion for the Old and yet Ever-New. Pair has given to his verse both wing and wisdom. The emotion of ecstasy is palpably evident. In Rasmayi the drama of divinely human love is enjoyably re-enacted; as such, it will ever be a favourite with all devotees.

G. M.

BHASHA, VRATT ANE KAVYALANKAR: By Prof. K. B. Vyas, M.A. of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay 2, 1945. Thick Card-Board. Pp. 325. Price Rs. 3-4.

The four divisions, into which Prof. Vyas who is not a tyro but an insistent student of his mother language and its history has divided this extremely learned subject, connote the importance attached to it. The divisions are headed: (1) Purity of Language, (2) The Power of Words. Metre, and Alamkar. (3) Development of the Gujarati Language and (4) Kabya Vivechan (Comments on Poetry). Somehow the work has raised a controversy, and his data and conclusions are questioned by a very well-known oriental Parsi Scholar, J. E. Sanjana, a deep student of Sanskrit, Gujarati, Persian, and Marathi. Prof. Vyas has defended himself and Mr. Sanjana means to return to the charge.

K. M. J.



Revolution in Astrology & Astronomy

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RAJJYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g.) in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1928 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomere—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Basis of World Understanding

Professor William Stuart Nelson, of Howard Iniversity, delivered three lectures on "The Basis & World Understanding" at the Calcutta Univerity in August, 1947. A short summary of the Educes as prepared by Professor Nelson and sublished in The Calcutta Review is given below:

As Rabindranath Tagore wrote in one of his songs, The world is delirious with hatred. In Europe, North and fouth America, and the East there are raging struggles of varying intensities but all fraught with the most serious ossibilities. While ideological differences are not in hemselves an evil, there are many evil fruits from the pirit in which men differ and the instruments they use o establish their views and disestablish views that are lifterent from their own.

The approach to the problem must combine the spirit and methods of science, religion, and philosophy. Facts re not sufficient. Religon which supposes divine sanction o irreligious biases and is built upon devotion to petty must is a menace to peace. Religion as enlightened loyalty of the supreme values of the universe can prove a great id to understanding. The objectivity and comprehensiveness of the philosophic approach are indispensable.

The causes of world conflict lie in part in man's nature lescribed by Reinhold Neibuhr as pride born of anxiety, which is a concomitant of freedom. Men as individuals and as groups are also what they are by virtue of their cographical locations and the effects upon them of climate, tmosphere, land contours and other similar factors. Geography is a strong determinant as to the nature of a state and its people. Collective human evils take the forms of conomic exploitation, nationalism, and social arrogance.

Basic approaches to world understanding include not all a reorganition of the evil tendencies in men but of heir noble qualities. To act towards men on the assumption that there is something basically good in them is to woke goodness. The difference between men is due largely of the difference in the way they are treated by other nen. A canvass of the lives of the people will reveal many toble qualities. There are great masses whose graves are mmarked or whose ashes have gone unnoticed down to join he seas but whose lives have been marked by long sacrifice or their parents or children or neighbours. One can find an impressive number of political leaders who, amid salumny and renunciation, have borne the burden of winting the freedom of their people.

ting the freedom of their people.

A second step toward world understanding is for men tot only to believe in one world but one people. There is a rast difference between parts of a world being proximate a space and time, and a family of mankind. One world by its very oneness can lend to evils which were incontinuously in the age when worlds were weeks and months and years apart. Our proximitity is an invitation to destruction.

There is great urgency in the call for the concept of one people, one family, of the nations and races and religious of mankind gathered into me spiritual community.

The concept of one people is grounded on the facts of our natures and our lives. Physically men are more alike than different. There is a strong indication that the mental and emotional character of all men is as common as their physical character. The fundamentals remain the same in spite of superficial differences. The mother in Bengal suffers the same pain at the loss of her child as the mother in New York, or Sydney or Moscow. In the presence of birth and death, sickness and health, youth and old age, triumphs and defeats we experience feelings that differ in no fundamental way. This is due in large part to the fact that all men draw their sustenance from the same Mother Earth.

It is significant that the great religions of the world have insisted upon man's energes in spite of the fact that their followers have often proved the most bitter dividers of mankind.

A basic step in the direction of world understanding is a brief in the plurality of values or the many-sidedness of the good. This means the elimination or reduction of religious, cultural, and racial dogmatism. Men must see the universal truths in different religions. The arrogance which teaches that any one religion is the exclusive possessor of all truths is no friend to human understanding. Men need to emphasize the universal elements in the great religions and de-emphasize their peculiarities. It is found, for example, that the concept of love is preached by all great living religions. This should prove a uniting ground.

It is also important to recognize the values in the differences in religions. Each religion must work out the best means of communicating and realizing in life the ideals of that religion. These means will differ from religion to religion.

We must also give up cultural dogmatism. Anthropologists are coming increasingly to the view that one culture cannot arbitrarily be called a greater culture than any other. If there seem to be differences in the cultures of the East and the West, they must not be considered as basic and eternal differences. The same differences can always be found within each culture. More and more cultural differences will become personal rather than national or racial. Differences in taste are to be encouraged as this makes for enrichment and not necessarily disagreement. There is also no sound ground for racial dogmatism. Racial antegonism is calatively young historically. It does not exist in children until children are taught it. That the races of mankind are really one people is demonstrated by their physical likenesses. Intelligence is also distributed across all races.

Practical steps in the direction of world understanding must include the ending of all political, economic, and racial imperialisms. No nation has the moral right to rule over the destinies of other peoples and exploit their lands. Imperialism not only divides the subject people from the subjugator but divides subject peoples among themselves. It also makes for a transvaluation of values.

Imperialist nations invent moral codes to justify their imperialist designs and acts.

Economic imperialism may be more subtle but also carries grave dangers and must be guarded against especially by a people recently freed.

The outlawry of war is very important to the attainment of world understanding. Wars seem inevitably to lead to more wars. Even victorious allies find it difficult and sometimes impossible to co-operate after a war, while defeated nations are driven to a solidarity which often presages a later war of revenge. War frequently divides also a victor nation against itself. It encourages class war within a people and tends to break down moral restraints and to give rise to lawnessness.

Another instrument for promoting world understanding is education. One of the reasons dominant people remain dominant is because they have not been taught the implications of their domination. This is so because their rulers have protected them against education in international friendship. The effort to give education an international emphasis has met with great opposition and many failures. Men are still stumbling blindly into hatreds and conflicts.

The importance of education to freedom is reflected in the denial of education to colonial people by imperialist powers.

A study of education in India and Africa bears this out strikingly. Every effort must be made, therefore, to get education to colonial people and to educate the masses of those who have recently become free. No expenditure of funds will prove more profitable than this.

The difficulties man face in achieving world understanding is strikingly illustrated by the problem of race relations in America. This is regarded as America's number 1 problem and number 1 failure. It is due to the determination of a great number of white Americans, principally but not exclusively in the southern states, that Negroes shall never attain a position of equality with them. This determination has resulted in a separation of the two races or segregation especially in the southern states. The system of separation has led to gross educational, political, economic, and social discrimnation against Only approximately one-fourth of the money Negroes. spent on the average American child is spent on the Negro child in the South. Negroes in southern states are almost totally denied the right to vote. Except in government, and often there also, Negroes are relegated to the poorest paid positions. Even before the courts, they canmot expect justice in the South.

A careful study of the situation reveals that the basic causes of it are not racial. They are found in a carry over from the old slave regime which many whites desire to perpetuate in another form; in fear of political economic, and cultural competition from Negroes; in the lack of support which Negroes receive from other nations; in the fact that they still suffer from a cultural lag.



In spite of the difficulties from which Negroes suffer they have made astounding progress. In 83 years their illiteracy has been reduced from about 90 per cent to 10 per cent; in 1945 there were 65,000 Negro students in colleges with 5,000 receiving the A.B. and B.S. degrees—this out of a total Negro population of 13 millions. There are 4,000 Negro doctors, 1,000 lawyers, 65,000 teachers, 2,000 college and university presidents and professors, and 25,000 clergymen. In these professions and in music, drama, and literature numerous Negroes have achieved eminence. They have more than 30,000 business including 11 banks and many insurance companies. Two Negroes are now members of the United States Congress and 27 of state legislatures. They publish between 300 and 400 newspapers, magazines and bulletins.

A basic change of good in the relations of Negroes and Whites is possible in three directions: (1) a radical change towards Negroes of some major section of American society as government, the church, or labor. Greates hope is placed in labor forces; (2) a program of non-violent non-co-operation by Negroes; (3) the migration of several million Negroes from the southern to the northern states where they can expect larger opportunities to fulfil their destiny as an integral part of the American people.

Critical Situation

The New Review observes:

The political complex in India is fluid. Genuine democracy is to be put on a stable basis, whilst disruptive factors and totalitarian tendencies are in conflict. Democracy supposes that there be first a general agreement between citizens about the fundamental requirements of state-life; in particular civic freedoms must be defined which all will acknowledge as intangible and above party strife. This point looks simple enough at first sight, but, on further study, it is puzzling to many experts. The UNESCO Conference held at Mexico City (Oct.-Nov., 1947) once more demonstrated that the U. N. Commission on Human Rights will find it difficult to draft a bill of rights acceptable in all countries.

A fundamental divergence arose about the very sources of human rights. As Benedetto Croce said, "It is precisely that agreement (on fundamentals) which is lacking... in the two most important currents of world-opinion: the liberal current and the authoritarian-totalitarian current." He confessed that even in the liberal current there is deep division. Croce himself emphatically declared that there is no such thing as 'natural and inalienable rights', that rights are 'simple historical facts, manifestations of the needs of such and such an age, and an attempt to satisfy these needs', that the conception of 'universal rights of men' is based on a theory 'which has become philosophically and historically quite untenable. On the other hand, another school supports the American Declaration that 'all men are created equal ... endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ... among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

Hence Croce did not hesitate to speak of the futility and impossibility' of carrying out the task of the Human Rights' Commission. On his part, Jacques Maritain pointed out the differences which divide the disciples of Locke, Rousseau or Tom Pain, Roman Catholicism, Marx-Leninism, Humanitarian Socialism, Greek Orthodoxy, Calvinism, Gandhism, Confucianism, etc.,' and he too claimed that any basis agreement as the nature of human rights and that theoretical

justification is impossible. Maritain, however, was careful to add that a sharp distinction should be made between 'practical conclusions' and 'rational justification,' He suggested drafting a list of rights obtained from representatives of all schools of thought, then compiling and redrafting them in a language agreed to by all so as to have a declaration 'embodying a practical convergence of views, whatever be the differences of theoretical perspective.' Such a declaration would be a 'note-worthy landmark'; it could stand as a practical agreement of mankind.

Further discussions would evidently arise. Points of disagreement would demand a clarification of the terms used. It is clear that when Russia and America indulge in talks about 'democracy and freedom,' they do not give these words an identical meaning, and are thus led to discussions which are pointless, confusing, if not infuriating. A common vocabulary would not bring about a common theory, but, as Socrates once said, a problem is half answered once it is put correctly. Confusion in theory and practice is endemic in the political world. Recently the Maharaja of Nepal announced he was 'prepared to 'grant' freedom of speech, association, etc. to his beloved people; His Highness would have appeared less gracious but be more correct if he had 'humbly acknowledged' the fundamental rights of Nepal's critizens. Moreover what all such freedoms will amount to can only be learned in course of time. Do even the discussion and wording of India's constitution remove every anxiety about the reality and range of our fundamental rights?

ORGANISING DEMOCRACY

The National Congress is the only well-organised party in the country; the rest of our popular representatives are scattered units, independent or semi-independent. At the present moment such a situation is tolerable; unity is most imperative; the greater the unity, the more stable the constitution that will be voted and the more effective our foreign policy. But were the present political build perdure after normal conditions are established, one great danger would threaten national life, the danger of the one-party system; one party, one caucus, one boss and then dictatorship red, black or brown.

The National Congress shudders at the very word of dictatorship; yet it is (understandably so) keen on nursing the prestige it has justly gathered from its role in the national struggle and from Gandhiji's leadership, and it rightly seeks to safeguard its predominant position. But for the very sake of the genuine democracy it pursues, the Congress Government should itself foster the creation of a parliamentary opposition. It is indeed crucial that the opposition adhere to constitutional means. Opposition will arise inevitably. Differences with the Cabinet about social structure, administrative measures, provincial and linguistic policy, etc., will bind together the 'have-nots' and supply them with a highest common denominator of agreement. But with the mental features of our politicians, it is uncertain whether the unavoidable opposition will make one or several groups. The Anglo-Saxon tradition hardly visualizes anything beyond a two-party system, but India's democratic tradition is still abuilding. What is essential is that the opposition be given full play in parliament and that healthy criticism of the majority be ensured to all minorities. If opponents have no free access to Parliament, they might seek redress in the street.



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Chemistry and Cosmology in Ancient India

Prof. Priyada Ranjan Ray writes in Science and Culture:

Chemistry in ancient India was intimately associated with religious practices and followed the course of the latter in its development. The presentation of subject-matter in many old writings and works has often been made in the shape of a dialogue between god Siva or Hara and his consort Parvati or Gouri. This is particularly noticeable in the writings of the Tantric Period and even in many medical compilations made so late as 1500-1600 A.D. during the Moghul rule. Where the authors of such writings or compilations are Buddhist monks, we meet with the name of a Buddha, a Tathagata or an Avalokiteswara being involved as the revealer of all knowledge.

P. C. Ray in his well-known History of Hindu Chemistry has shown that the evolution of chemistry in ancient and mediaeval India can be conveniently divided into four successive periods. These are distinguished as the Ayurvedic Period, the Transitional Period, the Tantric Period and the Intro-Chemical Period. But this does not take into account the development of chemical knowledge, dealing particularly with metallurgy and metal workings, in India of very distant age before the advent of the Aryans. This is revealed by the excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab, which furnish evidences of the existence of a pre-Aryan civilization round about the Indus valley as early as 3000-4000 B.C.

The Ayurvedic period may be said to have commenced from the pre-Buddhistic era and ended at or about 800 A.D.

The Atharva-veda devotes itself mainly to sorcery, witcheraft, demonology, magic, alchemy and cure of diseases by means of charms, incantations and the use of



various herbs. Hymns serving as invocations to pearls, gold and lead, believed to show the way to long life and easy salvation are found in it. But in Rig.veda too there are mentions of the medicinal properties of many plants and particularly of the exhilarating effect of the fermented juice of the Soma plant. The Soma-juice has been described there as amrita, corresponding to the Greek ambrosia, a draught which made the gods immortal. The age of the Vedas has been fixed by those, who are competent to judge, at or about 2000-2500 B.C. The Ayurvedic period may, therefore, be said to commence from the Vedic time.

The two earliest and most renowned treatises of the period, Charaka and Susruta, by sages of the same name, constitute a methodical and rational presentation of the Hindu system of medicine and surgery, and seem to be repositories of many chemical information of the time. These treatises subsequently came to be known as Charaka-samhita and Susruta-samhita as they passed through repeated recensions by later and more advanced workers. Judging from many-sided evidences the time of their composition may be assigned to the pre-Buddhistic era (600-500 B.C.), nearly a century or more before the birth of Hippocrates (400 B.C.), the originator of medical science in Greece. Previous to Charaka there existed also other standard works or Samhitas, though less systematized, by sages like Agnivesa, Bhela, Jatukarna, Parasara, Harita and Ksharapani. Charaka himself based his work on that of Agnivesa. Similarly Susruta developed his work upon that of his master Dhanvantari.

Surgery forms an important part of Susrutasamhita as medicine constitutes the main theme of Charaka-samhita.

The next important medical authority of the period, who is held in as high estimation as Charaka and Susruta,

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is Vagbhata, the author of Astangahridaya (lit. heart or core of the eight limbs or divisions of the Ayurveda). Vagbhata seems to have flourished at a time when the religion of non-violence preached by Gautama Buddha was still predominant in India (600-700 A.D.). References to Buddha and some Buddhistic emblems are found in his work. Vagbhata's work is more or less an abridged compilation based mainly on Charaka and Susruta with some abstracts from the earlier treatises of Bhela and Harita.

A very remarkable achievement of this period relates to the physical and chemical theories of the ancient Indians, embracing the process of entire cosmic evolution and the methodology of science. These have been chiefly expounded in the six systems of Hindu philosophy and also to a certain extent in the Buddhistic and Jaina systems. These systems were possibly evolved during the period dating back from the time of the Upanishads (1000 B.C.) to about third century B.C.

The next stage in the evolution of chemistry in ancient India is termed the Transitional Period in consideration of the fact that metals, metallic compounds and mineral products were increasingly introduced in medicine in place of herbs and plants which constituted the principal remedies in the Ayurvedic age.

dies in the Aydivedic age.

The Transitional Period may be said to extend from circa 800-1100 A.D.

Vrinda (800-900 A.D.) is the author of the well-known medical treatise named Siddha Yoga, which is more or less a collection of materials gleaned from the works of earlier writers, and follows closely the order and pathology of the reputed medical work Nidana (ctiolgy of diseases) by Madhavakara (700-800 A.D.). Chakrapani (900-1000 A.D.) is the author of the celebrated compilation, Chakradatta, which bears his name. He based his work on that of Vrinda and drew freely from the writings of Charaka, Susruta and Vagbhata. In these two treatises we find methods for the preparation of many metallic compounds, notably of the sulphides of copper, mercury and silver.

The third stage covering the period circa 1000-1300 A.D., named as the Tantric Period, is the alchemical age of early Indian chemistry and represents its most advanced or active stage.

For, in ancient India the practice of alchemy was closely associated with the religious rites of the Tantric cult, which flourished mainly during this period though

of much earlier origin.

The Tantric cult came into vogue as a result of gradual adoption by the Aryans of the religious practices of the original inhabitants of the land, the non-Aryans. By the beginning of the seventh century A.D. with the decline of Buddhism and the revival of Brahmanism this Tantric cult became very much popular and prevalent in India. Buddhism too, in its decline, degenerated into a similar type of Tantric cult. The chemical knowledge of the Hindus may be said to have reached its culmination curing this period with its vast mase of accumulated facts. It gave rise to a school of alchemical and medical workers who were known as adepts in rasas, the term rasa being applied to metals in general and mercury in particular In fact, the chemistry of the period was practically identified with the knowledge of rasa or the philosophy and science of mercury, as the latter metal, when properly applied, was believed to secure for man his health, wealth and salva-tion. Hence, the term Rasayana or the Science of Mercury may be regarded as the Sanskrit equivalent for alchamy.

• The mest conspicious figure among the Indian alchemists is Nagarjuna, the Buddhist

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worker, who may be viewed as the father and founder of Indian alchemy.

He was also the author of a treatise on metallurgy, Lohashastra, and a prominent figure in the Buddhistic canonical literature as the systematizer of the Madhyamika philosophy. He probably flourished in the 8th century A.D. and composed the famous alchemical treatise, Rasaratnakara.

Mention may here be made of a much earlier alchemist, Patanjali, who probably lived in the second century B.C. and has been quoted by later workers as an authority on Lohashastra or the science of iron. He is better known as the commentator of the famous Sanskrit grammar, Panini, the the author of the Yoga system of philosophy.

Of the various alchemical treatises of this period men-

tion may be made of the following:

Rasarnava, which abounds in extracts from Rasaratnakara of Nagarjuna, was probably composed in the 12th century A.D.; Rasahridaya by Govindabhagavat (11th century A.D.); Rasendrachudamani by Somadeva (12-13 century A.D.); Rasaprakasasudhakara by Yasodhara (13th century A.D.); Rasakalpa, possibly composed in the 13th century A.D. and Rasarajalakshmi by Vishnudeva (14th century A.D.).

In many of these treatises, particularly in Rasendrachudamani of Somadeva there are descriptions of various Yantras (apparatuses) for distillation, sublimation, extrac-

tion, etc.

The Iatro-Chemical Period in India may be said to have extended from 1300 A.D. to circa 1550 A.D.

A very notable treatise of this period is Rasarainasamuchchaya by one pseudo-Vagbhata, which is a very systematic, scientific and comprehensive treatise on materia

medica, pharmacy and medicine.

Rasanakshatramalika by Mathana Simha (circu 1350 A.D.), Rasaratnakara by Nityanatha, Rasendrachintamani by Ramchandra, Rasasara by Govindacharya-more a chemical than medical treatise compiled probably in the thirteenth century A.D., Sarangadhara-samgraha by Sarangadhara in 1363 A.D., Rasendrasaraeamgraha by Gopalakrishna-a compilation based on many Tantras, Rasendrakalpadruma by Sriramakrishna Bhatta-also a compilation from previous works, Dhaturatnamala by Devadatta-composed possibly in the fourteenth century A.D.

A few more of important medical treatises which were composed towards the end of the sixteenth century A.D. might be added to the above list. Rasapradipa, a standard work on the Tantric method of treatment in which detailed processes for the preparation of mineral acids by distillation are described; Rasakaumudi by Madhava, and Bhavaprakasa by Bhavamisra are other compilations of this type. Dhatukriya, which means operations with metala, is a notable production of the time; so also is Arkaprakasa, a treatise on the preparation of medicinal essences and tinctures.

Then there followed a dark age in Indian chemistry and for nearly three centuries starting with the decline of Moghul period till the beginning of the twentieth century, the Indian mind remained dormant and sterile so far as

the progress of chemistry was concerned.

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Gandhi

The following article by Hayim Greenberg is the revised text of an address delivered at the Gandhi memorial held at the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center of the Hindu colony in New York on February 1, 1948, and published in the Jewish Frontier:

We have heard here a number of sacred hymns in one of the noblest languages the human genius has produced, and I believe that many of those present who are not fortunate enough to understand Sanskrit are acquainted with the content of those quiet, lofty prayers through translations in the Western tongues have heard here a number of thoughtful and deeply felt addresses by the honored head of your congregation, by members of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, and by the Reverend John Haynes Holmes, After such addresses, and particularly after the prayers, I am hardly qualified to contribute anything to the atmosphere of this devout gathering. It is extremely difficult to become accustomed to the idea that Gandhi has breathed the last breath of his fleshand-blood existence. It is even harder to bear the feeling that history-whose ways only in moments of genuine humility are we ready to admit we still cannot understand-staged a spectacle of cruel irony in India two days ago. The man who gave away almost his whole life to implant in the hearts of men the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" died at the hands of a killer. Even more horrifying is the fact that the killer is no stranger, but one of his own—blood of Gandhi's blood, flesh of Gandhi's flesh, one who was reared in the same faith which led Gandhi to his spiritual triumphs. If after thousands of years of senseless bloodshed we needed still another proof of how perilous for the destiny of mankind are extremenationalism and religious fanaticism, we were given such a proof by the murder in New Delhi.

Millions of people in India believe in the transmigration of souls. It is not for me to judge what measure of truth such a belief contains. It is a belief which is characteristic of more than one religion, and is not entirely foreign to that religious civilization in which I as a Jew was brought up. Gandhi, I know, believed in reincarnation, and more than once he was asked by some of his followers, whose reincarnation was he? Who had been so to speak, re-embodied in him? Some regarded him as the cyclic reincarnation of Buddha; others—in the Occident—were inclined to the view that the Nazarene had reappeared in his person. I should say that both were mistaken. If one must seek a prototype for Gandhi in the distant past, I should rather see in him the reincarnation of the Indian Emperor, Asoka.

My knowledge of India is very inadequate, yet I am certain that in your great country there have been, and are still today men who, in a certain sense, deserve the title "saint" more than did Gandhi. Gandhi was not a coding, an ascetic who went into retreat from the jumult of social dife and lived in silent retirement, in prayer, and sure, inadisturbed "contemplation," somewhat and sure. The district of social dife, and lived in contemplation," somewhat is the sure of social dife, and lived the path of the social dife, and strength the New York and Strength and attheugh the New York and Strength and attheugh the New York and Strength and attheugh the New York and Strength and Strength

Testament left a deep impression on him, his life was not an "Imitatio Christi."

From a certain point of view, his spiritual physiognomy was more akin to the Jewish prophets than to Buddha or Jesus. His conscience revolted against that "cosmic snobberv" which places itself outside and above history, beyond the stream of social change. For saintliness too can be egoistic, devoid of responsibility, sinful. The saint who would live outside society, in world of pure contemplation, in constant communion with transcendental truths, undisturbed by concrete sufferings of concrete human beings, by the fate of billions of his fellowmen, of nations, of races, arrogates to himself a privileged position, a luxury which is sinful in its essence. Though he live in state of poverty and chronic hunger like a Buddhist monk, though he be naked and barefoot and without shelter like a Franciscan in days of vore-he is sinful simply by virtue of having built a huge pyramid and seated himself, with a carefree, mystical megalomania, on the sharp point of that pyramid. "Saintly" detachment from suffering-even from the most "common," "physiological" suffer-ing of fellow-men and fellow-creatures—is a passive form of cruelty, something tantamount to sacrilege. That sin of indifference and aloofness, Gandhi sought always to avoid; and if I may say so in this place, he determined to be "less holy" than he would have wished to be or than he could have been. How often he longed for retirement, for solitary prayer, solitary meditation, and mystical experience. He never in-dulged, however, in this "extravagance" for any lengthy period of time-at any rate never at the expense of what he considered his duty and his debt to India.

Buddha possessed craltation without loving-kindness—how can I compare to him Gandhi, in whose soul loving-kindness was the foremost drive? Jesus of Nazareth (if we know him. or in so far as we know him) was possessed by a stream of eestatic vagrancy, which took as its pattern the "carefree" birds of the air and the lilies of the field—how can I compare to him Gandhi, the perpetual co-sufferer and co-martyr? For Buddha, "Caesar" simply did not exist. He withdrew so far into the lonely trails of the Himalayan altitudes, that he became completely unaware of him. For the Nazarene, "Caesar" was a strongly entrenched and hated reality; he therefore decided to innore him: Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's (or what Caesar claims as his due), and let him leave you in peace, so that you may be "free" to live in the invisible Kingdom of Heaven. Gandhi did not ignore "Caesar." He did not seek to "bribe" him or pay him a "ransom." His passionate aim was to destroy tyranny, to unseat Caesar from his throne—but with Gandhi's own, "un-Caesarian" weapons. Instead of being a sadhu, he became a social crusader.

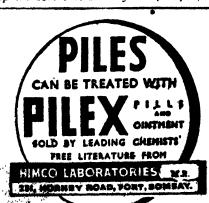
I remarked earlier that if there are really reincarnations, Gandhi was more probably a reincarnation of Asoka, of that Indian Emperor who, three
centuries before the Christian era, sought to embody
his vision of the Kingdom of Heaven through historical
realization, in a new social creation, in legislation, in
the framework of a state. That epoch in the history of
India is—for me, at least—a very obscure chapter, and
I do not know to what extent that sovereign-genius
succeeded in dothing his drawn in flash and boxes. Yet

I know at what Asoka aimed: to establish a state in which there would be—if I may use Hebrew terms—no contradiction between "the measure of law" and "the measure of mercy," where law itself would be suffused with mercy. Upon ahimsa, upon the three-thousand-year old ideal which sprang up in a unique form in India, upon the principle of not-killing, not-injuring, not-causing pain, upon the idea of an all-embracing loving-kindness, he sought to build up the constitution and the mechanism of the state. And it is in this "paradoxical" way that Gandhi also set out to make his life's journey in our generation.

The tragedy of our age—and not of our age alone is the thick wall which we ourselves have crected between the transcendental world and the process of history, between ends and means, between what some of us experience as eternal and the everyday stream of life, between religion, ethics, and esthetics on one hand, and politics (in the broadest sense of the world), on the other hand. It is that wall which Gandhi sought to destroy. He knew, perhaps more grievously than others in our generation, that that wall cannot entirely be removed. The absolute and the relative will never be able to merge and become one. He believed, however, that everyday acts and deeds can be suffused with elements of the Absolute, and that it is impossible to live and bear a world in which holiness is a sort of remote and isolated "reservation" which is beyond contact with the broad highways of life.

Such a view is not foreign to Jewish religious tradition. May I remind you that despite the long chronicle of suffering and humiliation in Jewish history. we have until now triumphed through our martyrdom. For two thousand years, Jews have practiced ahimsa. Some call it "passive resistance," but in reality it has nothing to do with passivity or acquiescence. Jewish passive resistance against enemies and oppressors who were immeasurably stronger physically than we were, constituted activity in the highest degree: selfconcentration upon a truth; fixed determination not to renounce that truth, not to betray it for untruth (or what we regarded as untruth), not to capitulate even when we faced physical annihilation, the gallows, burning at the stake—all this is a far higher and more intense degree of vitality, of doing, battling and combating, than the use of weapons and physical force,

The Jewish conception of Kiddush ha-Shem (sanctifying the Ineffable Name) signifies not merely readiness for surjection for triumphant death. It is also an urge to keep life holy. Not to preserve sanctify shut away in a special tahernacle, to be opened only at intervals, and then seal it away once more, but to keep the source of sanctify always open, and let it



shine forth into the everyday, penetrate the secular, imbue with its essence forces operating in history. What in Hindu religious feeling and in Gandhi's religiosity is signified by *Dharma* corresponds to the place of the code the *Shulkhan Arukh*, in the Jewish way of life.

We shall not today assess to what extent Gandhi succeeded in his experiment. He had long-range vision and the patience of great faith. He planted seeds in the earth whose full fruit may perhaps be gathered generations later. But he gave the world—not only India—a demonstration of how to create a kind of "pipe-line" between the transcendental and the historical, how to fight for holy ends with means that are not in contradiction to the nature of the ends.

From the procession which vesterday followed his deadbody to the shore of the sacred river, cries were heard: "Victory for Gandhi." The people of that million-headed mass who uttered those cries knew that a few hours later only a meagre heap of ashes would be left of Gandhi's body. Yet they believe that "somewhere" he still lives, that his spirit is indestructible, and that that spirit will still achieve great triumphs—in us through us, for us.

What can I add to such a manifestation of faith?
I know that you permit me to end with the three
Hebrew words with which Jews honor the memory of
their great

"Zekher tsadik li-vrakhah," Blessed be his sainted memory.

The Mind of Thomas Jefferson

In an article in the *Unity*, April 1946, Leonard B. Gray pays tribute to the great philosopher and scientist President, the third President who was one of the committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence of America:

Thomas Jefferson was one of the most cultivated men of his day. He was aristocratic, scholarly, reserved, retiring, unostentatious. He did not mingle intimately with the common people as did Abraham Lincoln. He did not write for the newspapers as some of his great contemporaries such as Alexander Hamilton did. His only book was Notes on Virginia, of which only two hundred copies were printed and distributed among a circle of carefully chosen friends. He was, at least until he became President of his country, a poor speaker, and seldom made a speech inside or outside of legislative halls. John Adams said that during his whole time in Congress he never heard Jefferson utter three sentences together. In short,

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Jefferson possessed few of the characteristics of a typical public figure and he made no efforts to win public attention or favor. Yet the common people of his day loved and trusted him. And his influence upon history is tremendous and immortal. Today he is generally regarded as one of the grestest of Americans, and some fine minds regard him as our greatest. These facts are both an evidence of and a tribute to the essential greatness of our third President. They bear witness to the true instruct of the masses of Jefferson's day and to the unerring judgment of posterity. They show us once again that, in the main, fine attitudes and great deeds speak louder than

striving for effect or a multitude of words.

"Yes, the people," to use Carl Sandburg's great
phrase, can be relied upon. The people, in whom
Jefferson like Lincoln believed and in whom Hamilton did not, can be trusted in the long run to choose the best values and the best leaders. The people knew that the dominant passion of this great Virginian was for freedom and that he had pledged himself to fight every form of tyranny over the mind of man. They knew well his deep, unfaltering trust in them His faith in their essential goodness and in their ability to set things right inspired them to live up his faith in them. His faith in them drew back to anaself their faith in him. Yes, the people, said this

great humanitarian, are to be relied upon.

Today how grateful we are that such a man a-Jefferson appeared on the American scene in the beginning of our history as a republic! We know that the roots of the American democracy were largely in him and in his type of mind. Lawyer, mathematician, inventor, expert mechanic, astronomer, architect, musician, farmer, botanist, paleontologist, zoologist, anthropologist, geologist, legislator, natural philosopher, writer, and educator, he was as versatile as Benjamin Franklin. It is not generally known today that he was the first man to put plow-making on a scientific basis. And many other fine marks on his record are little known. His was an inquiring mind, a well-stored mind, a universal mind. Like Bacon and Goethe, he made all knowledge his field in which to roam and to feel at home.

Never had the old Virginia college, William and Mary, known such an inquisitive student as young Jefferson. At first he gave himself to a gay social life in which he developed a certain foppishness. But after his first year he settled down to hard work, often studying fifteen hours a day. His avid mind had an appetite for everything from Greek grammar o Newtonian physics and calculus, from Plato which he read in the Greek to Ossian, the rude bard of the

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North, who early became his favourite poet. He studied Anglo-Saxon to get at the roots of the common

There at college Jefferson developed a type of mind that loved truth and accepted nothing on hearsay, a type of mind that was never to leave him. Our student was interested in everything and absorbed everything, but Bacon, Newton, and Locke became his favourite authors. In his student days he acquired the tastes, interests, and attitudes that were to make him our only philosopher-President He was building the mind that many years later was to stand out in such sharp contrast to the mind of Alexander Hamilton. This striking contrast began to show itself in the following incident: The two men were dining at the home of Vice-President John Adams. The brilliant, self-confident Hamilton was dominating the conservation as usual. Presently Adams voiced the opinion that with a jew abuses corrected the British would be the most perfect constitution of government ever devised by the brains of man. With its defects the British is the most perfect, Hamilton stoutly asserted. Jefferson thought that both views were dangerous nonsense. What with a corrupt Parliament, most of the land owned by a comparatively few landlords, and suppressed press and opinion, he thought that there was precious little self-government or equality in England. And then looking around at the portraits on the walls of the room Hamilton asked: "Whose are they?" "The portraits of Bacon, Newton, and Locke," said Jefferson, "and they are my trunty of the three great men the world has produced." Hamilton was thoughtful for a time and then buist out in his dogmatic manner: "The greatest man that ever lived was Julius Caesar" Thus each mind took the measure of the other. No wonder that these two great minds were soon to clash, that these two men were soon to become two of the bitterest opponents in all history.

In his day Jefferson was accused of deriving most of his ideas from foreign sources, especially from the French. And today I frequently talk with people who believe that his political philosophy was largely shaped by French influence. Now to be sure, as John Dewey says, French influence was unmistakably stamped upon him. And yet we ought also to bear in mind that much that he saw in France influenced him against that country and its government. His universal mind did glean from almost every field of thought. He chose his favorite authors from many lands and literatures. Bacon and Locke strengthened his natural passion for reason and truth. But for all the many influences that played upon him, his mind was chiefly American-made. It was his American mind that derived his affirmation of human rights from his Saxon forefathers whom he thoroughly studied. The Anglo-Saxons, he learned, had established their principles of liberty and natural rights of man before they settled in England. The English-speaking peoples had lost their natural tirthright under a long series of abuses such as feudalism, monarchy, and caste. And now our great democrat would revindicate and rostore the "happy system of our attestors" on a

new soil.

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and John Adams were appointed a committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson with his "peculiar felicity of expression" was naturally chosen by the other members to compose the Declaration. In a stuffy parlor on the second floor of a bricklayer's house on Market Street, Philadelphia, from June 11 to June

28, 1776, this young man of thirty-three secluded himself. What great days those seventeen were!! Tirelessly his pen scratched. Carefully he chose each word, carefully he carved and polished each sentence, seriously aware that each counted as indeed it did. With the precision of his scientific mind he produced the fine, clear, meticulous script. The work was personal and unmistakably his. But it was much more than his, for he aimed to make it and did make it the voice of his compatriots and the expression of the American mind. This great second sentence! History knows no other words more loaded with dynamite than these:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of

happiness."

Here was something new in the history of political doctrine, another object for which governments exist! In the triplex of political values the writer substituted "pursuit of happiness" for "property." He laid the foundation for a unique commonwealth of justice, freedom, and security. On July 2 Congress approved the Declaration. It was read in Independence Square, Philadelphia. Copies were published in every community of the thirteen colonies that had suddenly been made states. Without knowing it the great mind of Thomas Jefferson had created an immortal.

Jefferson accomplished many great tasks as member of his state legislature, as member of Congress, as governor of his state, as our Ambassador to France, as Secretary of State, as Vice-President and President of the United States, and as a private citizen. But it is clear what he considered his three greatest accomplishments, for he caused this to be written.

on his tombstone at Monticello:

Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and father of the University of Virginia.

And yet Jefferson's greatest contribution was his own type of mind. It was his faith in the worth and possibilities of people that was the fountain from which flowed each of the three contributions for which he wished to be remembered. And in turn it is his faith in people that will keep these three contributions alive. Always his love for truth, humanity, and freedom is attacked from within our borders and from without, and always we must defend this

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love if we would truly honor him and build a better world. It is his love for truth that will keep free inquiry alive. It is his love for men that will make the value of human personality dominant and judge everything by its power to serve the good of men-His mind in us will dedicate wealth, politics, science, industry, and every word and deed not to the hurt but to the welfare of man.

And now the release of atomic power with its staggering possibilities of affecting our daily lives for ill or good challenges us as we have never been challenged before to get the spirit of this scientist who loved man more than science and to dedicate all the power that nature puts into our hands for the enrichment of human beings. The greatest monument then that we can build to our first great democrat 18 to develop his type of mind. To erect this monument is our supreme task.

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Desert in India Expanding

The great Indian desert of Sind and Rajputana, which covers about 100,000 square miles, with desert conditions extending round it for another 100,000 square miles-thus comprising nearly one-eighth of India's surface—has been fanning outwards to the north and east in a great convex are at the rate of about half a mile per year over the last 50 years.

This is borne out by surveys of the past 10 years when compared with older surveys of 50 or 50 years ago, according to a Bulletin issued by the Forest Research Institute. Dehra Dun. This means, says the Bulletin, that approximately 300 square miles of fertile land are being converted into desert every year .- Pas-

sive Resister.

THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: Sophia Wadia!

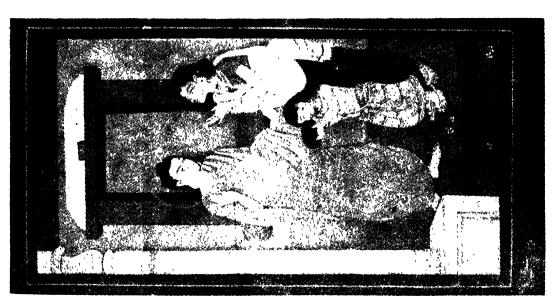
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NOTES

The A.-I. C. C. and After

We are passing through strenuous times in India as was stressed upon by all the leaders at the A.-I. C. C. meeting in Bombay. The external dangers that the Union might have to face were shown up in high light by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. Dr. Rajendra Prasad dealt on more general terms about the difficulties that have threatened to overwhelm the State.

But the main dangers to the State lie in the internal stresses that are threatening to throw the entire administration of the country into disorder and disrepute. The common man's stock of loyalty being rapidly exhausted through the terrible strains he is called upon to bear in the name of patriotism. It is only a matter of time—and not very long at that before he breaks out in open revolt against an inefficient administration that seems to be deaf to his complaints. Brave words do not feed empty stomache nor do brilliant speeches clothe those whom the blackmarketeer has stripped of the last hard-earned coin. It is all very well to ask the man in the street to bear his hunger and penury in silence, but how long can he be expected to do so, when he is being mulcted and stripped at every step, every day, while the corrupt official and the bloated black-marketeer goes about preening their spulence in public, with brazen impudence, under the very nose of smug ministers, Central and Provincial? There has been a great deal of glib talk about power being in the people's hands, and the great need for a fuller understanding between the people and the Government, but in the context of the actions of those in whose hands the Union has been placed, such expressions cannot but be taken es, mere empty words

theme of "brotherliness." Has he any right to use that word while he persists in his attitude to Bengalis in general and those unfortunate Bengalis in particular whose hard lot it has been to be placed at the tender mercies of Rajendra Babu's chelas? Why talk about South Africa when inside the Indian Union, in Bihar and Assam, worse indignities and injustice is being still heaped upon the heads of the poor longest suffering victims of British administrative malice, by the Behari and Assamese champions of a Free India? We can understand Rajendra Babu's lack of Ahimsa and sincerity in this matter, but it is indeed puzzling to see Pandit Nehru affecting the Nelson touch, Pandit Nehru must realize that the greatest danger to the State lies from within, and that once disaffection becomes general, disruptive forces will easily penetrate along the lines of fission. If he and his colleagues have not learnt that lesson even with the terrible catastrophes that resulted from the laissez faire policy adopted towards the Moslem League, then it is about time they did so. The first year of Independence is three parts over and the day of reckoning is coming near.

We in our generation have seen how the statesmen of the West steered their realms through two World Wars. It is a matter of history now as to how Controls were exercised by the administrations of Great Britain, U. S. A., and the U.S.S.R., how the health and the everyday economy of Britain stood the test of the most rigorous blockade and the most ruthless "total war" in the history of those islands. The world knows today as to how the Soviets stood the earthshaking buffeting of the German tidal wave, that killed twenty millions of her nationals and destroyed thousands of crores worth of machinery, plants and mines and laid waste 60 per cent of the fertile areas Dr. Raisodra Frank made great play with the of the U. S. S. R. And yet not for a day was the

internal administration of those countries relaxed. The Britisher got his daily ration, his essential clothing and other needs—at prices that went up by a mere 25 per cent above normal, and the public health departments functioned so well that the standard of health actually went up. The same, on a far greater scale, was the achievement of the Soviets' administration.

Of course, there are great differences between the conditions prevailing in those countries and those in India. Our greatest affliction is illiteracy and the next is poverty. But inefficiency, lack of foresight and maladministration cannot be totally excused on that score. Education is our crying need, but does that excuse Maulana Asad making hay of the Sargent Scheme? We have yet to learn that his department has even formulated the bare outlines of an alternative scheme. Bribery and corruption is rife in the Railway transport system. The whole economy of the country is suffering due to the flagrantly corrupt methods practised by the officials in charge of wagonpriorities. We have no hesitation in declaring that majority of officials concerned therein are either hopelessly incompetent or absolutely dishonest. What is being done about it? There is an acute housing shortage all over the country. We have not heard a word about it from the powers that be, probably because there is no shortage where they and their favourites are concerned. We see cinemas and luxury mansions going up, but the honest common house-holder cannot geta scrap of steel or an ounce of cement for even repairs excepting by paying extortionate prices to the blackmarketeer.

Bribery, corruption and black-marketeering are the cardinal sins that have beset the Indian Union. Unless Pandit Nehru's Cabinet can combat that soon, they would have failed the country, despite all else they might achieve. The textile trade and industry are the greatest sinners in this respect. They have besmirched -and they still are—the face of India through their greed, lust and corrupt practices. The men concerned are almost the identical unscrupulous lot that battened on the corpses of the six million odd that they starved to death in the Bengal famine of 1943, pocketing a 150 crores thereby. To-day, not content with the mulcting of tens of crores and defrauding the country's treasury of its dues, they are engaged in a vast-scale smuggling-cum-black-marketing enterprise across the Indo-Pakistan frontiers. The same story of corruption and black-marketeering applies to all the normal needs of the country's nationals, food-materials, heavy and fine chemicals and all basic raw materials for the production of consumer goods. Paper is the prime emential for education, and there is an acute shortage of book-printing paper in the country. And yet the Paper-control department is holding on to the old rules that allow the maximum scope for blackmarketing with the minimum facilities to the printer, author and publisher. (.. · · ·) "

We wrote in a previous issue about the lack of loyalty to the State on the part of officialdom. Herein lies the root-cause of all the evils of administration. Bribery and corruption cannot flourish without active official aid, and without bribery and corruption there could be no black-marketeering. It was the corrupt official who allowed the black-marksteer to flout all rules and regulations, and when the controls had failed, it was easy for the head black-marketeers to ask for the removal of the ineffective controls. Pandit Nehru and his colleagues should realize the fact now that ten incompetent and/or corrupt officials in place of five similar ones, do not go to increase the efficiency of a department. In almost all the departments of the Central and Provincial Secretariats there are now double the number—if not more—of officials that there was ever in the history of India. But has the efficiency of any of those departments increased? On the contrary.

The black-marketeer and the smuggler are twin agents for the destruction of a country's economy. There is already basar talk about the large-scale production of spurious Indian currency notes beyond the Western frontier and the use of that in the Indian basar for the purchase of gold and textiles. To-morrow they might link up with the fifth-column of interested foreign powers and cause serious trouble in the country. The Communists helped the League to split the country up, and the latest news go to show that they are actively aiding the Rasakars in Hyderabad, as they helped the Leaguers against the Shaukat Hyat Khan Ministry in the Punjab. It would be an easy step for them to join hands with the smuggler. There can be no smuggler without a blackmarketeer to back him up, under the present conditions. Therefore, the black-marketeer must be put beyond the pale of Law by the Nehru Gabinet. Or else it would be incumbent on the Man-in-the-street, to exercise the gentleman's prerogative to break the law for the good of the country, as he did in 1969 and before, when his leaders failed him miserably due to lack of foresight. We have had enough of talks on brotherly love, indeed there are apparent signs of overdose, let us have a little of a Hymn of Hate against the Black-marketeer, the corrupt official and his patrons.

The A.-I. C. C., Dr. Prasad's Address

Dr. Rajendra Pracad, Congress President, opened the proceedings with a review of the general situation in the country.

Dr. Prasad said that since India became free, the Government and the people had been faced with an avalanche of difficulties of an unprecedented nature and the end of their troubles did not yet appear in eight, "In spite of these obstacles, which are simulated overwhelming in their nature, we have been able to make satisfactory headway. It does not mean, however, that everything in the parties is rough.

B39 NOTES

Continuing Dr. Praced said that the things that had happened during the intervening period were such as to cause them both sorrow and shame and the people must discipline themselves so that those things did not happen again.

After referring to Mahatma Gandhi's death, the sorrow of which was still in their hearts, Dr. Prasad said: "Today we want to see clearly the path that lies before us in the light of the guidance that Mahatma Gandhi has given us."

Dr. Prasad then dealt with the problem of the refugees and said while Government, in spite of superhuman efforts, had not been able to put all those who had come in the Indian Union on their feet again, it was making all possible efforts to rehabilitate them. He pleaded for patience and understanding.

Dr. Prasad said that the problems presented to the Government of India were of a magnitude unparalleled in the history of any country in the world and no Government at any time had been able to cope with such sudden occurrences. With the best of intentions, the Government could not prevent what had occurred and he, therefore, urged the refugees and their sympathizers to realize that time was needed to cope with this stupenduous problem.

Dr. Prasad pointed out that nobody but the Government could adequately deal with this gigantic task. It was the duty of the Government to take the fullest advantage of the non-official effort, and it was the duty of non-official organizations to extend their fullest support to the Government in this task. If there had been any misunderstandings in the handling of this problem and there was no foundation for most of these misunderstandings—it was the duty of everyone to change the outlook where it was warped by grievances and sorrows.

Dr. Prasad said: "If anybody thinks that there has. been delay or negligence, let it be realized that we have forgotten the rules which we had followed when we were fighting for independence."

"There can be no peace in the country so long as we do not re-establish the atmosphere of brotherliness that has marked our common struggle against the domination of the third party.

"We had once gathered together under a common banner forgetting minor difference, in order to win freedom. Now that we have achieved our objective, we can only remain free and derive the fullest benefit of our victory if we live as brothers, strengthening the foundation of the people's Government, instead of weakening it by shorteighted and disruptive criticism."

Dr. Praced then dwelt on the Congress constitution and the changes that were to be made in it. "Even the best of constitutions will be infructuous if it is not carried out in the proper spirit," he said. "The purpose of the new constitution is that the people as a whole should get the greatest benefit from the power that has come into the people's hands.

and has won freedom. As long as the fight with the British Government was on the sole motto of those fighting against it was freedom. Now the position has changed. Some have separated from the Congress. But it is the duty of all of us so to conduct ourselves that even in our divergent paths the common strengthen of India is increased and her prestige is not lowered. In the ultimate result, the separations, regrettable as they are, must not prove an evil but must be a factor for good.

"Today power is in people's hands and the decisions taken by the Ministers are taken on their behalf. The manner of approach in criticizing the Government must, therefore, be entirely different from what it was when we were opposing the policies of a foreign Government which was unresponsive to the wishes of the people.

"If any changes are to be suggested to the Government, they must be offered in a constructive spirit. Many people have not yet fully realized the change that has come about and are still following the old methods of opposition, the great need today is for full understanding between the people and the Government."

Dr. Prasad referred to Indians abroad particularly in South Africa, Burma and Ceylon and said with India becoming free, Indians in other lands were looking to us to bring about an amelioration of their conditions. India was following their fortunes with the greatest sympathy and interest.

The A.-I. C. C., Pandit Nehru's Address

Pandit Nehru outlined the Government of India's foreign policy as also those regarding Hyderabad and Kashmir in his address to the session of the All-India Congress Committee.

Pandit Nehru began by saying that there was general complaint that India had been isolated, "in the world's political manipulations,"

India's policy in the international sphere would be one of strict neutrality. "We want to be friendly with every country and follow our own line of policy on every question that might arise, remaining neutral on those not affecting us directly.

"The world today is split into two Power blocs. There is already some talk of war. But it is my firm belief that there will be no third world war in the near future. We shall take eare not to align ourselves with one group or the other for temporary gains.

"What has been the result of the fast two world wars? They have left behind them more problems. They have definitely led to more complications. This clearly shows that the old way of dealing with world problems through violence is not the path of peace."

"What is the duty of India in such a situation?" asked Pandit Nehru. Answering the question, he declared that, while India could not obviously join either of the two groups, her efforts must be directed towards bringing about an understanding between The Counties has done great things in the past Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

Pandit Nehru referred to the large number of telegrams he has been receiving daily suggesting that India should do something to stop the rot. He said that India was quite prepared to do her bit to bring about a compromise.

He indicated that he was quite prepared to go anywhere provided he felt that his visit would help in producing the desired results.

The question naturally arose as to whether he could afford to leave India in the present state of affairs in the country. Moreover, there was the problem of India, namely, of facing the world after what had happened in the country.

Continuing Pandit Nehru said that he would have gladly gone to any part of the world to help in the solution of difficult problems but the situation in India required his immediate and personal attention. He was, therefore, unable at the moment to leave the country. "In the past we had a great leader whose advice we often spurned when he was living. But we are all convinced that the world's illness today can be cured only by his methods of byte and non-violence," he said.

Pandit Nehru then dealt with the Kashmir issue. He said: "We may have made many mistakes in the past and ourselves realized them later, but as far as the question of Kashmir is concerned from first to last, I feel convinced, we made no mistake whatever."

"We went to the United Nations on the question of Kashmir with a simple and straight issue. During, the last four and a half months that the Kashmir issue has been before the Security Council of the United Nations, the Council discussed all points except the real point at issue. It was as clear as daylight to anyone who wished to see that the tribesmen who raided Kashmir could never have reached Kashmir territory without the connivance of the Pakistan authorities.

"This straight issue has been consistently baulked by the Security Council, though we have repeatedly asserted inside and outside the Security Council that the raiders had the connivance and support of the Pakistan Government.

"Comments in the Security Council by representatives of certain countries have been most deplorable and painful. Why these friendly countries should oppose us on such a clear issue, I am unable to understand. The only obvious conclusion is that our freedom has not in the least changed the attitude of these countries towards us."

The Kashmir problem. Pandit Nehru concluded, was not a Hindu-Muslim problem for the reason that the majority of the population in Kashmir were Muslims and they were bitterly opposed to the invaders. Moreover, they were all followers of Sheikh Abdullah and had endorsed the Maharaja's decision to accede to India.

The position in Kashmir thus was quite clear. Not only had the Maharaja decided to accede to India, but the National Conference had fully supported that

decision. In spite of these facts, the Government of India had always indicated their readiness to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir as soon as conditions in the Kashmir valley made it possible for the people of Kashmir to decide freely whether they wanted to join India, Pakistan or remain independent.

Some foreign countries took it for granted that if a country had Muslims as its majority, then it should automatically join Pakistan. This was a mistaken notion which had no relation to facts and the situation. "We resent the attitude of those countries who think that all Muslims are Pakistanis, and always make a distinction between Hindu India and Muslim India," Pandit Nehru said.

Referring to the resolution on Kashmir passed by the Security Council, Pandit Nehru said that it was impossible for India to accept it, and Government's future course of action would be decided on the return of the Indian delegation.

"As long as Kashmir continues to remain part of India, it will be our duty to safeguard and protect Kashmir and fight whoever threatens its integrity." Pandit Nehru declared.

Dealing with Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said that as far as he could see, by compulsion of events—both geographical and economical—Hyderabad would have to accede to India. "There are two courses now open to Hyderabad—war or accessiou," he pointed out.

"War is a prolonged affair, and if we resort to it, many new problems arise. We have, therefore, been trying to solve this problem by negotiation, but that does not mean that we are afraid of following the path of war."

Pandit Nehru said that the Government of India wished to apply the same principles to Hyderabad as in the case of Kashmir, Junagadh and other States, namely, that the wish of the people of the State should ultimately prevail. With that end in view Government had persuaded most of the Indian States to grant responsible Government to the people and Hyderabad was the only State where this had not been done so far-

"It is impossible for a feudal system of Government to continue in Hyderabad and full responsible Government must be established in that State as a matter of principle.

"The Government have before them similar questions of the Portuguese and French Settlements also and these will also be taken up in course of time."

Referring to the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and Razakars, Pandit Nehru said that their leader had been making utterances which, even leaving aside the speech which was denied, would be regarded as a hostile or unfriendly act against the neighbouring Government, namely, the Government of India.

"The main question that arises from the provocative utterances of the Razakars' leader is, who is the ruling authority in Hyderabad State now," Pandit Nehru said, "Is it the Razakars or the Nisam? Either the Nisam's Government approves of what the Ittehad-

ul-Muslimeen leader says, or it does not. If it does, then it must make that clear. If it does not, it must take action to prevent the Ittehad leader from indulging in such irresponsible utterances.

"The fact that the State Government has not taken action against him raises another question, namely, whether it is powerless to curb him and his followers; in other words, whether the Nizam's Government exists in the true sense of the word, or whether there is some other Government in the State operating behind the purdah."

Pandit Nehru referred to the border incidents, and said that the Central Government and the Provincial Governments of Madras and Bombay were fully alive to the situation. If in spite of the indications they had, the Nizam's Government continued to consive at the exploits of the Razakars, its consivence was liable to be regarded by the Indian Government as a hostile act. The fact that the Central Government and the Provincial Governments were not vecal about the border incidents must not be construed as impassivity.

As a Government, they had to be careful about what they said. Any suggestions from the members of the A.-I. C. C. would be most welcome, but, despite the urgent nature of the problem it would be wrong to advise Government to "draw the sword and march."

The A.-I. C. C., Patel's Message

The following is the gist of Sardar Patel's message to the A.-I. C. C.:

"It is with a heavy heart that under pressure of medical advice, I have to absent myself from this important session of the All-India Congress Committee.

"I know full well what mental anguish and physical ageny afflict your hearts in regard to the situation in Hyderabad. You cannot but agree that I fully share that distress and that my heart grieves no less than yours for the victims of many a tragedy that is being perpetrated both inside and around the borders of Hyderabad. I also fully realize what stakes are involved in the question of Hyderabad's future relationship with the Indian Dominion and of responsible Government in the State and I can assure you all that all my colleagues in the Cabinet are fully conversant with and keenly alive to the situation. There are difficulties and complexities which must be present to you all as much as they are present to us.

"I can assure you that nothing short of a satisfactory and honourable solution is desired by, or, indeed, will be acceptable to us. You can depend on us, as you have depended on us so far, not to give away any of India's essential interests in this problem. I would, therefore, ask you to extend your confidence and trust to your Government and to bear for a while till we can obtain an acceptable solution of this tangle.

"Any ineautious word or public discussion in a surcharged atmosphere would not assist us. I hope, therefore, I can appeal to you to maintain calm and restraint for a little while longer and to leave it to the Government to discharge its obligations to the people

of this country and of Hyderabad in full realization of the grave responsibilities which it involves.

"All of you must realize through what critical times the country is passing today. Eternal vigilance is proverbially the price of liberty. We are all realizing only too well the truth of that proverb. No Government has been called upon to face within such a short time of assuming power from alien hands problems of such diverse variety and of such magnitude.

"It is only because of the devotion, faith and loyalty of the people that we have been able to bear this burden with, what we can all claim to be, some success. We may have turned the corner, but we are not yet out of the wood.

"Indeed, in some respects, problems of far greater dimensions are still to be faced. Nothing is more necessary in such circumstances than the consolidation of our forces and of our resources. Unity and more unity must be our watchward. Within the short period of six months, we have already achieved a great measure of success in securing that unity in the sphere in which we thought it was most difficult, namely, the Indian States.

"This has been possible by the secrifices of the people and by the patriotism and statesmanship of the Princes When you think of apportioning credit or praise, I hope you will not lose sight of this factor. If, however, we have to solve the problem with which we are likely to be faced in the near future, it is most essential that we close up our ranks and pool our resources.

"As an organization, therefore, we must be even more closely knit and must now come together nearer and nearer. Discipline and increasing sense of responsibility in what we say and what we do, a more practical approach to the problems and a greater regard for national as against parochial considerations would seem to be the need of the hour.

Nehru's Statement to the Press

"The Government of India's petience in dealing with the issue of Hyderabad State is on the verge of being exhausted," declared the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, answering a question at a reception given by the Bombey Union of Journalists.

Pandit Nehru was asked whether the Government of India would intervene in Hyderabad State if the safety of the people in the State were endangered by the activities of the Razakars.

Pandit Nehru said it was not a question of accession, nor even of responsible government in the State, although these issues were important by themselves.

"The real question is this," Pandit Nehru said, "that a certain section of people in Hyderabad is fomenting hostile acts against the Government of India. We do not know if that section of people represents the Hyderabad Government. We do not know if the Hyderabad Government is powerless to check it, or maybe, it does not desire to check it.

"In either event, the time has arrived when this hostility must cease. If the Hyderabad Government cannot stop it, other measures will be adopted to stop it."

Pandit Nehru also answered questions relating to India's remaining within the British Commonwealth, the country's future lingua franca, and the drive against Communists.

Asked whether in his opinion it was desirable for India to remain in the British Commonwealth, the Prime Minister said: "So far, India has decided to be a Sovereign Republic. The Constituent Assembly is proceeding on that line. It is a matter which will have to be eventually decided by the Constituent Assembly."

Pandit Nehru said, the point would have to be looked at from the trend of world events. India could not afford to adopt an isolationist attitude. Personally he thought that the closes, relationship should exist between India and the British Commonwealth.

"If association with the British Commonwealth, however, means living up with a certain set of Powers, then I would be against it," the Prime Minister said.

"I think it is a wrong policy to form nation groups. I am personally in favour of an Asian group for cooperation on the economic and cultural plane. We can have similarly some sort of close relationship with the British Commonwealth. If we can pursue our own policies without any interference, we can consider what kind of relationship we can have with the British Commonwealth."

Answering a question on India's national language, Pandit Nehru said it was obvious that English would have to be less and less in use as the official language. The Congress had been wedded to the Hindi, or Hindustham. He did not like the term "Hindustham," either in relation to the people or the language. The controversy was not merely in regard to whether it should be Hindi or Urdu, but in regard to the script also. Mahatma Gundhi had wished that Hindustham should be India's official language, with both the Nagari and Urdu scripts. He entirely agreed with Mahatma Gandhi.

Pandit Nehru said that Nagari was, of course, the more popular script, but he did not like excluding the Urdu script. Even as regards the vocabulary, Hindi should not be exclusive. Simple words which were common all over the country should be included in it, in whichever language they had their root, even English. The richest languages in the world were inclusive languages. English was one such, and every year 5,000 words were added to it.

The Hindi-Urdu question was not a Hindu-Muslim question, but a territorial question and any outery to exclude Urdu words and Urdu script as also any attempt to import into the Hindi language difficult Sanskritized words, was to be deprecated.

Explaining his remark at the A.-I. C. C. that the Communists were the most reactionary people in the country, Pandit Nehru said, black-marketers and

hoarders were not the only reactionaries. All those whose policies and actions led to reaction were reactionaries, and as far as the Communists were concerned—and his remarks were confined to the Indian Communists—Government had evidence to show that they were planning nation-wide sabotage and the like in certain parts of the country.

They were also collecting arms to achieve their ends, Pandit Nehru added. It was with a view to stopping this kind of activity and nipping it in the bud that many of the provincial Governments had taken action and arrested certain of the Communists. The provincial Governments' measures were directed against certain individual Communists, who in the opinion of the Governments were planning sabotage of communications, and were not directed against either Communism or the Communist Party as such.

Pandit Nehru earlier replied to the points raised by Mr. K. Srimvasan, Editor of the Indian Parliament. Pandit Nehru said: "Mr. Srimvasan has touched a very difficult and delicate subject. Obviously, we are facing complex situation in the country. When a State is faced with many problems it has to consider what problem should be given the highest priority. If there is a five; it has got to be put out. If there is a rot, it has to be put down. Similarly, if there is an attempt to upset the State, it has got to be put down. Today we have a national and an international situation, which I think is not likely to lead to a world war in the near future. The internal situation in India is the direct result of a large number of factors arising after August 15.

"What has happened in India after that date is indeed very sad. Many of us who knew closely what had happened have not been able to recover yet from the mental shock of the events. Our shock was all the more because such things could take place in India which we had never dreamt of. These events eventually culminated in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Mr. Srinivasan has referred to the freedom of the Press. I am fully in agreement with that view but when we consider the freedom of the Press in the abstract, we have also to consider the freedom of the individual. You will all agree that when murder and arson are lunking about the streets, it is obvious that freedom of the Press has to take a second place and murder and arson should be put down first.

"Freedom of the Press, therefore, cannot have priority. I don't think I have changed my opinion in the least in regard to the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the Press. I think it is impossible to have any real growth without that individual growth of the individual and the Press.

Nehru's Press Conference

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference at Delhi on May 1, said that the Kashmir problem could be resolved only by two ways, either by warfare which India was carrying on or by other methods of settlement. The Prime Minister was asked as to how Government reconciled Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyanger's statement that India would not accept the decision of the Security Council, but on the other hand a representative of Czechoslovakia was being nominated on the U. N. Commission.

Pandit Nehru replied that it was three months ago that the question of nominating a member on the Commission came up and India was asked to nominate and it was then that the name of Czechoslovakia was mentioned and it was long before the changes in Czechoslovakia had taken place. Since we first made the nomination nothing had happened and it was taking effect now.

After explaining the stand taken by the Indian delegation Pandit Nehru pointed out that what the Commission was going to do or not was a different matter. India had nominated a representative and she could not withdraw it.

It was difficult for him to prophesy as to what Pakistan would do. The resolution was a complicated one. As a matter of fact, the first step in the resolution would have to be taken by Pakistan. Pakistan might indicate the steps they would take and would not take. A theoretical acceptance of the resolution and practical implementation of it were different. Outright rejection of the resolution would have one effect and medified rejection was another thing.

Asked if India could accept the resolution in parts. Pandit Nehru said that India's approach to the matter was different from that of the Security Council. One of India's grievances had been that the whole origin and nature of the problem had not been considered. There was a lot of talk about plebiscite but the point remained that the question of a plebiscite had been raised unilaterally by India and nobody else. The question was not about a plebiscite but the conditions precedent to it.

Mr. Gopalaswamv Ayyangar replying to a question as to whether Government would co-operate in the event if the Secretary-General of the U. N. now proceeded to implement the resolution without seeking modifications in it, said that the Secretary-General could not commence implementing the resolution unless India, before his doing so, undertook to do things which the Security Council had considered to be appropriate measures which we should undertake.

There was a stage between the passing of the resolution and commencement of its implementation which had got to be gone through—that was our own agreement to undertake to do rhings that had been suggested to us. As a matter of fact, he did not think that the Council would consider it worthwhile to implement certain parts if India did not give the undertaking to implement certain other parts.

The Prime Minister replying to another question recalled that at the time when India took the Kashmir issue to the Security Council there was the danger of military operations spreading and needbly involving

India in a military conflict with Pakistan. India wanted to avoid that. She had, however, felt that in the course of the military operations she would have had to hit at the bases of operations which were in Pakistan across the border.

In a military sense India would have had to do it but on political and for other obvious reasons India did not want to do that and in order to avoid that she went to the Security Council to prevent Pakistan territory from being used as the base of operations. Unfortunately, however, even today Pakistan territory was being used as bases of operations.

It was absolutely true that not only small arms but things like ack-ack guns, which obviously tribal people did not possess, howitzers and mountain batteries of Pakistan were being used against our aircraft, presumably by people trained by the Pakistan Army.

The fact that Pakistan was supporting the Kashmir tanders was more established to-day than ever before and there was an abundance of proof. But the Prime Minister maintained it was India's desire not to get embreiled with Pakistan on this or any other issue and therefore India did not think in terms of any conflict with Pakistan. India shall continue her activities in Kashmir territories and as far as possible India shall avoid crossing over into Pakistan territory.

Pandit Nehru said that India had not recognised the so-called Azad Kashmir Government. He referred to "a hundred per cent falsehood" spread by the Azad Kashmir Government and published in Pakistan and further given currency by some of the Pakistan Ministers of alleged blinding of men by the Indian Army at Rajauri.

Pandit Nehru recalled the reports published by correspondents who had visited the area soon after it was liberated. Just betore Indian troops arrived there there was a general massacre of civilian population and the whole place was reduced to a rubble and a large number of women were carried away. It was a horrible and a senseless massacre.

Oddly enough, when these things were happening, suddenly the story went out from Lahore that the Indian Army had blinded four thousand men. It was one of the most outrageous lie He would like to know how these four thousand men were blinded and where were the blinded persons now. This was on a piece of the whole propaganda that was being carried on on behalf of the Azad Kashmir Government.

Answering further questions Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyengar said that the decision of the Security Council was not a legal decision. It was in the nature of an advice, offered. It was open to the Council, under certain other provisions of the Charter, to take legal action, but this particular resolution only recommended certain measures to the two Governments, India and Pakistan—measures which in their epinion were appropriate for bringing about a peaceful settlement. Therefore, it was not a decision

which was imposed upon either Government. Legally the situation was not one in respect of which sanctions could be applied straightaway.

Referring to the Hyderabad situation Pandit Nehru gave a resume of his Bombay speech in which, he said, there had been an error of translation as reported. He had said that Hyderabad was so situated that it must have the closest possible relation with India or else there must be conflict.

There was talk of independence of Hyderabad. Independence signified independence in regard to foreign relations and defence—war. If Hyderabad could not have that right of war and defence and foreign relations then it was not independence. The Indian Union could not possibly tolerate any part of the Indian territory inside or on its borders to be potentially capable of being made into foreign bases. No Government in India could tolerate it and India's general policy must inevitably be to prevent that happening. It would endanger her security and lead to constant and ceaseless conflict.

Hyderabad must, therefore, necessarily form part of the Indian Union.

Having said that the question of accession as such, which India considered inevitable sometime or other, was not the primary issue today. But certainly India had never talked in terms of forcing by military methods any State to accession. Government had talked in terms of the people deciding the issue by plebescite or referendum and not the Army deciding the will of the people. The very important issue was the issue of responsible Government and from that other things might flow.

Whatever might have been the picture of India & year ago, today there was no part of India where there was no responsible Government actually functioning or on the point of functioning. No State or any other part of India had got autocratic rule except Hyderabad State. It was the one and only exception and socially speaking, it was a very backward State with its autocracy and feudal set-up. It was inconceivable to him to imagine that this kind of thing could possibly continue when the whole of India had changed. That itself would produce a conflict between Hyderabad and India surrounding it. Therefore responsible Government became an important and urgent issue.

Even so, the important issue was not even that but some kind of peace and order on the borders and internally in Hyderabad. That had to be given first priority because one could not have responsible Government or any Government if those troubles continued. During the last few months, these troubles had continued on the borders and there had been repeated major incidents—apart from minor incidents—when the Hyderabad police, sometimes people who were reported to belong to the Hyderabad Army and certainly the Razakar volunteer force had crossed the borders and done a good bit of shooting, killing and burning of v

On one occasion the Prime Minister recalled that in March last it was a peculiarly horrible incident and a number of people were killed in a cold and calculated way. Civilians were made to stand in a row of 20 and shot in the Indian Union territory.

Several instances of these raids occurred and as for minor raids there were any number. Quite apart from the insecurity created on India's borders and the feelings necessarily roused among our own people obviously, it was quite impossible for any Government to put up with this kind of thing.

In the rural areas there was complete insecurtiy and burning of villages and occasional killing of persons and looting on large-scale. This was the first thing in Hyderabad that had to be tackled, and, therefore, the Government of India had pointed out that this so-called Razakar volunteer force must be curbed, they must be put an end to just as in India they had tried to put an end to private armies.

The Prime Minister emphasised that the Razakars were a private army which was controlling or, at any rate, harassing large parts of Hyderabad State. Either the State Government sympathised with them and encouraged them or were incapable of controlling them. There was no other third explanation.

These Razakars are undoubtedly committing what might be termed in international languages 'hostile acts' against the Indian Union. If the Hyderabad Government is encouraging and supporting them in those acts, then that Government is committing hostile acts. If it is not doing so, it is incapable of controlling them and then the Government does not count at all.

That is the fundamental question and other things take a secondary place. If they cannot be curbed and these raids take place on our borders, obviously we have to take the strongest measures against the raiders and if the situation inside Hyderabad territory is very bad, completely out of control of the Government there, then too we cannot look on.

Asked whether there had been an economic blockade of Hyderabad, the Prime Minister referred to the Standstill Agreement which he regretted had not been complied with at all ever since. In fact, almost within 48 hours of that agreement all manner of things happened. There was a loan by Hyderabad to Pakistan; there were some currency regulations; and the strength of the Hyderabad Army which under the Standstill Agreement was fixed at the figure of 7,000 was rapidly increased to 25,000; the police forces which were also limited to a certain figure were increased; in addition to this, the volunteer forces—the Razakars went up to large numbers. These were all very serious breaches of the Agreement.

The Government of India was naturally interested in seeing that these additional Armies that were being raised were not raised and were not armed. The result was that normally, whatever arms the Government of

India might have supplied them were not supplied. Government of India had information that Hyderabad was trying their utmost by fair means or otherwise to get all manner of arms from foreign countries. Many were smuggled in. The Government of India had caught many in the act of being smuggled. It was found that they were being imported from various countries in Europe. Some were stopped and some of course went through.

"All these active preparations for war," the Prime Minister said, "were hardly in keeping with the stand-still agreement or peaceful intentions and inevitably any warlike apparatus that we might have given them were stopped and to that extent we did not follow the standstill agreement either."

Many of these were stopped by the customs authorities and naturally certain things which ought not to have been stopped were also stopped but later when Government came to know of that, the authorities were directed to send them on.

So, what was happening was not exactly an economic blockade. If there was an economic blockade, it would be much more serious, affecting articles of food and other things. What had happened in effect had been with regard to weapons or other things which might go towards the making of weapon.

The Prime Minister stated that Hyderabad Government had said in regard to the Razakars' activities that certain irresponsible people had committed certain acts; but largely they had denied the charges against Razakars. For example, they had denied that Mr. Razvi had delivered a certain speech but the Government of India had got sufficient proof to maintain that the speech was made—the exact room in which it was delivered, the time at which it was delivered and in whose presence it was delivered.

Pandit Nehru said that in dealing with Hyderabad, they had to deal not so much with the Nizam, not so much even with the present Government but "with a set of people who were completely unreasonable, to use a mild word; no responsible Government can act on the level on which they are acting."

Asked whether the Government of India would relax their demand for the accession of Hyderabad if the State was prepared to comply with the other demands, the Prime Minister pointed out that there could only be two possible ways. One was accession to the Indian Union, which meant defence, communications and external affairs being controlled by the Union, in which Hyderabad also was represented. It was not submission to the Union but a partnership in a large association of units. That was one way. The other way was in not acceding but being in some kind of subsidiary association with India. Here again, the State would have to surrender the three subjects. It could either have a partnership with the Union with a voice in its affairs or a subsidiary association in which it did eot get the benefits of a Union but had to yield the same subjects.

Congress Economic Programme

The Bombay Session of the A.-I. C. C. has passed a resolution appointing a Standing Committee to consider the implementation, of the Report of the A.-I. C. C. Economi Programme Committee, move especially in regard to priorities. The industrial policy of the Government of India, declared last month, has not been in full keeping with the spirit and letter of the Economic Programme adopted at the Delhi Session of the A.-I. C. C. The main point in the programme, namely, the abolition of the Managing Agency system, which is the main engine for the concentration of wealth and power in fewer hands, has been evaded both at the Parliament while declaring the Industrial policy and at the Bombay Session of the A.-I. C. C. where a committee for "implementing" the programme has been formed. Shri Shanker Rao Deo moved the resolution and said, "True democracy cannot be established unless there is real decentralisation of Power and Production. We have to see that the decision taken by the Government is in the same direction as desired by the Congress." We frankly confess our inability to understand how, with the Managing Agency system in full vogue, this decentralisation of Power and Production can be effected. The resolution was in the following terms:

"The A.-I. C. C. has already given its general approval to the Report of the Economic Programme Committee of the A.-I. C. C.

"The A.-I. C. C. has given its specific approval to the sums and objects as laid down in that Report.

"In regard to more detailed suggestion made in the Report and in view of the Industrial policy announced by the Government of India, the A. I. C. C. appoint the following Standing Committee, with powers to co-opt for specific purposes, to consider the implementation of the general programme move specially in regard to priorities, and make recommendations from time to time to the Working Committee."

The members of the Committee are Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman), Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Shri Shauker Rao Deo, Prof N. G. Ranga, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Jagjivan Ram. Shri Gulzarilal Wanda, Shri J. C.• Kumarappa and Shri Annada P. Choudhuri.

Moving the resolution, Shri Shankar Rao Deo said, "The Government has come out with its industrial policy and we have to see to what extent the A.-I. C. C. report and the Government Programme run on parallel lines. It is the objective of the Congress to create a society based on democracy in which, every one who puts in due amount of labour, will be assured of full opportunities for the advancement and fulfilment of his personality. It is only in such a democracy that the newly won freedom of India could find free expression. True democracy cannot be established unless there is real decentralisation of power

and production. We have to see that the decisions taken by the Government are in the same direction as desired by the Congress. It is the policy of the Congress to avoid the evils of private capitalism and totalitarian regimentation of wealth. The Congress was to follow a middlepath and that was the keynote of its industrial policy." But unfortunately practice in the Government does not accord with profession in the Congress by the Congress Government at the Centre. In its declared industrial policy, it has leant heavily on the side of regimentation of wealth.

Cloth Scarcity

A press communique issued by the Government of India in the Department of Industries and Supply says that the Government have been viewing with great concern the rising trend in cloth prices which has followed the relaxation of control in January last. Government are constrained to observe, says the communique, that, with some honourable exceptions, neither the textile industry nor the trade has discharged the obligations to the public. When the decision for partial decontrol was taken, the textile industry through the Industries Committee of the Textile Control Board, gave Government the undertaking that it would assume the responsibility of fixing fair ex-mill prices and of arranging sales of cloth from the mills at these prices. The wholesale and retail traders have also repeatedly assured the Govern-, ment that if the textile controls were removed and the trade allowed to operate normally, they would see that cloth was available to the consumer at reasonable prices. There is no justification whatsoever for the abnormally high wholesale and retail prices at which cloth is being marketed throughout the country. Some justification for an increase in prices on account of the recent steep increases in the price of cotton has been made but that does not explain why the piecegoods manufactured months before this rise are being sold at double and treble the stamped prices.

The main point in the Government communique seem to be their anxiety for tax evasion by the industry and trade. Their anxiety for the consumer appears to be no more than an eyewash. In it, the Government has not said anything that would encourage the consumer to believe that cloth at reasonable prices would be available in the near or even foresceable future. It has only effered a justification for the step the authorities intend to take in order to prevent Tax evasion. It announces that the Government of India have decided that with immediate effect, the stamping of ex-mill and retail prices of cloth will be discontinued, this would naturally be welcomed both by the industry and the trade because the only means to compare the enormity of the black market charges on actual prices would henceforward disappear. The Indian cotton textile industry and trade have basely

betrayed the consumer to a degree that has hardly any parallel in human history. The people of the country, for the last four decades, have purchased the rotten and coarse products of our mills in preference to finer and much cheaper foreign products in the name of Swadeshi. The boycott movement during the civil disobedience days have still further fattened them. The mills have thrized upon the patriotism of the people whom they completely betrayed as soon as an opportunity presented itself. During the last war, the Government, in their desire to raise larger sums through fewer sources by way of excess profits tax, permitted the industry to raise cloth prices to an inordinately high level. Only a third of the production was left for civil consumption, the bulk having been requisitioned for the war. Now the war is over, and the need for requisition has disappeared, but the organisation of the millowners, for depriving the public of their legitimate share, is there and full use or misuse of this organisation, the Textile Control Board, is being made. The Government of India may not be willing to check the evil doings of these set of fat people who thrive upon the mistortune of their own kith and kin, but their prefension that these blood-suckers' activities cannot be stopped should better be not made. It is unbelievable that, knowing fully well that the activities of the textile industry and trade are concentrated into some 500 hands, the Government of India are really unable to check their wrong doings. If these men are social criminals, the Departments of Industries and Supply of the Government of India are not less than their abettors.

Provincialism

A burnt child dreads the fire. This appears to be the psychology of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his campaign against what he characterizes as "provincialism.' For some months past he has been worried over the symptoms of disintegration brought about by this malady in our body politic. The latest occasion on which he unburdened himself against it was the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. We propose to share with our readers his condemnation of "provincialism."

". . . We have seen the outcome of communalism. It divided our country and then ultimately it led to the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi. We are trying our utmost to put an end to the poison of communalism and shall continue to do so. But almost as great a danger as that which now stares us in the face is that of provincialism. The people of one province are becoming antagonistic to those of another and their mutual distrust is becoming serious. If we do not check this evil quickly and effectively, then we shall have a united India only in name and there would be large number of units always on the war path among themselves.

The Prime Minister of the Indian Union has been in public life for almost about 30 years. He has seen how communalism has moved from strength to

strength, at last disrupting the unity and integrity of India. He has fought against it; he initiated a "mass contact" movement amongst Muslims to wean them away from this evil force. But all the same, they went in their own way heedless of the exhortations of the wisest among their leaders, the Muslim divines organized in the Jamiat-ul Ulema-i-Hind. One of the greatest scholars in the modern Islamic world, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, has recently told us how for forty years to a day, he has been warning his co-religionists against the dangers lurking behind the cry of exclusive Islam-certain credal conceits that separated peoples living in the same country, setting neighbours against one another. Others could tell the same story, of a gallant fight against narrowness and bigotry. Reason and enlightened self-interest proved inadequate as arguments for the expunging of communalism. If Pand : Jawaharlal had understood the reason for the failure of all this condemnation of Muslim communaturn in India, if he had been clear in his mind with regard to the basic reason for communalism's triumph, he would not have used the easy method of condemning another narrowness, known as "provincialism". This condemnation would not suffice as it did not in the case of communalism. For, there are certain imponderables behind these two narrow sentiments that in human history have been known to play havoe with reason and the natural kindliness of human beings,

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who in his own way, is a scholar and a keen student of affairs, with a sensitive mitalligence attuned to high purposes and noble aspirations, should not rest with mere condemnation of "provincialism." He has seen how condemnation of the "Pekistan" idea could not halt any of the evils predicted; neither, we are afraid is it going to prove smore effective in the case of "provincialism."

In the Andhri-Tamilian controversy, for instance, we heard of the latter monopolizing all the plums of profit in professions and in the services of the State. From this grievance issued the case for a separate Andhra Province to protect and advance the unique character of Andhra interests. In the case of Bihar and Assam, the fear of the Bengalee has been the moving impulse for what we see today as the quickening of a sentiment, which, in the absence of a better term, may be called Bihar and Ahom nationalism. These are regional peculiarities. But in their outward expressions, these have sought relief in certain activities that are positively dangerous to the unity and integrity of the Indian Union. And, so far as we can see, there is no indication that our Central Government intends taking any positive action to nip in the bud these anti-national aberrations. The controversy between Bihar and Orissa over Scraikela and Kharsawan is a symptom that is easily controllable as the appointment of the Commission to adjudicate on the dispute goes to show. The decision of the Nehru Government to set up an Andhra Province has helped to throw oil over all the wranglings between the Telugu and the Tamilians. The question of drawing up the boundaries of other linguistic ambitions stowed away in the waiting list need not cause any great difficulty.

These are details over which people do not carry their dissatisfactions to a crisis. But what is happening in Assam, for instance, is a danger-signal which the Nehru Government should take serious note of. The critizenship of the Indian Umon is effective over the whole of its territory. The constitution that is being framed by the Constituent Assembly, holding its sittings at New Delhi, has asserted this right of its citizens in no uncertain language

The procedure of the Bardoloi Ministry is the core of the evil that provincialism brings in its wake. Other countries building up a composite nationalism, framing the constitution for a Federal State, have had to steer clear of such short-cuts to ambitions. The United States of America has been the pioneer of Federalism in the modern world. The "founding fathers" of the great Republic had been confronted by conceits and ambitions, such as those that are illustrated by the activities of the Bardeloi Ministry of Assam. And how did they face up to these? Mr. P. R. Das described it in his Memorandum submitted to the Congress Working Committee in 1938 when it took cognisance of the complaints of Bihar Bengalees against the then Congress Ministry of the Province. We quote the relevant portion below.

It is well-known that at the time of the Union of the United States there were centrifugal forces at work due to jealousies between one State and another. The great framers of the American constitution took note of this fact, and provided in Art. 4 Section 2 that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States' . . . It was found that this was not sufficient for the protection of the citizens against the discriminating legislation by any State; and so by a celebrated Amendment which was known as Art. 14. it was provided that no 'State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.' Mr. Bryee says that this Amendment secured the protection of citizens against unjust and discriminating legislation of any State.

Here is an experience that has come upon us. And here is the exemplary legislation to provide for situations that confront the Nehru Government today. They can take immediate action to neutralize the evil effects of activities such as those indicated above. They need not wait for the Constituent Assembly's final draft of Free India's constitution. Statesmanship consists in anticipating the arrival of dangers to the State. We will watch with interest how Pandit Nehru rises up to this challenge to his conception of ideal conduct in a State.

West Bengal's Claim on Bengali-speaking Areas of Bihar

The demand for the inclusion of Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar within West Bengal has been gathering momentum but the Congress authorities seem to be as impervious to this claim as before. The attempt to put Bengal's claim into cold storage is quite clear. The Congress stands pledged to the principle of redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis. In a large public meeting recently held in Calcutta, Sj. Sarat C. Bose has pointed out that there were not more than eleven or twelve principal languages in India and if the provinces were redistributed on a linguistic basis there could be not more than eleven or twelve provinces in the whole of India. This, if done, would reduce the present maladjustment in the size of the provinces and would bring them on a perfectly national and scientific basis. There could be no real federation of India if the provinces were not redistributed on a linguistic basis. Si. Bose said that there was no logic in the argument that redistribution of provinces on the basis of language would give rise to numerous provinces in India. There were in fact not more than 11 or 12 principal languages in this country, namely, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Oriya, Gujrati, Marathi, Pushtoo. Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Assamese; of these Pustoo and Assamese were not spoken by a very large number of people. On this basis, with Pushtoo out in Pakistan, there cannot be more than eleven provinces in India.

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has at long last passed a resolution claiming the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking areas, but it seems to have stopped at that. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has publicly expressed himself against this legitimate claim of Bengal by emphasising the need for propagating Hindi in the Manbhum and Singhbhum areas for averting the danger to the "territorial integrity" of Bihar. Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Bengal member on the Congress Working Committee, has also said that Bengal cannot get back her lost territories because the Working Committee is against any such move. Following Dr. Rajendra Prasad's rebuke, the Bihar Government and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan have started frantic efforts to convert them into Hindi-speaking areas. Government aids to Bengali Schools are being so regulated that those who adopt Hindi as the medium of instruction will receive them. This is being done in clear contravention of the principle of cultural autonomy guaranteed under the Draft Constitution.

Sj. Bose said that he had heard that the West Bengal Premier, Dr. Roy, had once raised this question to Pandit Nehru. It had been reported to Sj. Bose that Panditji had replied that these things should wait now as there were more important problems before the Government to tackle. This attitude can only be construed as being one of trying to avoid the issue. The redistribution of Madras for the creation of a new andhra province has been decided upon. The problem

of Karnataka is on the anvil. A request for shelving comes only when the question of Bengal comes up for consideration. We had expected that the matter would be raised in the Bombay session of the A.-I.C.C. but nothing has been done. The last resort is the coming session of the Constituent Assembly. If the Bengal contingent to that august body do not rise from their slumber even at that time, they would be betraying their trust basely. Bengal reminds Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Sj. K. C. Neogy about their part in this effort.

Review of India's Food Position

The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who inaugurated the Conference of Provincial Premiers and Food Ministers at New Delhi, said that the country had been able to avert a catastrophe on the food front, but difficulties still remained and there should be no slackening of efforts.

Pandit Nehru added: "The solution of many of our problems depends upon increased food production. For some reason or other, enough attention and energy has not been paid in the past towards the realisation of this end which has never been in dispute. We have in hand the execution of many major irrigation projects, but the results of these will be available only after some years. But there are many ways of increasing production by more concentrated effort."

Ten Premiers and fourteen Food Ministers took part in the general discussion on the food situation in various provinces and States at today's session. The Conference was unanimous on the need for better organisation of Railway transport to meet increased demands of grain movements, and for adequate supplies of materials and implements necessary for increasing food production.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Food Minister, Government of India, addressing the Conference, said:

"Our food position is not as bad as some people might imagine. If we maintain our determination to take all the steps that are necessary and expedient to help those parts of the country where the supplier are short and prices high, the country will have to face no major crisis on the food front."

Mr. Jairamdas continued: "Three months ago the Government were faced with the grave conse quences of the failure of monsoon in a large numbe of districts in Madras.

"We had to put forth every effort to deal wit those consequences. It was impossible to deal wit them without the whole-hearted co-operation of suc parts of our country as were luckily in a position t come to the succour of Madras.

"The Prime Minister took an active hand i securing this succour and I am grateful to the Premiers of the more fortunate provinces for the splendid response they gave to his approach to the in the interests of Madras. I have not the slighter

loubt that the continuance of such co-operation from he surplus areas of the country will enable us to tide wer our present difficulties.

"After all our food position is not as bad as some cople might imagine," th: Food Minister said.

"If we maintain our determination to take all the teps that are necessary and expedient to help those parts of our country where the supplies are short and prices high, the country will have to face no anajor crisis on the food front. I will not trouble you with nany figures; only a few may suffice as testimony of ny belief.

"I would first take our internal supply position. The revised estimates of the yield of the seven major oudgrains of the country show that we have proluced more than what we did last year, and this in pite of the large setback to the tune of about 1,200,000 ons in the crop production of Madras due to the silure of the monsoon.

"Whereas in the year 1946-47, India produced 9,528,000 tons of all these foodgrains, in the year 947-48 the production was 40,425,000 tons. This nears that we have produced nearly 900,000 tons nore than last year though we are still deficit so far is the total needs of the country are concerned.

"The crops in some parts of Northern Industrials are coming to the market since the close of the car 1947-48 but not before the close of the calendar car 1948, have been above the average and I have a expectation that this circumstance should materially affect in a favourable direction both our supply and our price position in the coming few months.

"As you all know, India has had to depend on a ertain quantity of imports from cutside which have atterly been to the tune of about 20 to 25 lakh tons. t is a lucky circumstance that in regard to the mport of foodgrains also, the situation has considerably improved in the course of the last two months.

"In February, it was feared that we may not ucceed in securing more than 1,700,000 tons during 948. Today, as a result of various factors, the hances of securing 2,000,000 tons from outside India ave definitely improved.

"At the same time there has been improvement in mother direction also during these two months. While in February it was feared that the contributions rom the provinces and States may not exceed 300,000 ons, today we have the confidence that the internal usplus available to the Central Government from the provinces and States would come up to 500,000 tons have a feeling that with the co-operation of all parts of the country, this internal surplus may reach even higher figure. The change in the situation from bedruary to April has thus been substantial.

"If we include the 500,000 tons of the carry-over rom 1847, our total availabilities of foodgrains for istribution are now calculated to be of the figure of 500,000 tons. This situation has enabled the Governof India to increase its allocation to the deficit

areas from 2,200,000 tons, our original commitment, to 2,600,000 tons.

"I need not emphasize that increase of imports from outside is the last thing which anyone of us wishes, and it may be possible to reduce our demands from other countries if our own country rose to the occasion in the next few months. Instead of paying crores of rupees to outside countries, we would prefer to give that money to our own people in return for foodgrains. We must speed up the arrival of the time when we need not import a single pound of outside food, and instead of 88 of our 183 districts in the provinces being deficit, we should have none but surplus ones throughout our Indian Dominion.

"Despite the improved internal surplus and import position, I do not want that we should be in any mood of self-complacence. The situation in the deficit areas needs all our attention. The difficulties the poorer sections of the population are experiencing as a result of high prices require speedy measures to deal with their problem. The Government of India are keeping a close watch on the day-to-day developments.

"We have circulated for your consideration a memorandum on the food position during the first quarter of 1948 which reviews the situation in different provinces and States, and states in conclusion some of the main considerations which are relevant for a decision in regard to further steps towards decontrol. That memorandum also gives some ideas of the gradual fall in prices in Northern India over the pre-decontrol black-market price though great divergences disclosed in the price of the same grain in different parts of the country due to difficulty or restriction of movement are also a feature of the price situation.

"We are trying to broaden the basis for our price statistics. Until recently we received price reports for only about 90 centres. Today we are receiving them from over 500 centres. In regard to some foodgrains the prices are definitely on the decline.

"In regard to others, they are maintaining a high level in the deficit weas. All the real causes of these high prices and all the steps that should be taken to deal with them will, I hope, be the subject of discussion in this conference.

"Various suggestions have also been made as to the direction along which our next steps should move. A section of the people is of the view that time has come for the complete removal of inter-provincial barriers to the movement of foodgrains. Some would propose the decontrol of free movement of one or other of the foodgrains, some would prefer that free movement may only be allowed towards the deficit areas, some suggest that an experiment in the removal of inter-provincial barriers may be tried for a limited area in the country.

"These are some of the matters in which I seek your guidance. There is also the question as to what should be our attitude towards any section which the trade may be taking or may take, which would create difficulties in the free and full flow of foodgrains to where they are needed. I do not want to lose hope in the trading community. We want co-operation. They must play fair with the people in this hour of difficulty. These and other problems inherent in the present situation would need your consideration, and the advice you tender to us would be one of considerable value in coming to conclusions as to Government of India's future line of action.

The Conference then heard from the Premiers of Provinces and States a review of the food situation in their respective areas. While the Premiers from the surplus areas as well as areas on the verge of self-sufficiency expressed themselves satisfied with the results of decontrol, it is understood that the representatives from the deficit areas—such as Madras, Bombay, West Bengal, Cochin and Travancore—drew attention to the rather difficult situation arising in their areas where the prices of foodgrains had risen and were still rising to a roint which might make it difficult for the poorer classes especially to get their foodgrains.

Profiteering by Government

When sugar was de-controlled, we heard of an arrangement by which the Government of the United Provinces was sharing the "loot" with the Sugar Syndicate, the organization of the capitalist managers who controlled the sugar market of India and exploited their monopoly position in the matter of sugar production and sale sanctioned by protective legislations. In a discussion in the Central Legislature the question of "the difference between the price of sugar before de-control and the price fixed afterwards" was raised. The report of the Finance Minister's reply, summarized in the Press, lifts a part of the veil over this transaction. Shri Shanmukham Chetty said that as a result of negotiations between the U. P. Government and the Sugar Syndicate, it had been decided that this difference of 14 rupees per maund should be divided in the proportion of Rs. 5 to the Syndicate to reimburse certain loss and the remaining Rs. 9 to Government. The Central Government had taken action on the same lines. The amount allotted to Government was to be carmarked for expenditure on the improvement of sugar industry and sugar cultivation. For the time being, the amount was being kept in suspense account-Mr. Chetty explained that out of Rs. 5 per maund given to the Syndicate, more than half the amount came back to Government by way of taxation and another portion went to labour by way of increased wages and only a comparatively modest amount was left with the Syndicate. The Finance Minister agreed with the view that commensurate benefits had not accrued to cane-growers, but said this was a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government whose attention would be drawn to the point raised.

The Finance Minister's statement does not make it clear whether or not the Central Government is entitled to any share in this "loot". The public entertain a strong suspicion that the Government, Central and Provincial, have been making indirect profit at the expense of the people. In the matter of sugar and gur, the U. P. and the Bihar Governments have attained a certain amount of notoriety. The former are known to have been interested in the mustard oil and oil-seed business, exploiting the needs of other Provinces. And under the present economic dispensation, all Governments in the modern world find nothing objectionable in such practice, which is small satisfaction to the majority of world's population.

Compulsory Military Training

The Hitavada of Nagpur published a news, dated April 10 last, from its special representative, that the Government of the Central Province and Berar had made provision for Rs. one lakh (capital) and Rs. fifty thousand recurring for the next five years as grants-inaid to the Nagpur University for the construction of armouries and other buildings at Nagpur and Amraoti towards part of the recurring cost of the scheme of compulsory military training for boys studying for the degree. The University had sent up such a proposal to the Provincial Government to arrange for military training. Their scheme was to open centres at Nagpur, Jubbulpur, and Amraoti to impart military training to 1,380 students in four batches of 345 each. We were further told that the Government had decided to start a school at Tripuri where the session of the Congress was held in 1939 over which Subhas Chandra presided. It will be residential, where in addition to intensive military training, students will have instruction in agriculture, arts and science.

We have not heard of any such scheme for West Bengal whose people have to make up a greater leeway in life military, thanks to the "martial" and "non-martial" theory of the British military bureaucracy. During the last few months since August, 1947, we have been insisting on the urgency of some such measures for the rehabilitation of the morale of the Bengali people. and in our April number we welcomed the Territorial Forces formation scheme announced on April 8 last by the Defence Minister of the Central Government. Under the scheme, the Indian Union has been divided into eight Regions of which West. Bengal and Cooch Bihar forms one unit. We should like to know whether the West Bengal Government have applied their mind to giving shape to this scheme. The Territorial Force to be organized offers the greatest opportunity in 190 years to the Bengali people for retrieving their position in the armed forces of India, and we cannot think that any Government of the Province will let it go neglected. We do not know adequately what other provinces have been doing in the line. But of this we are convinced that the people of this province will not pardon any Ministry that will be remise in this duty

of theirs. In this connection, we desire to sound another warning note. There may be the temptation to recruit the Territorial Force in our Region from the hill tribes who live in our northern districts. British military policy had generally avoided the plains of India as recruiting grounds, and we are not yet assured that this vicious tradition has been given the go-by. For ourselves, we cannot imagine its continuance in Free India. Our scheme of reform and reconstruction gives the utmost importance to the Militarizatoin of our people.

Pakistani Exodus to India

The Bombay Times of India featured a special article from its Karachi correspondent describing the perturbation of Pakistani leaders at the increasing numbers of Muslims, who had "opted" for Pakistan, being anxious to return to their original homes in the Indian Union. He appears to have discussed matters with Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman, provisional President of the Pakistan Muslim League, and the summary of the article bears the stamp of truth about the "disillusionment" of the Muslims with conditions as they found there on their arrival at what they had thought would prove to be "a hospitable harbour in times of stress and suffering." But experience of eight months has been a great wakener; they came up against the "indifference" of Sind and West Punjab Governments, and the hostility, open or veiled, of Sind and West Punjab Muslims. Chowdhury Khaliquz-Zaman appears to have elaborated the "demoralizing effect" of this "return movement" from Pakistan to the Indian Union both on the Mahajreens (Muslim refugees) and on those who could not go to Pakistan. The provisional President of the Pakistan Muslim League is said to have tried to impress on the Central Pakistan Government's Prime Minister, Janab Liaquat Ali Khan, this undesirable state of things. The Muslim minority in the Indian Union may be demoralized at this return of Muslims from Pakistan, the land of the pure and of the plenty; "it may even lead to some movement for the re-union of Pakistan and India at no distant future." This prospect apart, the economic interpretation of Mahajreer discontent has a solid basis, and has been described as follows:

Khaliq-uz-Zaman is stated to have requested the Pakistan Government to persuade Sind and West Punjab to dispose of their cultivable land2.5 million acres in the Lower Sind Barrage area and 1.5 million acres in Abbottabad area of West Punjab—at the rate of four acres per head. As the Sind soil was much more fertile than that of the United Provinces, he was sure that the new cultivation would feed the entire four million refugee population.

The Indian Union is not also free from this phenomenon. There is restiveness in the United Provinces and in West Bengal, for instance, at this mandation of "refugees"—a word that sounds hateful to men and women who had been in one of those

historic catastrophies that vere presaged by unplanned movements of population. Thus those Pakistanis who had "opted" for the land of their dreams might now repent at leisure. But the authorities of the Indian Union ought to be watchful of their movement. There will remain amongst them "fifth column" elements whom the Pakistan authorities may be sending to India with fell purpose. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should not be generous at the expense of the safety of the Indian realm. In this view of the matter, his fitful declarations against a "re-union movement" are neither here nor there. He should be silent about it, cultivating that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Interests of Indian Muslims

Disastrous results of communalism in Indian politics were referred to by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad when they addressed the fifteenth annual session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind in Bombay.

Requested by Maulana Hafizur Rahman, General Secretary of the Jamiat, to inaugurate the session, Maulana Azad said that many important things had happened since the last session of the Jamiat and they were today faced with some issues of fundamental importance.

What was the spirit that had brought these changes, asked Maulana Azad, and said that it was the demon of communalism in politics. It had during the last few months, caused the splitting up of India and raised barriers, both material and psychological, between peoples and communities. "I started my public life in India in 1908 and never during the last 40 years of my career in this country have I missed an opportunity of warning the people against the danger of communalism in politics. Wrong paths lead to unhappy results and partition was one such result. Partition of India had brought in its wake communal disorders and much unhappiness to vast sections of the people. Partition was an artificial solution, and a makeshift solution only creates more complexities."

The Jamuat had always stood in the forefront of the country's fight for independence.

The Jamiat was always nationalist in its outlook and could not be described as a communal organisation such as the Muslim League was.

The Muslim League agitation had caused the Muslims on one hand and non-Muslim communities such as the Hindus and Sikhs on the other to drift apart. Unless this was remedied, all communities including the Muslims would be engulfed in a complete disaster.

To avert a greater catastrophe than what they had already experienced, it was now necessary to find a true foundation for positical activity based on a change of heart and outlook, realising that all were children of the soil with equal rights and opportunities. It was with this aim in view that the leaders of the Jamiat at a meeting held in Delhi in November last.

took certain decisions and called for the dissolution of politico-communal organisation among Muslims.

This decision was endorsed at another gathering attended by over 100,000 Muslims held in Lucknow in December. The foremost organisation affected by the decision taken at that meeting was the Muslim League Many subsidiary bodies in the Muslim League had no doubt dissolved themselves. What the Muslim League itself did now was of little moment. But the path before the Jamiat-:l-Ulema was clear. Its Working Committee had already taken certain decisions in spite of eschewing politics, the Jamiat would still have a vast field in which to serve the community. There were many problems in the educational, cultural, and religious fields where the Jamiat could do excellent work. They must align their activity to modern trends and move with the times.

Pandit Nehru expressed his pleasure in being able to come and address the Jamiat in spite of his heavy programme. He said that not only in India but throughout the world people's minds were today being exercised by issues of a fundamental nature. India was greatly changed during the last seven or eight months. It has passed through times that had shaken it to its foundations causing wounds both to the body and to the soul.

All this was the result of communal politics. It was again communal politics that had led to the assassination of Mahatma Gaudhi. That unhappy incident had opened the eyes of many people to the danger that had always been in their midst and had caused a searching of hearts.

On the other hand, said Pandit Nehru, "Pakistan openly says that it is a State based on religion. No doubt, it also said that the minorities there need have no fear, but how far that was real it was difficult to say.

"In India too there were many communal-minded people. But the Congress had taken a path which was clear for all to see. The A.-I.C.C. at its meeting in November last, under the inspiration and direct guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, took certain decisions, keeping in view the d. liculties that the Indian Muslims were experiencing. The Congress wanted that no Indian should think of himself as a Hindu, a Muslim or any religious entity so far as politics was concerned. It was only in this way that the country could make any progress."

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, presiding over the 15th session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind described the partition of the country as "a great political blunder" and the enforced sudden exchanges of population as "the greatest sin visiting the sountry."

The Maulana said that the names of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandi: Jawaharlal Nehru, and Maulana Abul Kalam Asad—"the greatest friends of the Indian Muslims"—would be written in letters of gold in the history of India.

The President said that there never had been any Hindu-Muslim question in India before the British came, whether under Hindu rulers or Muslim rulers. Even fanatic Muslim rulers like Aurangzeb had Hindu Ministers and Hindu rulers had Muslim Ministers.

The scheme of dividing the country, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani said, was fostered by British agents to keep their hold on India. He even put the blame for last year's rioting in Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab upon British district officers, who, he said, engineered them so as to make Pakistan a stronghold for themselves. Their idea was that Pakistan, being the weaker nation, would always need British help, if the relations between the two countries were embittered.

If, along with partition there had been a pact for the protection of the minorities, the rioting would have been on a much smaller scale.

The Maulana said: 'The Congress has decided that India shall be a secular State. It is the duty of every Muslim to support the Indian Government and serve the country to the best of his ability. This will be the best safeguard for the Muslims."

The President disapproved of the talk of solidarity of Muslims in the two countries. With the division of the country, the interests of Muslims in India and those in Pakistan had also been divided.

"Our duty now is to look after the interests of the Indian Muslims," he said, "and not of those across the border. We want that the relations between India and Pakistan should be cordial and friendly. But if at any time there are serious differences between the two countries, our policy will be guided by the interests of the Indian Muslims, and not by the interests of Pakistan Muslims who can look after themselves."

Maulana Hossain Ahmad Madani's claim that there had never been any Hindu-Muslim question in India before the British came, is not historically quite correct. History of Bengal and Madras specially, and India generally, tell a different story. Association of some Hindus in the Moghul Administration was one of its features no doubt, but it cannot be denied that Hindus as Hindus were cruelly persecuted which stopped only when they embraced Islam. We need not go into that historical detail here, but there is no use denying the fact that destruction and desecration of Hindu temples, building of mosques with building material procured from destroyed Hindu temples, and abduction of Hindu women had been ugly features of Indo-Islamic relations and all of them had the general support of almost the whole of the Muslim Society. Intense hatred for Hinduism, because it is idolatrous, and bestial desire for abducting Hindu women should be completely shed by the Indian Muslims if they really desire to open a new chapter in Indo-Islamic relations. It is by this process of transformation in their general attitude and outlook that the real interest of the Indian Muslims will be best safeguarded.

Pakistani's Reaction to U. N. Decision on Kashmir

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, defining the reaction of the Pakistan Government to the resolution of the United Nations Security Council on the Kashmir problem, addressed a press conference of about fifty foreign and local journalists. It is needless to point out that Mr. Liaquat Ali's statement has the typical Pakistani refrain of false-hood and arrogance.

"If and when the Good Offices Commission of the United Nations comes we will try to point out to the Commission the flaws in the resolution and ask them to see things for themselves. We hope to convince the Commission that it is impracticable to get a fair plebiseite and this is the extent to which we propose to help the Commission. We are hoping that after the Commission has seen things for itself on the spot it will be able to advise the Security Council and also convince India of the justness of Pakistan's case which is really the just demand of the people of Kashmir. It is for this purpose that we have nominated under protest and without prejudice a member on the Commission."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan explained the significance of the nomination of Argentina on the good offices commission by Pakistan and said: the vast majority of the peo-"Knowing that ple of Kashmir wish to accede to Pakistan, the only fair way whereby their will can be ascertained would be to withdraw all contending forces from Kashmir and set up a neutral administration to take the vote. There is a fundamental defect in the Security Council's resolution. We do not deny that the democratic method should be followed in ascertaining the wishes of the people but the Council has, in our opinion, destroyed by one hand what it had conceded by the other in the way of conditions which can bring about a fair and free plebiscite.

"They cannot by their present resolution create those conditions which any fair-minded person would accept as enabling the people of Kashmir to express their will freely and without any fear of intimidation of any kind.

"What the Security Council provides for now is to ask Pakistan to tell the tribesmen to withdraw and here it must be remembered that the vast majority of those who are fighting against very heavy odds fighting a valiant battle are the sons of the soil itself. The number of tribesmen is comparatively very small in the forces of Asad Kashmir."

The Prime Minister of Pakistan continued: "It is the people of Kashmir who have been bravely fighting for their very existence.

"The tribesmen are notoriously independent people. They are gravely agitated over the atrocities that have been and are being committed against their Muslim brethren in Kashmir and elsewhere. They are determined as far as it lies in their power to prevent the

repetition of those atrocities and I must frankly state that in this matter the people of Pakistan fully sympathise with them."

The Prime Minister maintained that while the resolution stated that Pakistan should use its good offices in persuading the tribesmen and the Pakistan nationals to come out of Kashmir it only provided for a gradual progressive withdrawal of the Indian torces.

"India is at present conducting a major war in Kashmir and has concentrated a very large force there. As a matter of fact, according to some reports the strength of the Indian forces in Kashmir is stated to be three divisions.

"The removal of a division of troops at the present moment would only amount to a sort of a token withdrawal as this would still leave behind a terribly large force. But as the resolution stands India will be able to argue that they have carried out the wishes of the Security Council but in actual practice Kashmir woulds still remain virtually occupied by the Indian military forces. The resolution gives the government of Sheikh Abdullah a loophole for creating a State force which may be out of all proportions to the internal requirements of the State yet Pakistan is asked to use its good offices to remove the tribesmen and Pakistan nationals but Pakistan has not been permitted the means to achieve this objective. The use of Pakistan forces has also been made subject to the agreement of the Government of India. Do the Security Council really expect that just by whistling Pakistan will be able to make these people withdraw from a fight which they regard as sacred and which they regard they are waging to save their lives and to save themselves from destruction?"

"I do not see," said the Prime Minister, "how we can convince the tribesmen of a fan deal to the Mussalmans of Kashmir when we are ourselves not equivoced that a fair and impartial plebiserte would be held under this resolution. This is our main problem."

"The other major defect". Mr Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out, "is the presence of Sheikh Abdullah at the helm of affairs in that state.

"The world knows that Sheikh Abdullah has been proclaiming his hatred of Pakistan and we do not see how a Government headed by such a man even though it may also contain a few nominees of other parties is likely to create conditions in the administrative and plebiscite machinery which will enable the people of Kashmir to express their will freely and without fear."

He reiterated that the resolution is impracticable for the purpose of ascertaining the true opinion of the people.

A "Confession"

Shri Konda Venkatappya, the octogenarian Congress leader of Andhra Desa, drew Gandhiji's attention to the demoralisation that had come over Congress members. He charged Congress members of the Madras Legislature with exploiting their positions for personal profit. Gandhiji referred to this letter in the Harijan, and made it a theme of one of his after-prayer statements at New Delhi. The Madras legislators silently pocketed his rebuke, and by this silence wanted to take the edge off this exposure of their degradation. But their effects were not, we are glad to notice, wholly lost. The emergence of a new party out of the Madras Congress Legislature Party bears out the truth of the charges made by the Andhra; it also shows that the leaven has been working. This party is to be known as the "Congress Legislature Party Reform Group," and about 25 members have already joined it. The pledge taken by the members is a sort of "Confession"—acknowledgment of sin against the spirit and practice introduced into our national organization under Gandhiji's inspiration. It deserves reproduction, therefore.

I shall not make any recommendation or appeal to any Minister or Government Officer so as to invite him to be guilty of nepotism or favouritism or make any appointment or do any act merely to oblige relations or friends, even if they be Congressmen. I shall not ask for, demand or recommend issue of permits, licences, etc., to persons merely because they happen to be friends or relations of Congressmen or even partymen. I shall not ask for the transfer of Executive Officers merely to oblige relations and friends or partymen unless I am reasonably satisfied of the necessity therefor. I shall not directly or indirectly en-courage formation of parties or invent slogans of a nature intended to create division, communal sectional. I shall not do anything as a legislator. which would run counter to Gandbiji's views about social or economic uplift. I swear I am a tectotaler and wear nothing but khadi. I agree that my aim is to make the Presidency self-sufficient with regard to food and clothing. I shall try my utmost to spread khadi throughout the country of the earliest possible time. I shall not do, write or say anything which will bring the Congress into contempt. shall not make use of my position in the Legislative Assembly so as to wrongfully or illegally make money for myself or enable any friend or relation of mine to do so. I shall not abuse or misuse my power as legislator for unworthy purposes.

We wish the Reform group all success, and we hope other provinces will follow the lead of Madras.

Britain Today

The Rt. Hon'ble Hugh Dalton, M.P., the first Chancellor of Exchequer in Mr. Attlee's Government, wrote an article which a weekly contemporary has reproduced, captioned as "The Challenge of 1948." Therein he spoke of "a new British industrial revolution, spiritual as well as material." The article that we have seen does not indicate the lines of "spiritual" revolution that he wanted to see evolved. It may be that he visualised it in the scheme of emigration from their crowded island that would open before Britons in "the Britains beyond the Seas"—to quote the words of a Liberal Prime Minister of Britain—the wide spaces of the Commenwealth and the Empire that are hungry for emigrants of British stock. It is quite

possible that in Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and East Africa, these emigrants will form the bands of pioneers-"part of a planned re-settlement of the British race within the Commonwealth." There is nothing spiritual about it. For instance, the Australian void is there to fill up, and we are told that four lakhs of Britons have already registered their names at Australia House; only shortage of shipping space appears to be halting the flood. And the Australian people and Government have made to secret of their determination to keep the flag c "White Australia" flying in the face of the nonwhite peoples of the world, the "lesser breed" of men and women, to quote the expressive Kipling phrase. In this, the southern continent has the "spiritual" support of the greatest Anglo-Saxon power today, the United States of America. But this prospect of the renewal of Britain with Commonwealth and American help has a dark patch which is creating discontent in the "old country." The following summary of news and views cabled by Reuter on March 22 last reveals a part of the picture.

The Daily Express today broadcasts the "End of the British Empire" if a plan—alleged to be under consideration by the Washington State Department —for America to take over Britain's economic responsibilities in Australia, India, New Zealand and Egypt, goes through.

The Laily Express said that the New York Times had indicated the existence of such a plan. The Express attacked the British Premier, Mr. Clement Attlee and most of his colleagues for having "damaged" the sterling area.

This paper also indicated that because of this, South Africa was moving towards a separate

monetary system.

The New York Times forecasts a new and terrible price that Britain will have to pay for the proposed "second injection of dollar aid," the Doily Express editorial said.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

On March 8 'ast, the Prime Minister of the Indian Union incidentally referred to "the fact that Pakistan's publicity in the United States was being carried on through the British Information Services." Significantly enough, during the same day, within just a few hours, the Controller of B. I. S., Mr. D'Arcy Edmondson, sent a denial to this charge—"We have not at any time undertaken any publicity for Pakistan," said he. A writer under the pen-name of "One Who Knows," said something which went to show that by protesting too much and too early Mr. Edmondson laid himself open to suspicion. It may be true that formally the B. I. S. did not handle Pakistani propaganda against the Indian Dominion. But "One Who Knows" revealed the trick of the game.

Since August 15 last, the B. I. S. has gradually turned over to the Pakistan Government representatives in the U. S. A. much of its anti-Indian propaganda machinery; its techniques, contracts, outlets, mailing lists, etc., and has been actively aiding and supervising the building up of an

effective Pakistan publicity organisation in America. In fact, Pakistan's publicity in the United States during the past few months has been directed not so much from Karachi as from the B. I. S. headquarters in New York under the direct supervision of the British Embassy in Washington. As a result, Pakistan has been receiving a much better press in the United States than India has been.

The same fingers are still engaged in this game. During the last war an Indian had been discovered to malign his national leadership. He wrote two books—"What does Gandhi Want!" and Report on India; these were distributed free in America by the B. I. S., by the British Consulate and even by the Indian Agency-General, then under Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai. "One Who Knows" asserts that the second book

". . . is being extensively distributed even now, and its tota! distribution up-to-date reported to have exceeded half-a-million copies. This has been achieved by the simple expedient of getting the U. S. Army authorities to arrange its reprint in the U. S. Army Journal Series, and thus ensuring its widest possible distribution among the American armed forces."

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Edmondson's story is a tergiversation which is worse than a down-right lie. Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of the London weekly, New Statesman and Nation, told the world recently of the spiritual affinity that he found between the Muslim Leaguers and the British members of the Pakistan bureaucracy, civil and military. We had known of its existence for iong, for forty years at least since Lord Curzon's days. If the relation still persists, we need not be surprised. The class to which these bureaucrats belong are still ascendant in Britain; their anti-Indian bias is notorious. After August 15, 1947, they try to find satisfaction through working against India through hidden channels.

Parity!

We used to hear from Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah demands for "parity" between Hindus, more than 75 per cent in undivided India, and Muslims, about 23 per cent in the country. But even with India divided, this "parity" business does not appear to have left us. Two items of news that appeared in the daily Press prove that even in "Pakistan," the land of the pure, and in "Hindustan Hamara," there is the same competition. Karachi and Simla are determined to run a neck to neck race.

Karachi: More than 200 cases have been registered against members of various departments other than the police service for offences connected with the looting and misappropriation of evacuee property in West Punjab. The accused included 18 Magistrates, 13 Tehsildars, 31 Civil Court and Revenue employees, 12 P.W.D. men, 36 Railwaymen and 62 employees of the Excise, Canal, Education, Agriculture, Civil Supplies and Postal Department.

Simla: Replying to a question in the East

Punjab Assembly, Sardar Swaran Singh, the Home Minister, stated that 128 officials had been arrested in the East Punjab so far, for participating in the loot during the last communal disturbances. The Home Minister revealed that property worth Rs. 2,30,233 had been recovered from these officials.

Historical Records

The Governments of West Bengal and East Bengal appear to have landed themselves into a foolishness as the following note prepared by the Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam, appointed by the Indian Historical Records Commission, goes to prove. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, the great historian, is President of this Committee, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar is Convener, and Dr. N. K. Sinha is the Secretary; the members are all outstanding historians in this part of India. Any proposal by such a Committee, challenging an executive decision, should lead to its revision as suggested in revision also quoted below. We wonder why the Governments concerned could not consult this Committee before. Steps like this will be avoided in future if they act up to advice tendered in the last resolution of the Committee.

The Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam appointed by the Indian Historical Records Commission has learnt with surprise that the Government of West Bengal have agreed to divide the records of the old Bengal Government Record Office with Eastern Pakistan on a fifty-fifty basis, only records up to 1834 being exempted from division because they belong to the Government of India. The West Bengal Government are reported to have decided that if the Original Consultations of one year remain with them the Proceedings Volume of that year should go to Eastern Pakistan and vice versa. This basis of partition is due to a wrong conception of the character of these records. The Original Consultations are not arranged chronologically nor according to subjects but according to the order in which different items come up for decision. The Proceedings again cannot sometimes be correctly understood without reference to the Original Consultations. There are also some gaps in the Original Consultations. We do not know how the West Bengal Government have decided to divide the records of other categories such as the Indexes, Registers, Abstracts of Proceedings or Consultations. Diaries and Order Books. The principle of archival amputation adopted by the West Bengal Government as described above is unsound, being entirely at variance with international usage. An Archive is a living organism, because it is the result of the activity of an administrative authority. It consists of a body of related documents. A division not only harms the transferring power but does not confer any benefit on the acquiring power. It naturally results in the paralysis of reference service and the greatest injury to future historical investigation.

This Committee requests the West Bengal Government to follow the example of the Government of India in this respect, which is in accord with international usage—No record is to be torn away from the place in which they exist, but the Pakistan Government besides keeping the records in their areas, can fairly claim to get a full inventory and

authenticated copies of such other records of the Government before partition as they require.

Arrangements should be made for micro-filming records. The West Bengal Government should make full use of the micro-filming machines in their possession to supply copies of required documents to Eastern Pakistan, the work being spread over a number of years and all bona fide researchers from Eastern Pakistan should be given access to the old Bengal Government Records until the work of copying is completed. Those records of the Old Bengal Government that have already been sent to Dacca should similarly be micro-filmed for the West Bengal Record office.

RESOLUTIONS

In the interests of the Records themselves and their unimpaired usefulness in future, no less than in the cause of historical research, we request the Government of West Bengal to drop the above-mentioned haphazard and mechanical plan of division and to come into line with the scientific scheme of division followed in Europe and America as also by the Central Archive of the Indian Union.

The Committee further requests the West Bengal Government to make it a rule to consult this Committee before any action is taken on the disposal of the Records of the Province of West Bengal.

Karl Marx on Russia

The founder of the Communist philosophy has been accepted as the law-giver of the Soviet Union. Living in mid-19th century, Karl Marx could not escape the prejudice against Russia and Slavdom. And the London Tribune rescues from oblivion his adverse opinion of the Pan-Slav movement which, many think, has staged a come-back under Stalinist leadership. The class which dominates over the Soviet Union today were not ignorant of Marx's opinion when they accepted his philosophy as inspiration to their life, as guide to their conduct. It may be regarded, therefore, as a noble revenge on their part of Marx's vitriolic judgment on their people's life. In the present controversy between West Europe and East Europe, the following opinion of Marx, published in the Die Neue Odezeitung in April, 1855, will be used as a weapon against the Soviet Union:

Pan-Slavism is a movement which endeavours to undo what a thousand years' old history has created. It cannot achieve its film without sweeping Turkey, Hungary and half of Germany off the map of Europe. Should this result ever be accomplished, it could be made to last by no other means than the subjugation of Europe. Pan-Slavism has now transformed itself from an article of faith into a political programme. By now, it is no longer only Russia, but the whole Pan-Slavistic plot which threatens to found its realm on the ruins of Europe. This leaves Europe only one alternative—subjugation through slavery, or the lasting destruction of the centre of its offensive strength: Russia.

K. Natarajan

The death of this doyen amongst Indian journalists in his 79th year removes, we think, the last survivor

of the "social reformers" who had started their lifework under the expansive eyes of Mahadey Govind Ranade. Early in life he was connected with the Indian Social Reformer, and when this paper was transferred from Madras to Bombay, young Natarajan made his choice, left his home Province, and found in Bombay the atmosphere for the growth as also for the quickening of the cause that he had made his He found there kindred spirits, guides and mentors of whom Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, the President of the Lahore Congress, was the ablest The school of thought in social and political reform to which Natarajan belonged was characterized "sweetness and light", and its members could not persuade themselves to share the philosophy and practices that became in Maharashtra associated with the name of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak. And all through the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th, they were found in opposition to the new Nationalism that burst over the country, specially during the latter period. The "social rereformers" did not recognize this new awakening as a fulfilment of their programme of reform and reconstruction, and even when Gandhiji emerged into the leadership of the people and took up many of their items of reform, pushing these ahead, they maintained an aloof attitude. As editor of the Indian Social Reference, K. Natarajan lived through these decades as an independent observer and critic of men and things; and even his opponents respected this attitude of his. When he became editor of the Indian Daily Mail, started by one of millionaire Petit family of Bombay, he brought to the discharge of his new duties the same detachment and equanimity. During the last few years, he led a life of retirement; but his interest in affairs continued almost to the last. It was a pleasure to read his occasional contributions to his old paper, shot through and through with reminiscences of a more equable age. He lived to see the advent of a freer life for his country, for which he had striven, dreamt and aspired.

C. R. as Governor-General

It has been officially announced from Buckingham Palace that the King, on the recommendation of His Majesty's Government of India, has approved the appointment of Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the present Governor of West Bengal, as Governor General of India in succession to Lord Mountbatten who will relinquish his appointment on June 21, 1948. C. R.'s appointment to succeed Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India was received with pleasure both in London and in India. His appointment as Acting Governor-General during Lord Mountbatten's trip to London on the occasion of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth was regarded at the time as significant. No other name has indeed been thought of for the succession.

THE EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY OF THE UNION OF INDIA

A Comparative Study

BY RAMAKANT N. PARIKH, MA., LL.B.

THE EXECUTIVE

Accomping to the Draft Constitution, the President is to be the executive head of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India (S.D.R.I.). All executive authority shall vest in the President. The President is to exercise his functions on the advice of the Council of Ministers, headed by the Prime Minister who will be selected by the President. Other Ministers shall be selected by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. This is one of the salient features of the Draft Constitution and requires close scrutiny.

This means that the President's powers are controlled by the Council of Ministers, particularly by the Prime Minister. Theoretically, there is much to be desired in this sort of a system of checks and balances. In practice, it is very probable that the system may give rise to occasional frictions which may weaken the administration. This is very likely to happen when both the President and the Prime Minister are equally forceful personalities, or are members of different parties. Of course, the power to select the Prime Minister is vested in the President. It all depends on how this power is exercised. In case, the deader of the majority party in the Parliament is to be the Prime Minister, very little of the power of selection is left to the President who has only to give sanction to the decisions of the majority party in the Parliament. If, on the other hand, the President is to have real authority to appoint a Prime Minister of his choice irrespective of his position in the Parliament, it is indisputable that he will be more than favourable to the President. In this case, the Prime Minister's office may lose much of its significance. Thus, on the one hand, there is a danger of conflict between the President and the Prime Minister, on the other hand, the office of the Prime Minister is liable to become a superfluous institution. Much depends on the personalities of the two, and on the conventions that may be followed from time to time.

In effect, this sounds as a compromise between the form of government that prevails in the U.S.A. and the form of government that exists in England. In the E.S.A., the President has very wide executive powers, He is independent of the Legislature, namely, the Compress. Even after the people have given a manufact against his party in the mid-term election of the Compress, he has "the right divine to govern the vicing He is the manufact band of the State. Once he will be the Compress Latification?"

him. His will is predominant and in his actions, the feelings of the people are supposed to be reflected. As Caleb Cershing has said, no head of a department can lawfully perform an official act against the will of the President. The President combines in him the two offices of the King and the Prime Minister. In England, however, the King is merely a titular head of the Government. For all practical purposes, the Prime Minister is the supreme head. A Prime Minister with a stable majority in the House of Commons commands all the executive and legislative powers. He is political centre. Thus the system of executive that is proposed in our Draft Constitution seems to have been designed with a view to meeting half way the two distinct forms of Government that prevail in the two advanced countries of the world.

The President of the S.D.R.I.* is to be elected by an electoral college for a term of five years. Comparatively speaking, this term of office is pretty long. The President of the U.S.A. is elected for a fixed term of four years. Though the Prime Minister of England, who is the de facto executive head, is elected for the term of five years, there is every possibility of his losing the office before the termination of his tenure. His position is precarious in the sense that it depends on the vote of the Parliament.

Again, a restriction has been imposed on the reelection of the President of the S.D.R.I. He can seek re-election only once. That is, one can remain s the President of the S.D.R.I. for a maximum period of ten years, consecutively or otherwise. There is no such limitation in the case of the President of the U.S.A. or the Prime Minister of England. It is a well-known fact that Frederick Roosevelt was elected as President for four times in succession. Of course, partly the emergency created by the war was responsible for his successive elections; but any way there was no impediment to his standing for the contest. In England, there is absolutely no restriction on the same person being elected as the Prime Minister again and again. In English history, there are notable cases of long and continued holding of the office, as for example Gladstone, Disraeli or Baldwin. The Mmitation put on the re-election of the President of the S.D.R.I. is justified, in view of the fact that the term of office is proposed to be of five years. To work as a President for more than ten years is too heavy a responsibility

[.] The Socialism Distriction Management Lable.

to be imposed on any one. And even if some one is prepared to bear the burden, he should not be allowed to do it, in his own interests as well as in the interests of the nation. In fact, the wisdom of keeping such a long tenure of office may be doubted. The tenure should be sufficiently long to impart stability and to facilitate the implementation of the plans, but it should not be so long as to give rise to a stale and wooden administrative machinery. This point is to be specially considered, as once a President is elected he cannot be removed, howsoever incompetent he may prove himself. He will stick to the office for full five years and nothing can come in his way. In view of this monopolistic position, one should ponder whether the tenure of five years is rather long or not. If such long tenure is accepted, the imposition of a limitation on re-election will be quite justified.

Like the President of the U.S.A., the Indian President is also to be elected indirectly by an electoral college. The members of both the houses of the Union Parliament and the elected members of the State Legislatures are to form the electoral college. Thus, the members of all these legislative bodies have a heavy responsibility of electing the executive head of the State. It is in the nature of things that the President shall be elected by an indirect election. For, the Direct Democracy of early Greece can no longer be practised by the vast multitudes of population.

No extraordinary qualification will be demanded of a contestant for a Prosidential election. In the first instance, he should not be less than 35 years of age. This is, in a way, superfluous, as hardly any one below that age would command such a wide influence as to be elected to the Presidency. And in case some one does, why should he be debarred? Pitt the Younger became the Prime Minister at the age of 24, and quite a successful one. It seems our constitution-makers have preferred wisdom that is supposed to accumulate on passing years to the zeal of a youth. Perhaps an experienced elder is expected to be a more worthy President than a visionary young man.

Another requirement for acquiring eligibility is that he should be qualified for the election of a member of the Lower House. This means that any adult whose age is not less than thirty-five and who has a domicile in India can become the supreme executive head of the S.D.R.I.

It cannot be helped remarking that the draft is silent on a woman's eligibility for the supreme executive post. Hence, a woman over the age of 35 is equally eligible to contest. Let us hope that we shall find a worthy President, unlike other countries, in some lady who will grace the Executive throne.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNION OF INDIA

The Parliament of India will consist of two Houses, the Upper House to be called the Council of States and the Lower House, the House of the People. The Council of States will represent States as units, while the House of the People will represent the people of the Union of India as a whole. Though the distinction is very delicate it is important in a Federal State. Federalism implies the co-existence of two well defined authorities; and the people owe allegiance to both of them. In the words of Dicey, a federal state is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity with the maintenance of state rights. That is why a bicameral legislature is absolutely necessary in a Federal State. As a general principle, in the Upper House where the States are represented as units, all States should have equal representation, irrespective of the size or the population of a State. While in the Lower House people should be represented according to the population; that is, each State gets the seats in proportion to its population. The actual application of this principle can be observed in many federal countries.

In the U.S.A., there are two Houses of Legislature--the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate, each State sends two representatives, irrespective of any other consideration. For the House of Representatives, members are elected on the basis of population. The Constitution provides that the number of representatives should not exceed one for every thirty thousand of the population, but each State has at least one representative. In the Upper House of Switzerland, all full cantons send two representatives, while half-cantons send one. In the Commonwealth of Australia also, the Senate (the Upper House) consists of thirty-six members selected in equal number of six by each of the six component States. However, this practice is not observed in Canada. The Senate of Canada is a nominated body. Its members are elected for life by the Governor-General on the advice of the Cabinet. This is an exception to the general practice in a federal state, of allowing all Constitution Units to have equal representation in the Upper House.

According to our Draft Constitution, the Council of States will consist of 250 members of which fifteen members shall be nominated by the President and the remainder shall represent the States as Units, and will be elected by the legislatures of States. The House of the People will consist of not more than 500 members who will be elected by direct vote of the people of the Union. There will be not more than one representative for 500,000 of the population and not less than one for 750,000 of the population.

While bicameral legislature is necessary in a Federal State, it is not uncommon in Unitary States also. Though England and France are Unitary States, there are two houses of legislature in both the countries. It is obvious, however, that in a Unitary State, the Upper House will be based on a different principle, such as to serve as a corrective body, rather than to represent the Units. It would function as a brake to the hasty and ill-considered action of one chamber. In England, the House of Lords consists of

about eight hundred members who are mostly hereditary peers created by the Crown. It is understandable that they would not enjoy the powers in equal measure with those of the House of Commons which an elective body, reflecting the will of the people. The Parliament Act of 1911 has put a serious restraint to the exercise of the powers by the Lords. The effect of that Act is that the Lords have no substantial control over ordinary legislation, as a Bill may be passed, if certain procedure is adopted, after two years even though the Lords withhold concurrence. With respect to a money bill, the Lords have absolutely no voice. Even if the Lords do not consent, a money bill can become law on the lapse of one month after it has been passed by the Commons. Thus, for ordinary legislation, the power of the Lords has been restricted to "suspensive veto of two years," and for money bills they have no voice. However, they have substantial judicial power, but that is exercised by a few experienced members of the House.

In France, the two Chambers—the Council of the Republic and the National Assembly—are elected on territorial basis. The Council is renewed by one-half every three years. The National Assembly may elect, by proportional representation, Councillors not exceeding one-sixth of the total number of the Council which cannot be less than 250 nor more than 320. War cannot be declared without a vote of the National Assembly and the previous advice of the Council of the Republic. The National Assembly alone votes upon the laws. It cannot delegate this authority. The Council of the Republic examines bills passed in the first reading by the Assembly, and tenders advice.

Though our Upper Chamber (Council of States) will be an elective body, it will not enjoy powers regarding money bills on equal terms with the House of the People. A money bill can originate only in the House of the People. After it has been passed, a money bill shall be transmitted to the Council of States for its recommendations and the Council shall, within a period of thirty days from the date of its receipt of the Bill, return the Bill to the House of the People who may accept or reject the recommendations.

The question of respective powers of the two chambers is rather complicated. On the one hand, it may be argued, the House that is elected by the direct vote of the people should have a superior position as it reflects the will of the people. On the other hand, it seems that the Upper House should enjoy all powers on equal footing with the Lower House inasmuch as it is an elective body. Again, it will represent States as units and hence it should not have an inferior position, lest it may cause among the States suspicion and lack of confidence in the federal structure.

The Senate of the U.S.A. is perhaps the most powerful second chamber in the whole world. Its

consent by a two-thirds of majority is necessary for making treaties. The importance of this provision will be realised if it is recalled what a difficult situation arose when after the first World War the Senate refused to ratify the acceptance of the covenant of the League of Nations even though President Wilson had signed it. Again it has the power to try all impeachments. In Switzerland, the two Chambers—the Council of States and the National Council—have absolutely equal powers in theory. No measure can be enacted unless it has been approved by both. In practice, however, the Council of States has assumed an inferior position.

In the Dominion of Canada, the Senate has equal powers with the Lower House (the House of Commons) and somewhat inferior powers with regard to money bills. It lacks, however, popular support as it is a nominated chamber. According to Laski, it may not command even its own confidence.

In the Commonwealth of Australia, the Senate has equal powers with the House of Representatives (the Lower House) except with regard to money bills. It has not attracted much talent as able men prefer to go to the Lower House, which by convention controls the Executive.

So far as the duration of the Houses is concerned, the Draft Constitution seeks to provide a formula which is a sort of compromise between various systems. The House of the People will be elected for five years. But the President may, in an emergency. extend it for one year. It may be dissolved earlier by the President. The Council of States will not be subject to dissolution, but as nearly as practicable, one-third of its members will retire on the expiration of every second year. This is in accordance with the practice prevalent in the U.S.A. The Senate of the U.S.A. is elected for six years, but one-third of its members retire every second year. In Switzerland, the method of choice as well as the term of office of the members 'of the Council of State is decided by cantons themselves. Hence there is no uniform practice. Fourteen cantons elect their representatives for four years, eight cantons elect for three years and three cantons elect for one year only. In Canada, the Senate consists of members nominated for life by the Governor while the House of Commons is elected for five years. In Australia, the term of the Upper House (Senate) is six years, one-half retiring every three years, while the Lower House (the House of the Representatives) is elected for three years, but may be dissolved earlier by the Governor-General.

The President has a right to address both or either of the Houses of Parliament and may send to the Parliament message with regard to any Bill which is pending. The Parliament should give precedence to the matter referred to in his message over other business. This has been adopted from the U. S. A. where the President has such rights, Again, the President shall address the Parliament at the

opening of each Session and shall inform the reason why it has been summoned. This is in vogue in the U. K. where the King addresses the Parliament.

Provision has been made for the joint session of both the houses for certain kinds of business. There will be a joint session when a Bill has been passed by one House and rejected by another,-or the Houses have finally disagreed as to the amendment to be made in the Bill or more than six months clapse from the date of the reception of the Bill by the other house, without being passed by it. If a Bill is passed in the joint session by a majority it shall be deemed to have been passed by both the Houses. In some other countries also, there is a provision for joint sessions to transact certain extraordinary business. For example, in Switzerland, the Council of States and the National Assembly meet in the joint session for electing the Federal Council (Executive), Federal Tribunal, the Chancellor and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army, for deciding conflicts of jurisdiction and for exercising rights of pardon.

The effect of this provision for a joint session would be that the Upper House will not exercise any of its powers in an unreasonable manner. In fact, the whole range of its powers is narrowed down by this provision. The result is that the Upper House will function more or less as a mere advisory or consultative body in a way that establishes supremacy of the House of the People which reflects the will of the people. On the other side, it is a sad reflection on the representation of States as Constituent Units.

THE FEDERAL JUDICATURE OF INDIA

There is no better test of the excellence of a Government than the efficiency of its judicial system.

—Lord Bryce

The existence of an independent and impartial judicial system is absolutely necessary for the safeguard of rights and liberties that the Constitution may bestow upon the people. In a Federal State, the judicial system is all the more important as it is considered to be the custodian and guardian of the Constitution. The division of powers, supremacy of the constitution and rigidity of the constitution: these are essential features of a federation. From this it follows that there should be a body to interpret the constitution and to secure its observance. This means that a well-organized and independent judicial tribunal is the sine qua non of a Federal State. The modern States have tried to realise the importance of the judiciary and have tried to make it independent and impartial.

The Supreme Court of the U. S. A. has a power to declare a law unconstitutional, if a law passed either by a State Legislature or by a federal legislature is against the terms of the Constitution. Two examples may be given of the exercise of this power. In 1791, the Congress sanctioned the establishment of

the Bank of the United States in the face of the violent opposition from certain States. The Bank opened a branch in Baltimore in the State of Maryland, the legislature of which imposed, in 1818, a stamp tax on the circulating notes of all ba.ks located in the State without its own charter. The Bank refused to pay the tax. The Supreme Court, in an appeal filed by the Bank against the decision of the Maryland Court, held that the Congress had an implied power to start the bank and therefore the State law was illegal and void. Similarly, the Supreme Court can declare a federal law unconstitutional. In 1916, the Congress prohibited inter-State trade in goods made by child labour. This law interfered with industry, a matter that was within the jurisdiction of the States. Hence the Supreme Court declared the law passed by the Congress unconstitutional. On the same ground of interference with industries, the National Industrial Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional in 1935.

Such a thing is impossible in a Unitary State like England. The Parliament is a sovereign body. It can pass any law and no authority can question its validity. Not only that but Parliament can, by an amendment to the law, virtually override the decisions of the Courts. As for example, Parliament enacted the Trade Disputes Act in 1906 as it did not approve of the judicial decision in the Taff Vala Case (1901). It was declared in this case that the Trade Union as a body was bound to suffer for the mistakes of the officers of the Union in the conduct of a strike. Parliament thought that the Trade Union movement will be hampered, so it passed the Act, by which the Trade Union was not to be held responsible for the mistake of its officers.

According to our Draft Constitution, there shall be a Supreme Court of India. It will have original jurisdiction in any dispute between the Government of India and one or more States or between the Government of India and any State or States on one side and one or more States on the other, or between two or more States, in so far as the dispute involves any question on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends. Thus, the Supreme Court will be, just as in the U.S.A., the custodian and guardian of the constitution. It can declare any law either passed by the Union Parliament or the State legislature null and void. The States will have, thereby, no fear of encroachment by the Centre upon the spheres specifically allotted to them, and upon those acts which are within their jurisdiction.

On its appellate side, the Supreme Court shall conduct certain appeals. Thus, for example, an appeal may be filed to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order of a High Court if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the constitution. If the High Court has refused to grant such a certificate, the Supreme Court may itself grant

special leave for similar reason. Appeals may also lie from the States which constitute at present the British Indian Provinces if the High Court certifies under certain circumstances, such as, when the amount br value of the subject-matter is not less than twenty thousand rupces.

As ancillary functions of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court has to give its opinion if the President consults it on any vital question. Similarly, it has to decide an important dispute if it is referred to it by the President.

When it is realised that the Supreme Court has to perform vitally important functions, it is necessary to understand how the Supreme Court will be constituted. For, ultimately much depends upon the persons who constitute the Court.

The Supreme Court will consist of the Chief Justice of India and not less than seven judges. Judges are to be appointed by the President after consultation with such of the Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts in the States as may be necessary. The Chief Justice should be always consulted.

The method of appointment of Judges is one of those ticklish problems that have puzzled the political thinker and scientist alike. There are three different methods of appointing judges. They may be nominated by the Executive, as is the practice in most of the countries; or they may be elected by the Legislature as is done in Switzerland and U.S.S.R., or they may be elected directly by the people, following the method prevalent in some of the Swiss Cantons and the States of the U.S.A. None of these methods is perfect, as the judges may tend to become subservient to the body

that appoints or selects them. Experience of all the countries shows that, on the whole, appointment by the Executive is the best method, provided certain conditions are observed. In case of the system of election by either the Legislature or the people, Judges have to adopt all sorts of tactics in order to secure votes. This means, the Judges have to woo the political parties. That is why in the U.S.A., Britain, France, Canada, Australia and other countries the Judges are appointed by the Executive. With a view to making them independent and impartial, generally it is provided that Judges shall hold office "during good behaviour." Our Draft Constitution provides that a Judge of the Supreme Court will hold office till he attains the age of sixty-five. He cannot be removed unless certain procedure is followed. The President may pass an order of removal if an address supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting has been presented to him by both the Houses of Parliament, desiring the removal of a Judge on the ground of either misbehaviour or incapacity. In other words, it means that he will hold office during good behaviour, unless incapacity proved. Even on this ground, the Parliament has to secure a majority by two-thirds. That means a few dissatisfied members cannot remove a Judge unless there is a strong proof of his misbehaviour or incapacity. Under these provisions, his position is quite independent. Not only that but his salary, allowances and rights in respect of leave as well as pension shall not be varied to his disadvantage, after having been the Parliament at the time of his fixed up by appointment.

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THE INDO-IRISH PARALLEL

A Study in Dominion Status

By Prof. J. SEN, B.A. (Oxon)

THE description of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of Nations or Free States has an air of smugness about it. It suggests uniformity without variation and a pattern of freedom for all. This association has changed so rapidly in meaning and content during the last century that to fit it into a phrase or a formula would be to deny its very richness and vitality. We have travelled a long way since Durham's time. Canada and Australia led the way and South Africa joined the procession, the entry of the Irish free State gave the first touch of colour and quickened the pace, and today more have joined up, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. There was a time when members on the march looked to Canada for leadership and inspiration, for a time the Union of South Africa forged ahead and left others behind, and now India is eatching up with the nest and going full steam ahead.

In spite of variations the Irish struggle in many ways has supplied the inspiration, the technique and ideal of the Indian independence movement. The signposts on the Irish soud to freedom are clear to all students of Empire politics,-the Irish awakening of the eighteenth century after age-long oppression, exploitation and domination by the Anglo-Scottish Protestant settlers, the spacious days of Grattan, the Anglo-Irish Union, the Repeal movement, Home Rule agitation, the death of Home Rule, Sinn Fein and Civil War, the birth of the Irish Republic, partition and dominion status, and the removal one by one of all symbols of association with the Grown and the Commonwealth. But this is perhaps an oversimplification of Anglo-Irish relations and of the Irish revolution. Irish temperament and emotion, the Irish sense of nation and Ireland's debt to France and

continental political thought and her devotion to a rigid doctrine of freedom or independence are some of the characteristic features of the struggle distinguishing it from the simple demand of the elder Dominions for equality and sovereignty. Ireland has not gone the way of Canada or Australia. She has attained dominion status, not in the usual constitutional or evolutionary manner, but through armed resistance and revolution; though enjoying dominion sovereignty she has refused to "come into" the Empire or Commonwealth; though acceding to the Statute of Westminster she has not accepted her association with the Crown and Commonwealth as "Free" and unfettered and has dogmatically stood aside when other Dominions have freely admitted their loyalty and obligations to the British Crown; while the British Dominions, on the whole, have been off-shoots of the British race, messengers and outpostof British culture and power, Ireland, a Gaelic nation, has herself been a mother and nursery of nations, a giver of emigrants, developing her own Gaelic culture and guarding it against the contamnation of British culture which is a foreign culture

The true starting point of the Irish struggle is the Easter Week Rebellion of 1916. The constitutional method, an essentially British method, of solving the Anglo-Irish dispute was given up, the ideal of Home Rule under the British Crown was abandoned, the English doctrine of compromise was rejected, and Ireland quickly assimilated the rigid, doctrinaire and absolute political theories of the continent. The ideal behind the Revolution of 1916 was that of Rousseau. not that of Locke or Burke, the theory of natural rights, not the evolutionary doctrine of the British philosophers. The men of 1916 were a few intellectuals. but they forced the pace of the Irish struggle and opened before the Irish people the vision of complete and absolute freedom. The martyrs of 1916 kindled the fire, and out of its ashes was created the ideal, the catchword, the dream of a Republic, sovereign and independent Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the Easter Week Rebellion, wrote as follows some time before his execution:

"I make the contention that the national demand of Ireland is fixed and determined, that the demand has been made by every generation, that we of this generation receive it as a trust from our fathers, that we are bound by it, that we have not the right to alter it or to abate it by one jot on tittle. Ireland's historic claim is for separation. Ireland has authorised no man to abate that claim."

Even when the rebellion collapsed and Ireland descended from her dream to the hard reality of the Anglo-Irish treaty, Erskine Childers, in a speech before the constituent assembly, questioned whether "this assembly shall, or even can, surrender its own independence," and he reinforced his argument by

l Survey of British Commonwealth...The Problem of Nationality, (institute of International Affairs). p. 99.

Rouseau's doctrine of the purity of the "general will."
The surrender of national independence was an injustice. Even if the community willed this surrender, its will was no longer pure.

The Treaty of 1921 marks the anti-climax Ireland's struggle. British persuasion and genius for compromise won the battle. Ireland crossed from revolution to constitutionalism, descended from dream to reality, from full and unfettered freedom to Domimon Status, and bowed down to partition, waiving for the moment the ideal of an undivided state. Since 1921, the one thread running through all the Anglo-Irish controversies has been the unnoticed but nevertheless growing triumph of the British constitutional technique over the dving doctrine of the Easter week proclamation and of the First Irish Dail setting up a united, sovereign and independent Irish republic. Griffith, Collins and Cosgrave succumbed to British blandishments. So did De Valera on assuming office in 1932. Political reality killed political romance. A new fact, the imperfect state, killed the old dream of establishing here and now the perfect Irish Commonwealth When Griffith and others of the Irish delegation defended the treaty of 1921 by saying that they had accepted "freedom to achieve freedom," they surrendered for ever the Irish brand of freedom which was full and clear for the British variety which in the event has proved to be a snare. From 1932 onwards De Valera, protesti g his attachment to the Irish Revolutionary doctrine on 1916-19 and removing one by one all the symbol of Irish association with the British Crown and Commonwealth, has nevertheless yielded to the gentle pressure of the British parliamentary method and of British culture; and Ireland today, whatever internal and symbolic freedom she has won, remains, where she was a quarter century ago, a British Dominion, although Eiro's constitution does not admit it, and a state split in two. "Ireland had moved too rapidly to freedom to be certain where its essence lay."

A synoptic survey of the Irish and Indian struggles for fredom, of the growing and fading emotions on both sides, of rising and falling fortunes, and of the final scenes in the developing tragedy would not only reveal numerous points in common but also some characteristic deviations. India, like Ireland and unlike other dominions, began as a conquered and subjugated race. The English conquest meant strong and unified Government no doubt, as in Ireland, but it also began a long trail of oppression, exploitation and domination of an ancient and wholly different people by the ruling race. Poverty and degradation, the twin evils of foreign domination, had the same corroding effect on the Indian and Irish mind, and Macaulay's malicious description of the Indian character has its parallel in Dean Swift's healthy castigation of Ireland in the early

² Manaergh : The Irish Free State : Its Government and Politics, pp. 43-4.

³ Pakenham : Peace by Ordeal, p. 320.

fools and all are knaves."4

And yet this misery and degradation generated in both lands a strong nationalism impatient of alien rule and exploitation, and a cultural renaissance which supplied the vital spark to the revolutionary struggle that followed. Dean Swift, in his Drapier's Letters, wrote as follows:

"I have looked over all the English and Irish statutes without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England des upon Ireland."

Addressing his own people he says:

"By the Laws of God, of Nature, and of your country, you are, and ought to be, as free a people as your brethren in England."

This was the first sign of Irish awakening. For about two centuries from that day to the growth of Sinn Fein under Griffith's leadership Ireland developed e fanatical nationalism opposed to British political and economic exploitation The Drapter's Letters in their historical context are a passionate protest against economic exploitation and a plea for Irish selfsufficiency From economic self-sufficiency to political needom was an easy step, and nineteenth century Irish history is a record of growing political nationalism. inforced by a cultural revival with its centre and suce of inspiration in the Gaelic League. The Indian aruggle has been woven in the same pattern as sh. It began as a struggle for "Swadeshi" ened into a campaign for "Swaraj," reinforced by a ural remassance, deeper and more widespread than Irish movement. India not only became a nation the political sense, she began a discovery of her ...torious past and started a literary revival which has promoed vastly more momentous results than the Irish Gaelic movement. Notwithstanding her deep divisions in the past, flamboyantly exposed by her critics, and her communal and sectional differences in the present, India as a political and cultural unit has been taken for granted, and all revolutionary movements and plans for constitutional reform have started with the premise of Indian unity. In Ireland, the Home Rule agitation down to 1914, also stood on the unassailable foundation of an indivisible state. The breach between the north and the south, between Protestant Unionists and Catholic nationalists was yet to come. As Bernard Shaw put it in his characteristic and pungent manner:

"I am a genuine, typical Irishman of the Danish, Norman, Cromwellian and Scotch invasions. I am violently and arrogantly Protestant by family tradition, but let no English Government therefore count on my allegiance. I am English enough to be an inveterate Republican and Home Ruler."5

The present century began for both Ireland and India on a note of robust optimism followed by dis-

eighteenth century as "this land of slaves where all are illusion and discord. Home Rule for all Ireland was all but achieved in 1914, party differences were buried and Ireland as one unit stood by England in her hour of trial. The Anglo-Irish problem came so near a complete and final solution that Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, declared on the eve of the war that "Ireland was the one bught spot." But behind this "brightness" worked the dark Hegelian dialectics. Home Rule for all Ireland generated the Ulster separatist movement, and the agonising process ended in the partition of Ireland and the acceptance of Dominion Status by the Irish Free State. In India, the optimism and the emotion created by the Russo-Japanese war were arrested by the Partition of Bengal, the seeds of disunion were sown and the first steps were taken towards a divided India by the separate electorate system of the Morley-Minto scheme.

The Indo-Irish parallel is closer from the second and third decades. In 1921, Ireland crossed from revolution to constitutionalism and England began her conquest of the Irish mind by the liberal and parliamentary method. In India, in 1919, the British Government took the prevocable step of introducing the British type of parliamentary democracy which began a subtle penetration of the Indian mind, and has been working like a ferment in Indian politics from that day to this. Since then the broad fact in the Indo-Irish parallel has been the growing urge towards an annulment or avoidance of partition. In Ireland, the *Constituent Act of 1922 built on the foundation of 'freedom to achieve freedom." One by one the symbols of association with the Commonwealth were rejected. Ireland did not for a moment surrender her ideal of a sovereign and independent republic, and the External Relations Act and the revised constitution of 1937 underlined this ideal. But the major premiss in De Valera's programme has been the ending of partition. Force had failed to maintain Irish Unity during the critical years 1914-19, now the British parliamentary and persuasive method was tried, the doses of 'freedom' administered to the Irish Free State, the rejection of all forms of violence and even the declaration of the Irish Republican Army as an illegal organisation (1936) were all meant to serve the major aim of Irish politics, a reunion of the two Irelands. De Valera thought that 'hberation' was almost achieved and he was heading towards 'unification.' But fifteen years of Fianna Fail administration failed to achieve either liberation or unification. Ireland is still far from the 1916 ideal of freedom. She is still a member of the Commonwealth whether she admits it or not, and the prospect of a inion of all Ircland is still a mirage in Irish politics.

India started under better auspices than Ireland. Ireland was out to unsettle a settled fact. India tried her best to avoid a split. Ireland created a doctrine of freedom and wrecked the unity of the State, India refused to define freedom and tried to save both freedom and unity. The movement for freedom and unity raced together. This explains the twin ideals of Con-

⁴ Jonathan Swift : The Drapier's Letters.

⁵ G. B. Shaw : John Bull's Other Island, Prelace for Politicians.

gress—united India and Swaraj. In achieving this, the path of negation and armed resistance was given up, violence was eschewed, in place of a rigid doctrine of independence a more viable doctrine of freedom was formulated and all major political parties agreed tread the path of negotiation and parliamentary constitutional technique. This has been the one thread running through the tangled skein of Indian politics. Whether India learnt by Irish experience is a matter of conjecture. As it is, India escaped the Irish "Peace by Ordeal," deliberately and with eyes open she chose the constitutional path, she tried to devise a Government for all. "a Government that divides us least," and trimmed her ideal to suit the prevailing trend of politics in order to prevent a repetition of the Irish disaster of 1916-19.

And yet India today, like Ireland, stands divided. The subtle persuasive and constitutional device has failed to keep India together. Communal agreements or pacts, proposals for an Indian federation, the Cabinet Mission plan-these and other palliatives not only failed to arrest but even beloed the rupture that was growing within the body politic. In theory or strict law, the unity of both Ireland and India has been consistently admitted. Apart from the device of Home Rule which in essence was Home Rule for all Ireland. the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, which was an official recognition of the two-nation theory was given the appearance of an all-Ireland solution, the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 was of the same pattern, the Constituent Act of 1922, as the preamble shows, built on the same foundation, and it was as late as 1924 that a Boundary Commission created a separate State of Northern Ireland which was finally given de facto though not de jure recognition by the new Irish Constitution of 1937. In India, beginning from the federal scheme of 1935, all solutions have had the appearance of all-India solutions. The Cabinet Mission plan had that one merit, if no other. Even the Mountbatten plan of June 3, 1947, was a plan for all India. But behind this facade of Indian unity worked the western democratic process. Congress, treading the constitutional path, had to admit the logic of constitutionalism. Self-determination, again a western doctrine, followed logically from the democratic notion. De Valera and others had argued that if the British would only consent to 'stand aside', the Irishmen of North and South would settle their differences on the principle of Government 'by consent.' But the Northerners did not 'consent' to the British 'standing aside.' India also walked into the snare of logic. Selfdetermination, logically pursued, tore the veil of the Mountbatten plan and India accepted partition. But truncated India is still called 'India' which is no more a reality but a legal fiction.

Unity has been sacrificed, what of status? Ireland

began with a clear-cut doctrine of independence and يتدينه مهوا مستوسد والدايد تدميمه ووايي بالانتوادي الراوان المانو واستسايه والتوادي

ended with dominion status. India has never formulated a doctrine and is trying to discover her rightful place in the comity of nations. That there are risks in doctrines is clear from the Irish case. The one part c the British Empire which has completely separated itself from the Empire is the United States. Lecky's vivid and eloquent description testifies to the absence of any doctrine behind the American revolution. There was no fog in the American mind. The rapid march of events led the colonists forward and it was an English revolutionary, Thomas Paine, who in an with the significant title anonymous pamphlet "Commonsense" for the first time pointed to the establishment of an Independent American Republic as the only solution. India, splendidly equipped for an independent role, has failed to give her ideal of independence a concrete shape. Much more than any other part of the Empire, much more than Ireland. India has been a mother and nursery of nations, not only developing the highest type of culture but even carrying that culture far and wide and creating a cultural empire of her own. This culture has penetrated not only the student, the scholar and the common man, it has even run through the gamut of Indian politics. When Pandit Nehru holds the Asian Relations Conference or writes the Discovery of India, he not only tries to interpret the beauty and majesty of India's past, the variety and unity of India's culture and her claim to Asian leadership, he also indicates India's stature among the nations of today. But whatever height India may have attained in metaphysical speculations she has produced no political philosophy. Her ancient treatises on politics, like those of Kautilya and Manu, are positive and practical, not speculative in the western sense. While India has taken the road to freedom she has no clear-cut definitions for freedom or sovereignty or independence. The doctrinaire freedom of the Irish republicans may have cost the Irish people the freedom of their dream, but an imprecise freedom such as India has been trying to achieve has been leading her to a cul-de-sac. After toying with dominion status, Congress, at its Tripuri session, declared independence to be the goal, and the Independence Day Pledge declared that India must sever the British connexion and attain Purna Swaraj. The gool is stated but not defined. Two years later (August 8, 1942), the A.-I. C. C. passed the "Quit India" resolution and demanded independence. But independence was not given a precise content. Independence meant the withdrawal of British power. It emphasised India's self-determination to determine her own constitution. It laid down no doctrine, clearly it did not envisage separation from the Commonwealth. The Draft Constitution of India (February, 1948) is a thoroughly practical document with no positive reference to the people as the source of all power as in

^{7.} Locky's Eistory of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. 1V. 8 Printed by the Navjiban Press.

⁶ Leo Kohn : The Constitution of the Irish Free State, p. 389.

article 2, of the Irish Constituent Act. There is nothing in the form of Oath to indicate India's Status, and the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly, sectaring India to be "a Sovercign Independent Repubfic" is replaced by one declaring it to be a "Sovereign Democratic Republic," a significant departure which has raised more problems than it has solved. "There is nothing much in a name," the Preamble declares, and there is no doubt that words have lost their old meanings now-a-days. The Austinian theory of sovereignty and the gloss of Sir Henry Maine are no more applicable to the fast-changing and plastic polities of today. Freedom, sovereignty, independence are used promiscuously. Eire is a 'sovereign and independent republic' according to the constitution of 1937; Iraq obtained sovereign and independent status in 1932, Egypt became sovereign and independent in 1936, the Union of South Africa asserted its status as a sovereign and independent state by the Status of Union Act and the Executive Functions and Scals Act of 1934, Obviously these words are now mere cliches and have lost their old values like a hat which has lost its shape because everybody wears it.

That India, after August 15, 1947, has become independent, completely independent, is being proclaimed, and with a ring of sincerity which is beyond all doubt, by all responsible leaders. And yet India is a Dominion, at any rate for the present, not like the Irish Free State which accepted Dominion Status under pressure from Lloyd George who threatened Ireland with "immediate and terrible war" but of her own free will." In normal times there is nothing to lose and everything to gain from Dominion Status as it 18 today. But a dominion is put to the severest and most practical test at a time of growing international tension. Foreign relations and foreign policy become more vital than internal sovereignty. Freedom of action in theory has to be put into practice, and a Dominion has to make up its mind without restraint or embarrassment. And this becomes clearly impossible, however slender the tie and whatever the treaty with Britain

9 Draft Constitution of India, Schedule III, p. 166.

10 Draft Constitution of India, Preamble.

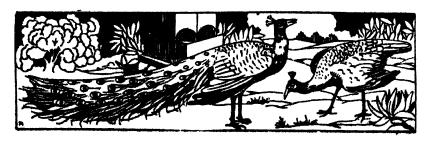
or members of the Commonwealth. Independence granted by an Act of the British Parliament is secondary independence, and Britain legitimately expects some quid pro quo and genuine support from every dominion in her hour of trial.

Sir Alfred Zimmern, talking of the British Empire after the first World War, described it as "an entente".10 His purpose was to emphasise the predominantly non-British character of the Empire and the looseness of the tie. But in the context of history an "entente" has a sense more significant and vital than that. When on the eve of the war an Entente Cordiale was formed with France or a "triple entente" with France and Russia, Britain emphasised rather the obligations of members than their freedom of action in view of the impending war with Germany. India is a Dominion, a non-British Dominion bound by no ties of race, religion or culture with the British Units of the Commonwealth, and yet the obligation rests on her of helping Britain during the coming crisis. That Britain too is anxious about it is evident from the outspoken speech of Admiral Taylor in the House of Commons* on March 8 last in which he expressed his concern that owing to the establishment of the new dominions, different from Canada, South Africa and Australia "who are our kith and kin," Britain might not have naval bases in the Indian Ocean in view of the possibility of a third world war.

The forthcoming session of the Constituent Assembly will indicate India's final choice. In the making of that choice a great deal will depend upon the psychological factor of the moment. Years ago, Subhas Chandra Bose, in his book, The Indian Struggle, had indicated in the plainest terms where India's destiny really lay. He had argued clearly against Dominion Status and in favour of the fullest independence. There was a sting in Anglo-Indian relations in which the present generation, in the traditional Indian spirit of tolerance and forgiveness, may forget, or may not. Whatever the decision, let it be frank and clear. If India chooses to come out of the Commonwealth, no one is going to prevent it. If, on the other hand, she elects to remain a Dominion, the moral as well as the legal obligations of a Dominion should be frankly appreciated and fulfilled.

12 Sir Alfred Zimmern: The Third British Empire, pp. 44-5.

* Reported in the Statesman, Dak Edition, March 12, 1948.



¹¹ After the Cabinet Mission proposals and before the Mount-batten plan, Shroe Radhakrishnan, speaking on the objectives resolution in the Constituent Assembly frankly stated his objection to Dominion Status (A. C. Banerjee: Constituent Assembly of India, p. 300). But Pandit Nehru's speeches clouded the issue (A. C. Banerjee: Ibid, pp. 119, 194-5, 200, 308).

THE first question which logically arises, is, what is the position of the present judiciary? Next, what is its historical background? What changes from time to time came over the judiciary from the time the East India Company and later on the British Crown appeared on the stage? What is the constitution of the present courts in India with reference to appeals to the Privy Council? What is the position of the Judiciary in other countries? These are more or less allied questions which follow one after the other. The Judiciary in India for the last two hundred or three hundred years was not altogether free from executive interference. These are relevant enquiries for a proper appreciation of my suggestions as to what shape the future Indian judiciary may or should take. At the same time we cannot altogether overlook technicalities mixed up with the subject under investigation.

Now I come straight to a brief historical retrospect. From 1600 to 1765, the East India Company were primarily traders. The constitution and privileges of the Company were defined by Elizabeth's famous Charter of 31st December, 1600.

In 1615 the necessary authority was given to the Company by grant of James I, who had renewed Elizabeth's Charter and made it perpetual by the Charter of 1600. But the first provision for the exercise of judicial powers by the East India Company was made by Charles II in 1661.

The transition of the Company from a trading association to a territorial sovereign invested with powers of Civil and Military Government proceeded a step further when by Charter of 1668 Charles II transferred the Island of Bombay to the Company. The Company was authorised to make laws and ordinances for the good government and administration of justice of the Port and Island and of the inhabitants thereof and also to exercise authority through its Governors and other officers. The privileges of the Company were renewed and confirmed by James II's Charter in 1686. James II conferred upon the Company the power of establishing a municipality to authorise the Mayor and Aldermen to become a Court of Record with power to try civil and criminal causes. To cut a long story short, in 1726 a Royal Charter was granted establishing or reconstituting municipalities at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and the Mayor's court was invested with civil jurisdiction. Provision was made for a regular system of appeal from this Court to the Governor and Council and thence to the King in Council, Authority was given to the Governor and Councils of these settlements to make bylaws and ordinances which had to be confirmed by the Court of Directors. According to some judicial authorities, the English criminal law

was introduced at the Presidency towns of India by the Charter of 1726.

From 1767 to 1786, came British Parliamentary intervention. The establishment of the Company's territorial sovereignty in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was a direct prelude to Parliamentary intervention in its affairs. In 1769, a new agreement was made by Parliament with the Company for five years.

On the 26th of March 1774, by a Charter was established the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal and which was a Court of Record. This Court consisted of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Justices. By Clause 3, they were appointed by the King under the Royal Scal and they held office during the King's pleasure. By Clause 4 they were Justices of the Peace and Coroners in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and were given such authority as the Justices of the King's Bench in England. Sir Elija Impey was its first Chief Justice. Within three years after the Queen's Proclamation were enacted the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code and almost immediately thereafter the Indian Penal Code. They applied to the whole Indian Empire and all Courts were governed by the procedure therein laid down except the Supreme Courts established by Royal Charter. Along with the passing of these Codes one uniform system of administration for justice was adopted.

The next step was the abolition of the Supreme Courts in the three presidency towns and to constitute in each presidency town a High Court of Judicature which would be supreme over all the Courts both in the presidency towns and in the mofussil.

On the 6th of August 1861, an Act was passed whereby the Crown was empowered to establish, by Letters Patent, a High Court of Judicature for Bengal and, by similar Letters Patents, High Courts at Madras and Bombay and to abolish the Supreme Court and the Sadar Dewany and Sadar Nizamut Adawluts. It is not my purpose to analyse or examine the different provisions of the Letters Patents which speak for themselves. The next statute which bears on the subject is the Government of India Act of 1935. I shall deal with it later. On the 25th of December 1800, a Supreme Court at Madras was established by a Royal Charter. On the 8th December 1823, was constituted a Supreme Court at Bombay by another Charter. It is impossible to go into details within a short compass nor is it necessary for this purpose. The history of the judicial institution in the mofussil and of the Sadar Dewany and Sadar Nisamut Adamlute which existed at the same time as the Courts of the presidency towns will be found fully discussed in Morley, Cowell and other similar works.

With regard to the laws administered, the Courts

established by the Crown and Parliament for the most part applied English law both civil and criminal; exceptions were made in favour of Hindus and Mohamedans, that in suits against parties of either of those religions, by whomsoever they might be brought, whether by Europeans or Natives of the soil, the law of the defendant should prevail. Their proceedings were also governed by the English law of procedure until 1834, they for the most part were amenable to the legislative authority of Parliament and to such regulations of Government as the Supreme Courts might choose to acknowledge and register.

The Mofussil Courts, on the other hand, had nothing to do with English law but were amenable in all respects to the regulations of Government or where no regulations were applicable, were directed to proceed according to justice, equity and good conscience; that is to say, in cases for which no law was provided the Judges were authorised to use the best discretion they possessed. There was no law of contract, no law of succession, no law of transfer, no territorial law, no law of evidence, no law of administration of deceased estates, barring Hindu and Mohammedan law. The wide field from which all specific law was absent, was gradually reclaimed and brought within the limits of civilization. The process was very slow and until the establishment of the Indian Law Commission, the Imperial Legislature in 1834 could hardly be said even to have started work. The procedure of those courts was such as was from time to time prescribed by the Regulations, which by the constant process of repeal and amendment gave a very uncertain and obscure expression to the rules which they provided.

To cut the long history short, the abolition of the East India Company, the assumption of direct responsibility of Government by the English Crown and the consolidation of the Indian Empire under the Queen in 1858—all these tended to amalgamate the rival sets of judicial institutions and bridge over the wide gulf separating the laws they administered and the procedure they observed. A uniform criminal law, a uniform system of Courts, of procedure, civil and criminal, equal liability to the jurisdiction with due regard for exclusive rights to personal laws based upon religion were required as a basis upon which to found a just and impartial administration.

7

Here I touch upon briefly some aspects of comparative jurisprudence and give only the barest outline of the French, the American and Russian systems of Judiciary and refer in passing to the Dominion Constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

In France, the judiciary was called the noblesse de robe. Judges were appointed by the Minister of Justice. A Judge cannot be removed except with the consent of the Court de Cassation, the highest Court of appeal.

Between 1879 and 1883 by a process of purification (E'puration) Judges whose loyalty to the Republic was suspected, were removed. In America, on the other

hand, the Judiciary is independent of the Legislature and the Executive. The Judiciary has to interpret any legislative enactment and any question which arises as to the contravention of the constitution.

Federal Judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and they hold office for life removable by impeachment. State Judges, on the other hand, are elected by the citizens except in seven States where they are appointed by the Governor.

In all the States, except in two. Judges are appointed for life and their terms of office vary from 2 to 21 years, the average being 8 or 10 years. The average salary of a State Judge is about £1,200 a year while in New York it is £3,500 a year.

Now, to refer to the Dominions, Canada is organised under one form of federation and Australia under another. South Africa prefers a union to a federation. The reason for this lies in their past history. I refer to the British North America Act of 1867, to the Commonwealth Act of 1900 and to the Union of South Africa Act of 1909 for a proper understanding of the constitutions of the Dominions and their judiciary and I also refer to Egerton's book Federations and Unions in the British Empire. As regards the system of the British judiciary, I invite the reader's attention to Maitland's Constitutional History of England and Jenning's Law and Constitution.

Contrast all these with the picture of Soviet Russia and see how the Soviet mind and thoughts, their entire outlook have been revolutionized in an incredibly short time. There exists much ignorance or misconception of the Soviet attitude. The Soviet constitution adopted in 1936 and now in force is, in fact, the third form in which Soviet democracy has expressed itself.

What is true democracy? Soviet Russia best answers the test laid down by Abraham Lincoln, namely, Government of the people by the people and for the people. In Soviet Russia, the vast masses of people enter into the administration. In other Western countries or even in America, only the elected representatives of the people do so partially. The concept of democracy permeates 'people's justice' in Soviet Russia. In the words of Lenin, every single citizen must take part in the Courts and in the country's administration. It is a task of gigantic difficulty.

There are now 27,600 People's Courts in the Soviet Union, one Court to every 6,000 inhabitants. Above these Courts are the Regional Courts and above them again is the Supreme Court of each republic. And the ultimate judicial tribunal in the land is the Supreme Court of U.S.S.R. The Regional and Supreme Courts have both appellate and original jurisdiction over important cases. The Supreme Court of U.S.R. tries criminal cases of exceptional importance, such as those involving even a member of the Central Executive Committee. It also tries disputes between constituent republics. There are also courts called "Comrades Courts" which exist in every factory and block of teachings.

I should like to stress the fact that the Soviet attitude towards Courts of Justice is that they exercise an educative influence on those sections of the population which still lag behind. As Lenin said, 'Courts are a means of education for discipline.' The Court is not bound by any formal rules of evidence.

Ш

Next I come to the question as to what is the position of the Indian judiciary under the Government of India Act of 1935. I leave out the consideration of the prior Act of 1619 because the present Act of 1935 and not its predecessor may have some bearing on the question as to what is likely to be or should be the position of the judiciary in the new constitution. Sections 200 to 204 of the Constitution Act of 1935 deal with the establishment of Courts, appointment, removal and salaries of Judges of the Federal Court. The jurisdiction of the Federal Court is also dealt with in Sections 204 and 205. All these provisions will of necessity be repealed and my suggestion is that the appointment of Judges under the new constitution should be from the Bar; they should be persons best fitted by their learning and eminence as lawyers and jurists to be Judges of the Supreme Court of free and independent India. They should be persons above party polities and not aligned to any particular group, My next suggestion is that Judges should not be removed at the will and pleasure of the majority of elected legislature of the union, but may be removed from his office on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of mind or body, if the Supreme Court on reference being made by the member in charge of law come to the conclusion that the particular Judge should on any such ground be removed.

Next as to jurisdiction At present the Federal Court's jurisdiction is confirmed to disputes between units of the federation or between the federation and any of the units.

The Federal Court has no authority to entertain suits brought by a citizen even with the consent of the Federal Court.

Section 213 of the Government of India Act, 1935, deals with appeals to the Federal Court from High Court in British India.

Section 205 will obviously be enlarged and will include any ground on which a person could have appealed to the Privy Council whether as of right or after a certificate had been granted by the High Court.

Under the existing Constitution Act, the Federal Court is assigned four kinds of jurisdiction:

 Original Jurisdiction in disputes between the federal units or between the federation and any of federal units.

This jurisdiction is wider where the dispute relates to provinces or the federation or any of the provinces.

(2) Appellate jurisdiction in relation to appeals from the High Courts in British India and Federal States.

(3) Advisory jurisdiction under which a question

of law may be referred to by the Governor-General for opinion and report.

(4) Fourthly, the federal legislature is empowered to extend the appellate jurisdiction of the Court so as to hear appeals in civil cases from the High Courts in British India.

The subject under the law head is an indispensable feature of any autonomous constitution based on the U.S.A. or on the Dominion model.

Next comes the Indian Independence Act of 1947. It is enough for our present purposes to note that this Act leaves the present Indian Judiciary the same as under the 1935 constitution.

Even apart from that, it is necessary that the law of All-India application, e.g., those made by the Central Legislature should be interpreted umformly for the whole of India by a common and supreme tribunal. The J. C. of the Privy Council is now the ultimate tribunal to hear certain appeals from India. In 1929, by the Civil Appellate Juri-diction Act passed by Parliament two additional Judges with Indian experience had to be appointed to hear Indian appeals on a fixed remuneration of £4,000 a year.

The jurisdiction which hitherto has been exercised by Privy Council will soon be exercised by the Supreme Court of India more speedily and cheaply for the benefit of the litigants who wish to appeal to the Supreme Court and the number of appeals to the Supreme Court will necessarily increase and there will certainly be more effective appeals than appeals to the Privy Council. Another suggestion that I put forth is the introduction of a circuit system.

The ancient Panchayet system in India's history now, of course, fallen into disuetude, contains the roots of the circuit system still prevalent in England and in the province of Orissa. This system is not without its advantages particularly in a vast sub-continent like India where litigants have in some cases to travel over 200 to 300 miles to come to the place where their cases are heard and disposed of.

The next suggestion is that Judges should be appointed from amongst the members of the Bar and never from the Civil Service. Public opinion strongly supports my views and for sound solid reasons. My third suggestion is that the retiring age for Indian Judges should be raised from 60 to 65 at least.

TV

What is in store for the future Indian Judiciary and what will be the constitution of our courts, are questions at this stage in the melting pot.

Nevertheless I should like to point out to the public and the leaders of our country that a matter of very great importance must not be overlooked by the framers of our constitution; I mean the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. This topic has vexed even the most eminent thinkers, judges, jurists and administrators for a long time past, both in this country and elsewhere and I can do no better than refer to the passage in Dicey's Law of the Constitution, 9th Edition; pp. 337 and 339.

The Judiciary should always be independent of the Executive and/or any manner or kind of Executive interference. Then alone you can establish a firm rule of law as a check on the vagaries of the Executive—more so as I find that autocracy or dictatorship has a fascination for some of the present-day Indian politicians.

I hold very pronounced views on this topic and speaking for myself I shall go on protesting, if need be, against the executive interference of the judiciary in any manner, shape or form, even if my cry be a cry in the wilderness. In this unhappy country of ours where particularly over a quarter of a century, communalism has been the bane of Indian administration, coupled occasionally with nepotism and intrigue even in the highest quarters, how is it possible to reach that degree of perfection and impartiality in any branch of public administration whether of the judiciary or of any other field?

If you really wish to be partial to merit, may I ask in all humility to rise above intrigues and communalism. Keep the fountain of justice pure and undefiled. Then and then alone, all our Judges will be bold enough to face the criticism or onslaughts of people, however adverse or perverse. Then and then alone, will the realisation come to the Judges, slowly but surely, that in the words of Lord Alkin, "the path of criticism is a public way and the wrong-headed are permitted to err within prescribed limits and that justice is not a cloistered virtue." Be sensitive by all means but not oversensitive. Go wrong for it is a human frailty but you have no right to be intellectually dishonest. You have no right to hate your conscience and not your wrongs'. Be firm but courteous, quick but never impatient, kind but on no account unjust. If I am setting up a higher degree of efficiency I owe you no apology.

If you have a conviction, cling to it; fight for it and work for it. Try to be men of honest convictions. It never pays to be weak-kneed or servile. It is only the intellectually and morally strong who can fight hard and stand their ground. At the same time have patience with everybody. We must learn to respect one another's point of view and at the same time live up to our own convictions with courage, faith, and humility. These virtues will never come if communalism and intrigue be our motto in judicial administration.

V

The last point is about codification which has much to do with future judiciary. What is going to be the kind of law in future India which our Judges will be called upon to administer is a very relevant question when the constituent assembly is busy framing her future constitution. Even in England where the constitution has evolved through centuries and had been unwritten to start with, the modern tendency, beyond question, is to hedge it with any number of statutes. Perhaps for the present the same

order will continue and the same statutes will speak. In the process of evolution the law changes as society advances. In cases of written constitutions, the same thing happens practically all the world over. We live as it were in the midst of codes, statutes and Acts—Acts in the past, Acts in the present and Acts yet to come. Just as a tiny seed is said to contain a mighty oak, so it seems, a nation's mind and thoughts are reflected in a large measure in their statutes and codes. At stated intervals and in different stages how the law will change none can tell.

Even more so, where there is a written constitution there springs up, as time rolls by, a number of codes. And it may be a good thing that with the growth and evolution of a written constitution for India the practice of citing too many decided cases will gradually become a thing of the past. Personally, I think the habit of relying too much on precedents without proper appreciation of the points in debate and of the facts and implications of decisions cited is a bad training for lawyers and has been a kind of slavery which engulfed many legal talents. May I suggest in all humility that our future Judges should discourage that practice. The centre of gravity perhaps will change with the passage of time and the emphasis will shift from citation of cases to correct understanding and application of well-established principles to concrete cases.

I look forward to the day when the Indian judiciary will adopt the Hegelian Dialectic and effectively function by trying to synthesise the various systems of legal thought with the progress of society. We can not live as an anchorite peninsula. We are willy nilly in the stream of world events. I also visualise the day when our Indian Courts and Judges of the future India will clear away the much too dry legalistic formula and train the Indian mind to elucidate truth and interpret life from the angle of juristic principles rather than through the refracting medium of decisions, misleading or otherwise. The doctrine of stare decisis must not be carried too far and be made a fetish of at the sacrifice of justice. Cases are or may be useful only in so far as they lay down principles of general application to lead us to truth, to lead us away from confusion and chaos.

Like pure mathematics or pure logic there can be no such thing as pure law, because the life of the law is experience as is argued by a famous jurist. It is mixed up and co-extensive with social progress, experiences and complex facts of life. The judiciary of a country, if it is to serve a really useful purpose, must adjust itself to and harmonize with the varying needs of a country. It must be suited to the genius of the people. Therefore, whether the future Indian judiciary will be fashioned after the American or Russian pattern or be based on English principles or be evolved in another way, it is difficult to prophesy but whatever form or shape it may take or of whatever type it may be, one thing that seems to be clear

and which is my conception of future Indian judiciary is that it must be co-ordinated not only with the union centre but with the provinces inter se. This must be borne in mind. Thinkers with vision move perhaps a hundred yearr ahead of their time. What a great mind or a free thinker thinks today is accepted by commonalty at a much later time. Law once it is written or codified after having expressed the feelings and sentiments of the people acquires some amount of rigidity like the one in a straight jacket till it is worn out and outlives its utility with the gradual evolution of social ideas, needs and institutions Therefore, at a time when India has just emerged as a free and independent unit to

take her rightful place in the comity of nations, at the dawn of her renaissance of a new civilization, the framers of her constitution, her jurists and her judges and her leaders have got to be thinkers of the highest order and look into the seeds of time and say which will grow and which will not. With the dawn of a new era, India in a new brave world needs today as never before and demands of her leaders what H. G. Wells would call "historical vision" if the newly achieved independence is to remain our precious possession.*

 Addres delivered to the Calcutta University Law College Union on 6. 10. 47.

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THE BASIS OF ORGANISATION OF OUR ARMED FORCES

By D. M. SEN, E.Sc. (Econ.) Lond., B.A. (Cantab.)

A layman must not incautiously pass judgments on military affairs. Knowledge and experience are nowhere more valuable than in the conduct of armies and navies, and it is sometimes quite harmful for civilians to dabble in questions which would be better solved by trained military men.

Yet, it is also receguised that civilians have a part to play in the higher control of the Armed Forces. Hence, Churchill was the British Defence Minister to whom the Chiefs of Staff were responsible. Hence, the President of the United States is the head of the armed forces. Hence, a civilian is more often than not the responsible Minister in charge of the army and the navy and the air force.

For the conduct of the armed forces is, at bottom, not essentially different from the organisation of large numbers of men in a political party or a business enterprise. The men must be organised to carry out orders and the details must fit in, as in a jigsaw puzzle, to make up the broad strategy which the leaders wish to follow. There are thus two elements in the successful erganisation of an army (or a navy or an airforce). First, there is the problem of securing unquestioning obedience, just as there is the same problem in the political following of a large party or the staff of a vast business organisation. The sanctions and incentives may be different, but the problem is the same.

Secondly, there is the problem of organisation. Even if you have the right men and the right plan of action, in order to get your plan of action translated into action, you need organisation. The larger the number of men being controlled, the larger and the more intricate will be the organisation. Here, too, the parallel between a political organisation and a military one holds good. Just as a political plan could be realised by a variety of political methods, so too a military plan could be realised by a great number of alternative or simultaneous military methods. For metance, if we want to reduce a town to

ashes, we might conceivably arrange it to be bombed from the air, or bombarded by ground or naval forces, if ground and naval forces could reach the town. Whenever there are alternatives and whenever the control between the leader and the follower is not direct (as it cannot be in the case of a large number of followers, whether they be political or military followers), there is need for organisation. But, again, there is no inherent mystery in the organisation of the armed forces.

The implication is, of course, always there, that behind the men and the organisation, there is the plan, the strategy. War is a continuation of policy, said Clausewitz; which is of course so obvious, yet so commonly forgotten. OUR STRATEGY

We, Indians, are a peaceful nation, and covet nobody's territory or wealth. We do not seek military glory, nor do we take up the sword in pursuance of a proselytizing zeal. Our only strategy is the defence of our motherland. Our legions will not, we hope, tramp the world seeking foreign gold or foreign graves. We, the true sons of India, desire nothing more than that we shall have peace and freedom within our borders. Our borders, therefore, must be inviolate. Our freedom we must regard as the most precious object in life, dearer than life itself. As a people, to secure our borders and our freedom must therefore be our strategy.

The Indian people must maintain their Armed Forces for this purpose only—to defend the country and its freedom at all costs, using any and every means within their power. The armed forces are there for the purpose of fighting, when called upon to do so. The future of any nation must ultimately depend on the armed forces in cases of emergency.

This must be the sole aim of the Indian army,—to fight for the defence of the motherland at all costs and against all comers. There must be no relaxation, no weakening, no second thoughts on this; otherwise you might not have an army at all.

ARMY AND POLITICS

The guardians of the people are, thus, answerable to no one but to their own patriotic conscience. Politicians may afford to fail; but an army in conflict can rarely survive a thorough-going defeat. There are, of course, historical cases when armies have managed to survive disastrous defeats; but all such survivals have depended on either extraneous political considerations or the pity of the conqueror. In general, however, when the power of a contending army is broken in battle, there is nothing left for the defeated people to do but to surrender.

The responsibility of the armed forces is, therefore, of a grave nature, but fortunately it is a clear-cut responsibility. "Never to surrender the charge of defending the country," may well be taken as the honourable assignment of those who bear arms on behalf of the people of India.

If we remember this basic responsibility and charge of the army, it will be apparent that the maxim, "the army must not have any politics," means merely that the army must not take sides in the day-to-day political strifes and bitterness. Its charge is clear; whatever the government or the ruling party, it must continue to shield the country from outside aggression.

I have heard, with much concern and grief, many Indian high officers say that the Army should have no plans to defend the people and the territory of India against India's most aggressive neighbour, because to formulate such plans would be to take part in "politics", and would thus mean a betrayal of the maxim that the army should have no politics. Could we ever imagine a more fantastic argument?

The army's raison d'etre is to plan for defence against any possible contingency and where the possibility of a contingency has turned into a certainty, it is surely the primary duty of the army to plan for averting any certain impending threat.

Already, at the time of writing, our armies are clashing against invaders of Indian territory in Kashmir. The reports so far say that the small Indian contingent has had to fall back; the gallant Lt.-Colonel defending Srinagar has been killed in action by the invaders. Is it not mere common prudence to plan and to recruit and to train our army in such a fashion as to enable it to fight India's first official enemy effectively and successfully?

POLICY AND RECRUITMENT AND MORALE

I have explained that there is in the minds of some of our high officers no clue at all as to the planning of our defence, or as to where our forces might be required to be deployed, not because they are inefficient, or lacking in forceight, but because they confuse hopelessly the province of the army and that of politics. Fearful lest they might alip into politics, the newly-promoted Indian army dignitaries protest love for all of India's worst enemies, and instead of planning for defence, indulge in bonhomic.

Not to be a political army does not mean that the army should be oblivious of the fundamental political duty of every army, as of every citizen, to defend the integrity of the fixes. If this principle is accepted that the army should be non-political so far as day-to-day internal political struggles are concerned, but should be intensely conscious of its fundamental political duty of defence against all aggression against the State, whether from external or internal sources, the policy to be adopted for the recruitment and training of army personnel becomes at once self-evident.

Only those persons will be recruited whose fidelity is assured in every circumstance. Subject to this over-riding condition, the army of a democratic State should be democratic in every other way. The people and the army can never be separated, and it is futile to have an army on the obsolete ideas of martial and non-martial races, when the country has become one closely-knit community.

Equally, it is absurd to recruit those to our comy, about whose loyalty and political, mental and cultural affiliation we are uncertain. More than that; we know that certain sections of our old India agitated and worked whole-heartedly for the destruction of what they called "Indianism." They declared themselves as forming a separate nation, and subsequently a part of the country was torn asunder to give these sections of our population their "homeland." At last, they found out that the "homeland" was far too far from the actual homes of many of the rebels, and rather than trek through thousands of miles to reach their homelands, they decided to stay where they originally were. Have they changed their mind, then? Was it all a nightmare? Did they not persuade themselves that they were a flation apart?

The answers to these questions are well-known to us. Let us, then, be brave, and speak out the truth. Men who have poisoned their souls through long years of self-persuasion become different from the normal run of human beings. They suffer from what the psychologists would call "a biassed attitude", and there is no gainsaying the fact that some persons belonging to one community have thus become biased against another community, against India, against the Congress, against peace and prosperity among certain sections of people, against any rational and sensible outlook on politics. How can the majority of Indians ever get the wholehearted and honest co-operation from them?

Apart from this, however, there should be no bar based on caste, or on any differentiation regarding martial and non-martial races.

COMPULSORY OR VOLUNTARY RECRUITMENT

Except in times of emergency, voluntary recruitment would seem to be most suitable. There should, however, be provisions and facilities for universal military training for all Indians for two years, say from 18 to 20.

We. Indians, need such military training. Our minds work too theoretically, mainly because we have been so rigidly divorced from the practical world. We talk of life, as if life were a matter of logic only. We tend to credit life with rationality, which in fact hardly ever exists in life. We imagine our adversaries to be noble creatures, engaged as it were in a verbal battle, who

would never be unfair or hit us below the belt. How often we have come across a completely futile and foolish complacency regarding the communal threat to the peace and prosperity of the Indian people! Yet years ago Tagore wrote vehemently against such completency. He regretted that there were so many in India who, when injured and wronged, merely died with a prayer to God, who never had the guts to thrash justice into the wrong-doer's head. He wanted his countrymen to be born in a place "where the head is held high and the mind is without fear."

But, as I have said before, we Indians do not know how to take a realistic view of life. An early military training may therefore prove to be a very effective curative.

Anyone who objects to universal military training may be reminded that the English have not only provisions for such training, but they compel every youngster to join the colours for a short period. And, surely our "intelligentsia" will never call the English militaristic.

OFFICER CLASS

Promotion to the rank of an officer from other ranks should in my view, be fairly liberal, and should account for about half the peacetime officer force. That is the ideal; for the present, this ideal may be unattaicable due to the low educational standard of other ranks.

Direct recruitment to Officers' Training Centres should be fair and free, subject to the condition stated above that only loyal sections of our population should be allowed to compete for such recruitment.

The Officer, however, must be technically and morally trained to do his duty. About technical training, there can be no divided opinion; hence, I shall not deal with this problem.

The aspect of moral training must not be neglected, particularly in the circumstances of India. Every officer must be a confirmed zealot, an unmitigated fanatic for his country's honour and security. Every officer must be a strong point. The Russians had political commissars among army officers, so that the army officers could be properly trained about the political issues involved. So too in India we must have our political army officers, whose job it will be to ensure that the morale of the army is never broken, who will ever inspire the army to greater and greater glories.

In this connection, one may say that the present policy of entrusting the British-recruited Indian Officer with all the important jobs of our National Army is of doubtful wisdom. We must remember that the British-recruited Indian Army Officer (or the I.C.S. man, for that matter) is, in no sense, a patriot. He has technical qualification, no doubt; but we must go without technical qualification for a while to build up a sound, patriotic, national army.

This question would not have come up to my mind with such firmness, if I had not met a very high-ranking Indian Army Officer recently who seemed to me to be completely without any patriotic sense at all. He was of course a British-recruited man. He was full of praise for

every oppressor and every enemy of India. Yet I was told he was going to be responsible for making some parts of the policy on which the future Army was to be based. This gentleman, and his de-Indianised wife, were "jolly party" men; but I wondered if he was, or could be, a fervent Indian whose one and only interest in life was the well-being and continued prosperity of India

INDUSTRY AND THE ARMED FORCES

My readers will be shocked to hear that India intends to train many of her highly-placed and highly-skilled officers in the training schools and naval centres of England. The reason is simple. We have not got required equipment.

This lack of equipment will also force us to send our naval vessels to English ports and docks for the slightest repair.

It is obvious that the armed forces depend wholly on the state of industry of a country, both for the training of personnel and for providing the necessary equipment.

To have efficient armed forces, a country must therefore have an efficient industrial hinterland, which should be our first concern to develop.

Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to deal with the basis on which alone an efficient army can be built. In the context of the Indian political situation, I have urged, it will be unwise to have indiscriminate recruitment. There should be choice in favour of proved loyalty. We cannot tinker with the security of our country; hence we cannot tinker with the army, the protecting shield. We must beware of those who have proved false in the recent past. Subject to this over-riding consideration, we should have a democratic army in every sense of the word. This democratic army should not only be militarily trained, but should be made fully conscious of its political charge, the defence of the land.

Behind the army, there will stand the whole male population of India, already trained in the military arts by one or two years of voluntary army training.

And behind the combatants will be the new industrial State of India, ready to make its contribution towards the safety of the country by supplying the combatants with all the latest arms and ammunitions of war.

And thus with internal peace secured and our frontiers rendered inviolate by the sure protection of our National Indian Army, we shall proceed to build the noble edifice of the new State of India, inspiring and upright, unconquerable, a constant warning to all evil forces. We have achieved a political revolution; we must complete it by a mental revolution. The atmosphere of lethargy and irresponsibility must now give way to one in which the nobler sentiments of life can have their reward. If need be, we will take hard decisions to bring about that atmosphere. As one of the main institutions of State, we will build our Army in this new atmosphere of national resurgence. Only thus will we have a worthwhile Army.

Oxford, November, 1967,



Scenes of hunting in a forest: Terracotta frieze from the Char Bangla group of temples, Baranagar,
Murshidabad

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ARE THE BENGALIS A NON-MARTIAL RACE?

By S. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

We are taught to believe that the Bengalis are nonmartial but are they really so? It is an irony of fate that the word 'non-martial' is applied to the Bengalis though history and the great epies bear cloquer't testimony to their martial spirit and glory from time immemorial.

"The Rama epic records a tradition that the Vangas acknowledged the supremacy of the ruler of Ajodhya." "The Sabha Parban (52. 17) of the Mahabharata . . . refers to the Vangas and the Pundras as well-born Kshatriyas."—History of Bengal: Dacca University Publication, edited by Dr. R C. Mojumdar, Vol. I, pp. 37-38.

In the great Kurukshetra War we find that Vagadatta, the King of Pragjyotish, took the side of Durjyodhana and fought against the Pandavas. Again the Mahabharata states that Basudeva, the King of Pundra, Mahauja of Kausikikachcha (at present the district of Hooghly), Samudrasena and Chandrasena of Vanga and the King of Tamralipta were defeated by Bhima.*

"The great epic refers ... Bhimsona in the course of his eastern campaign subdued all the local princes of Bengal including Samudrasena, his son Chandrasena, and the great lord of the Pundras himself ... They took part in the internecine strife of the Kurus and the Pandus and appear in the battle-bocks of the Mahabharata as allies of Durjodhana."—History of Bengal: Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, p. 38.

To form an idea about the different ancient city sites of ancient Bengal, it is worthwhile to quote a

* ततः पुण्डाभिपं बीरं बासुदेवं महाबलम् ! कौषाकीकच्छनिलमं राजानम् महोजसम् ॥ उसौ बलम्रतौ बोराञ्जमौ तोवपराकमौ । निजित्सामौ महाराज बंगराजमुपाववत् ॥ समुद्रसेनं निजित्य चन्द्रसेनम् पाधिवम् । ताम्रलितम् राजानं कर्वटाभिपति तथा ॥ (महामारत, समापर्व) few lines from the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, which states:

"At the time of the Mahabharata, north and east Bengal formed with Assam the powerful kingdom of Pragjyotish or Kamrupa as it was subsequently called . . . This kingdom stretched westwards as far as Karatoya River . . . southwest of Pragjyotish between the Karatoya and the Mahananda lay Pundra or Pundra Vardhana."

"The happy discovery of the fragmentary early Brahmi inscription from Mahasthan (7 miles from Bogra), attributed to the Maurya period, has at last settled the identity of the historic Pundravardhana.'—S. K. Saraswati: "Forgotten Cities of Bengal," Calcutta Geographical Review, March, 1936.

"This kingdom was in existence in the third century B.C., as Asoka's brother found shelter there in the guise of a Buddhist monk... East of the Bhagirathi and the south of Pundra, lay Banga or Sanatata, on the west of the Bhagirathi was Karnasuvarna (Burdwan, Bankura, Murshidabad and Hooghly). The capital was probably near Rangamati in Murshidabad district."

mati in Murshidabad district."

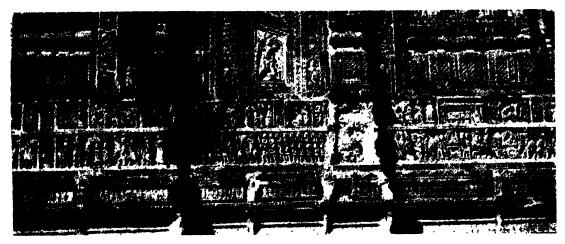
"The reputed capital of Sasanka, a city described by Hiuen-tsang as being 20 li in extent and as containing the famous Lo-to-mochich Monastery, has been sought to be identified with the site of Rangamati, picture-squely situated on the west bank of the Binginathi, six miles below Berhampur."—Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 1.

Lastly, there was the kingdom of Tamralipta:

"The ancient Tamralipta is now represented by the modern town of Tamluk, now miles distant from the sea, a Subdivisional headquarters in the district of Midnapur, where a few mounds are now all that remain of the rich port. Coins and terracotta plaques, laid bare in chance-diggings, trace back its history as early as the second century BC"—thid n 20

B.C."—Ibid, p. 20.

". . . Suhma, comprising what now constitutes the districts of Midnapore and Howrah. During the ninth century, the Pala dynasty rose to power in the country formerly known as Anga, and gradually extended their sway over the whole of Bihar and north Bengal . . The Senas rose to power in the east and deltaic Bengal towards the end of the tenth rentury and eventually included with their dominion the whole of Bengal proper



The march of a chaturanyo army: Terracotta frieze from the Char Baugl group of temples at Baranagar, Murshidabad

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from the Mahananda and the Bhagirathi on the west of the Karatoya and the old Brahmaputra on the east."—Ibid.

Another interesting page of the Mahabharata describes Bengal's chivalry thus:

"The Bhishma Parban gives a thrilling account of a lively encounter between a scion of the Pandus and the mighty ruler of the Vangas. Beholding that mance levelled at Durjodhana, the lord of the Vangas quickly arrived on the scene with his elephant that towered like a mountain. He covered the Kuru King's chariot with the body of the animal, Ghatotkacha, with eyes reddened with rage, flung his up-raised missile at the beast. Struck with the dart the elephant bled profusely and tell down dead. The rider quickly jumped down from the falling animal and Durjodhana rushed to his rescue."—History of Bengal: Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Wol. 1, p. 38.

"The Harivamen also states that Sudeva, the son of Basudeva of Pundra, was called Prithagakshauhimpati, i.e., the holder of 21,870 elephants, 21,870 chariots, 65,610 horses and 109,350 infantry.*" "About 500 B.C., Prince Bejoy, son of Raja Simha-

"About 500 B.C., Prince Bejoy, son of Raja Simhabahu of Simhapur, (at present Singur, Dist. Hooghly) with his 700 followers conquered and colonized Ceylou. Of course, it is legendary in Bengal but the Mahavansa and other Buddhist works tell us how as early as about 500 B.C. Prince Bejoy of Bengal with his 700 followers achieved the conquest and colonization of Ceylon and gave to this island the name of Sinhala after that of his dynasty—an event, which is the starting point of Sinhalese history."—R. K. Mookherjee: History of Indian Shipping, p. 157.

Supporting the above, the Dacca University Pub-

श्रीण्ड्रस्य वासुदेवस्य तथा पुत्रं महाबलम् ।
 सुदेवं वीर्य्यसम्पन्नं पृथगक्षीहिनीपितम् ॥
 इति श्रीमहाभारते खिलेषु हिवंछे विष्णुपर्वणि क्षिमणी
 इर्णं मार्मेकोनषष्टितमोऽध्यायः ।

lication History of Bengal, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, states in page 39:

"While epic stories recall the military prowess of Bengal rulers 'of fierce energy' the Pali chronicles of Ceylon preserve memories of another field of their activities. A prince, named Sihabahu*, who inherited the kingdom of Vanga from a maternal ancestor, renounced his claims in favour of a relation and built a new city in the kingdom of Lala which came to be known as Sihapura . . . The eldest son of Sihabahu was Vijaya . . . with his followers he sailed in a ship to Sopara, north of Bombay. But the violence of his attendants alienated the people of the locality. The prince had to embark again, and eventually 'landed in Lanka in the region called Tambapanni.' The date assigned by the Ceylonese tradition to the arrival of Vijaya and his 'lion-men' (Sihalas) in the island is the year of the parinirvance according to the reckoning of Ceylon (544 B.C.)"

The freeco painting of Ajanta cave still bears testimony to Vijaya's expedition. Bengal, the land of heroes, has been depicted now as non-martial.

"The Agni-purana (245—21 ff) refers to Anga and Vanga as important centres of sword manufacture. The sword manufacture of Vanga we are assured 'were characterised both by keenness and their power of standing blows'. (Cf., P. C. Chakravarti: The Art of War in Ancient India, pp. 163-64.)"— History of Bengal: Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I. p. 657.

It was Bengal's martial strength that checked Alexander's ambition. It was the heroes of Bengal for whom the great Macedonian could not advance farther than the Beas and the tide of conquest was turned to Babylon.

"In the case of Bengal, dated history begins only from 326 B.C., with the famous stand made by the warriors of the Gangaridai and the Prasioi to resist the threatening onslaught of Alexander who had advanced to the Hyphasis and was eager

^{*} Pali : Sihabahu - Sanakrit : Simhabahu.



Fight from chariots: Terracotta panel from

Sham Rai Temple, Vishnupur, Bankura
Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India

to penetrate deeper into the interior of India. A considerable portion of the country now constituted the dominion of a powerful nation, whose sway extended over the whole of ancient Vanga. and possibly some adjoining tracts. Greek and Latin writers refer to the people as the Gangaridal (variant Gandaridai). The Sanskiit equivalent of the term is difficult to determine, Classical scholars take the word to mean 'the people of the Ganges region.' Curtius, Plutarch and Solinus agree in placing them on the farther, that is, the eastern bank of the Ganges . . . Plutarch refers to 'the kings of the Gandaridai and the Prasioi' implying the existence of a plurality of such rulers. They were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 2,00,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As the King, mentioned by Curtius and Diodorus, had only 20 000 horse, 2,00,000 infantry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots and 3,000 or 4,000 elephants, the additional forces mentioned by Plutarch may, in the opinion of some, point to an extra contingent furnished by a second prince who may be identified with the King of Gangarida proper if the first ruler was the monarch of the Prasioi . . . When Alexander reached the Beas and was caser to cross over the Ganges valley, the information reached his ears that the king or kings of the Gangaridai and the Prasioi were awaiting his attack with a powerful army. The shock of battle was narrowly missed. The war-worn veterans of the Macedonian king persuaded their leader to trace back lis steps to the Hydaspes and ultimately to Babylon."-History of Bengal: Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I. pp. 35, 41, 43 and 44.

The military prowess of the undaunted sons of Bengal, who forced Alexander to retreat from the Indian soil, is certainly creditable.

This gallant stand of the Bengal warriors was so heroic and famous that Virgil, the great poet of the first century B.C., states in his Georgics (III, 27):

"On the doors will I represent in gold and svory the battle of the Gangaride and the arms of our victorious Quirinius."

It is a pity no doubt that a nation once reputed for its military provess and martial habit is now called non-martial. Bengal, the then centre of Indian sword manufacture, is now turned to the manufacture of clerks.

Maharaja Sasanka of Gour whose capital was Karnasuvarna, reigned about 25 years (600-625 A.D.) and by dint of his prowess, he conquered Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and annexed them to his kingdom. He is the first known king of Bengal who extended his sugerainty over territories far beyond the geographical boundary of that province.

The deeds of valour of the Bengal army has also been recorded by Kalhana, the writer of the famous chronicle of Kashmir Rajatarangini, when they marched to Kashmir to demolish the household deity of the Kashmir King as a revenge for some act of treachery of the latter. He records: "Perhaps it would be difficult even for the creator (of the Universe) himself what the Bengal army did."

Amongst the other kings of Bengal, the Pala Rajas are the most remarkable in the history of India and they "ruled over Bengal and Bihar with varying fortune for over four hundred years."

We read in the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapala that succeeding the throne of Gour, Dharmapala subdued with ease the Bhojas, Matsyas, Madras, Kurus, Yadus, Yabanas, Abantis, Gandharas and Kiras and conquered Kanouj.*

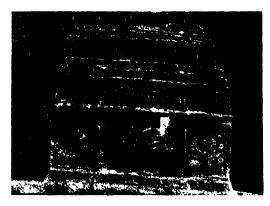
- 1 History of Bengal: Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. 1, p. 59.
- 2 Rajatarangini, V, 833. Translated from Britatbanga: 1)r. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Vol. I, p. 226.
 - 3 R. D. Banerjee : Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India, p. 205.
 - "मोजैम्मत्सै समद्रे कुरु यदु यदनादन्ति गन्धार
 कौरीभुव्ये व्यांलोल मौलि परिणतैः……"

-Gaudalekhamala, p. 14.

Regarding the location of these places Prof. Kilhorn says:

"Kanyakubja itself was in the country of the Panchalas in Madhyadesha. According to the topographical list of the Bribat Samhita, the Kurus and Matryas also belong to the middle country, the Madras to the north-west, the Gandharas to the northern and the Kiras to the north-east division of India. The Avantis are the people of Ujjayini in Malaya. Yadus, according to the Lakkha Mandal Prasasti, were long ruling in part of the Punjab. but they are found also south of the Jamuni, and south of the river and north of the Narmada probably were also Bhojas who headed the list (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 246)."-Gaudalekhamala, p. 21.

The conquering ambition of Dharmapala did not abate after the conquest of Kanoui, "That Dharmapala



Naval engagement: Terra otta panel from Radhabinod Temple, Javdeb Kenduli, Birbhum
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proceeded far beyond Kanouj in course of his military campaign is proved by V 7, at the Monghyr copperplate (No. 6)."4

It is further recorded:

"The Nalanda C. P. of Dharmapala (No. 3) refers to the traditional five-fold military divisions, viz., elephant, cavalry, chariot, infantry and navy but there is no reference to any officer-in-charge of chariots."

"Dharmapala's reign is the most glorious period of the history of Bengal. With the cooperation of the Rashtrakutas the Bengal army compelled the Guijaras to retire once more into the confines of the Indian desert. The defeat of the Guriaras was so crushing that for a generation they did not venture out of their homes . . . During Devapala's reign, the Bengal army fought with the Rashtrakutas in central India and repelled an invasion of Tibet-Burma tribes, known as Kamboias, in the north. Devapala's cousin Jayapala conquered Orissa and Assam for him."-R. D. Banerjee: Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India, p. 260.

There are various copper plates preserved in the different Museums of India which narrate the military activities of the Bengalis and their gallant fight with powerful princes.

The restoration of Varendra by Ramapala (his paternal kingdom) from the Kaivarta King Bhima is another notable event of the Pala period. It was a civil war no doubt, but from the Ramacharitam of Sandhyakara Nandin we can see that Ramapala had to take much trouble to regain his fatherland from the Kaivarta King Bhima, "a king of unusual ability," "in whose possession there were excellent cavalry, elephant-troops, etc., having no rivals (to fight them), for which Ramapala felt himself powerless to adopt any effective means to recover Varendra."

"By a lavish offer of land and enormous wealth, he gained over to his side a number of powerful chiefs who possessed well-equipped forces. . . . This detailed list of independent or semi-independent clucfs of Bengal may be regarded as the most important historical information." - Ramacharitam.

The following chiefs or Samantas joined Ramapala:

"1. Viraguna. He was King of Kotatavi in the south. Keta is perhaps to be located in the district of Cuttack or in its neighbourhood in Orissa on the strength of a passage in Ain-i-Akbavi, which refers to Mahal Kot-des with three forts, under Sarker Katak in Subah Orissa.

2. Jayasimha. He was a King of Dandabhukti and defeated Karnakesari, King of Utkala. Dandablukti comprised the southern and south-western

parts of the Midnapore district.

3. Vikramaraja, ruler of Bala-Balabhi, which

included the village of Devagrama.
4. Lakshmisura. He is described as lord of Apara-Mandara, and head of the group of feudal chiefs of the forest (Atavika-Samanta-Chudamani). Mandara has been identified with Sarkar Mandaran of Ain-i-Akbari, we headquarters Garh-Mandaran, is now represented by Bhitargarh, 8 miles to the west of Arambagh in the Hooghly district.

5. Surapala, ruler of Kujavati, which may be identified with the locality of that name about 14 miles north of Nayadumka.

6. Rudrasikhara, ruler of Tailakampa, has been identified with Telkupi in the Manbhum district. The region is still known as Sikharabhum, evidently after the surname Sikhara of the royal family.

7. Bhaskara or Mayagalasimha, king ot Ucchala.

8. Pratapasimha, king of Dhekkariya, which bas been identified with Dhekuri near Katwa in the Burdwan district. The Ramganj copper-plate proves that Dhekkari was set up as an independent State by Isvaraghosa, probably at the time when revolution broke out against Mahipala.

9. Narasimharjuna, lord of Kayangala-Man-

dala, which has been identified with Kankjole,

south of Rajmahal.

10. Chandarjuna of Samkatagrama which can-

not be identified.

11. Vijayaraja of Nidravali. It has been suggested (by Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri: Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 158) that he is identical with Vijayasena of the Sena family who was

⁴ History of Bengal. Vol. 1, p. 106.

³ Ibid, p. 279.

originally settled in Radha and ultimately established his sovereignty all over Bengal. But there is no definite evidence in support of this identification. On the other hand, Nidravali being one of the Ganis of Valendra Brahmanas, it was most probably situated in North Bengal.

12. Dvorapava dhana, ruler of Kausambi, which is probably now represented by the Pargana Tappe Kusumbi in the Bogra district. There 14 also a village called Kusumba in the same district.

Soma of Paduvanva not identified. Some other chiefs also joined Ramapala; being joined by the large and well-equipped forces of the confederate chiefs consisting of cavalry, elephants, fleet of boats and infantry. King Ramapala felt strong enough to make an attempt towards the recovery of Varendra. He despatched a force under Maha-pratihara Sivaraja, the nephew of Mathana, who crossed the Ganges and devastated Varendra. There is no reference to any pitched battle, but presumably the frontier guards of Bhima were defeated and the way was made clear for the crossing of the river by the entire force... The entire force of Ramapala crossed the Ganges by means of a flotilla of boats and safely reached the 'northern bank' . . . After Ramapala had crossed the Ganges with his huge army, Bhima opposed him, and a pitched battle took place. The tumul-tuous battle, which is described in nine verses (11, 12-20) was conducted with equal vigour and ferocity on both sides. Both Bhima and Ramapala took a very active part in it and kept close to each other (11. 14). But 'by an evil turn of destiny' Bhima, scated on his elephant, was taken prisoner (11-17, 20). This decided the fate of the battle. Bhima's army fled, and his camp was plundered by the 'unrestrained soldiers' of Ramapala (11, 20-30). . Perhaps Bhima organised some resistance to Ramapala by sending secretly from his prison messages to his allies. For, in the next verse (11, 38) we are told that his friend Hari rallied his forces and blockaded those of Ramapala . . . Hari put up a valiant fight and at first scored some success (11-38 ff). But Ramapala's son, who was put in charge of the fight 'exhausted the golden pitchers by his wartime gifts' (11-43) and evidently managed to create some discord between Hari and Bhima's followers which caused obstruction to each other (11-41). Finally Hari was won over and this sealed the fate of Bhima's army which, it is said in 11-39, was 'made to swell by ill-equipped soldiers.' After having crushed this rising of the enemies Ramapala took a terrible vengeance upon Bhima. Vitpala led Bhima to the place of execution, where important members of his family were executed before his very eyes. Then Bhima himself was killed by means of a 'multitude of arrows' (11. 45-49). Thus ended the life of Bhima and the rebellion of Varendra."—Ramacharitam of Sandhyakara Nandin: Edited with Sanskrit commentaries and English translation by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. Radhagovinda Basak and Pandit Nani Gopal Banerji Kavyatirtha.

Though it was a civil war and the Bengal army fought against each other, it certainly reflects the military prowess of Bengal and it further tells us that not only the King but even the Samantas of Bengal had their individual military organisation and the art of war was known to the mass. The tail masculine athletic figures of the Kaivartas of Bengal remind us

of their heroic deeds of the past. Though poverty and misery have sucked their blood, still if they are trained they may be the best soldiers. "Kautilya argues that it is possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm even in the timid by means of discipline and training."

"It is an axiomatic truth of history that a people living along the sea-coast, with opportunities of harbourage, or in inland territories intersected by large and navigable rivers, naturally develops an aptitude in the art of plying boats. The sea and the river become a part of their life and blood."—Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, The Art of War in Ancient India, pp. 60-61.

He further records:



The immersion ceremony of the Goddess Durga at Khalia and Amgram, Faridpur

"The people of Bengal seem to have become famous for their nautical resources very early in history. In his Raghuvamsa (IV, 36), Kalidasa characterises the Vangas as expert in the art of plying boats (nausadhanodyutam). Epigraphic evidence proves that harbours and dock-yards were well-known in the sixth century A.D. A copperplate grant of Dharmaditya (dated, 531 A.D.) refers to a navata-ksheni or ship-building harbour though we do not know where exactly it was located. Another grant of the same monarch speaks of nau-dandaka or ship's mast. A few centuries later when the Palas became the rulers of Bengal, they seem to have utilised this nautical aptitude of the people in building up a regular fleet for fighting purposes. Contemporary records refer to this fleet as nau-vata or nau-vataka, and to the admiral in command as the naukadhyaksha. The Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapala describes this royal fleet as 'proceeding on the path of the Bhagirathi' and thus making it seem as if a series of mountain tops has been sunk to build another cause-way for Rama's passage."—The Art of War in Ancient India.

Dr. P. C. Chakravarti: The Art of War in Ancient India,
 p. 85.

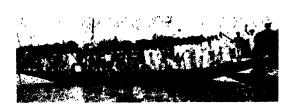
'स सञ्ज भागीरची पथ-प्रवर्तमान नानाविध नौबाटक-सम्पादित सेत्रबन्ध निहित चौलशिखरश्रेणी विश्वमात....."

-The Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapaua: Gaudalekhamula, p. 14.

"The Kamouli grant speaks of a glorious naval victory which Vaidvadeva, the Minister of Kumarapala, won over an unknown enemy in southern

Vanga, near the mouths of the Ganges.

"The naval power of Bengal seems to have long outlived the collapse of the Pala Dynasty. The epigraphic records of the Chandras, the Varmans and the Senas prove that the riverflotilla continued as an important instrument of offence and defence under them. As in the Khalmpur copper-plate of Dharmapala, so in the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena, the Bengal fleet is described as proceeding on a conquering expedition up to the whole course of the Ganges. There was, however, a change in the nomenclature of the Admiral. The Naukadhyaksha of the Pala period was replaced by the Nau-vyaprataka of Naubalavyaprataka of the Sena period. The use of the term bala after Nau brings out the real character of the fleet.



Vi lagers enjoying the Vijaya Dasami, Spears and shields are to be noted

"It may be noted here that Bengal's reputation as a naval power continued even in the madiaeval period. Husain Shah (1498-1520), the most prominent of the independent Pathan rulers of Bengal, maintained a powerful fleet, with which he once invaded Assam. Pratapaditya is also credited with a fleet of seven hundred fighting vessels, equipped with all the instruments of war. Shaista Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, is said to have gathered a numerous fleet of armed galleys to check the depredations of the Arakan prates, both Maugh and Feringi."—Dr. P. C. Chakravarti: The Art of War in Ancient India, pp. 61-62.

The History of Bengal further records:

"Apart from the specific references in Raghunamsa to the naval forces of Bengal and the
general reference in foreign inscription to Bengal
as a sea power (Supra, p. 37, f.n. 3; p. 55, f.n. 1),
ships are frequently meationed in the inscriptions
of Bengal, and there is probably also a reference
to a ship-building harbour in an inscription of
Dharmaduta (Supra, p. 51). We have also references to naval fights in south Vanga during the
reign of Kumarapala (Supra, p. 168) and a naval
expedition to the west sent by Vijavasena (Supra,
pp. 244-45) "--History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 179.

From very early times till the eighteenth century Rengal played an important part in naval affairs. When some of the present civilized nations were confined to their own country and sea voyages were beyond their dreams, it was the Bengalis who proudly sailed out on trading voyages to distant shores, crossed the seas and even conquered countries and established colonies. Almost all the kings of Bengal were reputed for their mighty naval power. Even now people of the coastal districts are credited for their valour and merit in the marine departments.

An elephant is now almost a curiosity to the inhabitants of Bengal. Very few elephants can be seen in the province. But there was a time when Bengal was famous for her elephant troops.

"The elephant forces of Bengal are also trequently mentioned in many inscriptions, and their effective strength is indirectly admitted even in the records of many foreign foes which refer to their formidable array in glowing terms" -History of Bengal: Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. 1, p. 279.

p. 279.
"In the Arthusastra (Bk. XX, Ch. 2), Kantilya says that 'elephants bred in countries such as Kalinga, Anga, Kalusa and the east are the best, those of Dasarna and western countries are of middle quality, and those of Surastra and Panchajana countries are of low quality.' It may be mentioned here that just as ancient writers have ascribed, with surprising unanimity the pre-eminence in horse-breeding to the north-west, they have attributed pre-eminence in elephant-breeding to the east. For instance, it is noted in the Santiparva (101, 4) as a distinguishing characteristic of the casterners that they could fight skilfully with elephants (prachya matanga yuddhesu-kusalah). In the Raghuvamsa (1V 40, 83; VI 27, 54), while describing the campaigns of Raghu, Kalidasa speaks of the mighty elephant forces of the Kalinga and Anga kings. Similarly, Vakpati refers to the king of the Vangas as 'powerful in the possession of a large number of war-like elephants'."—Dr. P. C. Chakravarti: The Art of War in Ancient India, pp. 54-55.

Such was the position of Bengal in the Hindu period, and she kept her tradition intact up to the Mahomedan period, as Abul Fazl the famous historian also records in his Ain-i-Akbusi about the elephant forces of Bengal.

The military strength of Bengal was not negligible even on the eve of the Mughal period.

"Daud, Suleman's younger son, assuming all the insignia of royalty, ordered the Khutba to be proclaimed in his own name through all the towns of Bengal and Bihar, and directed the coins to be stamped with his own title, thus completely setting at defiance the authority of the Emperor Akbar... He found himself in the possession of immense treasure, 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 140,000 infantry, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 3 600 elephants and several hundred was boats, a force which seemed to him sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar."—V. A. Smith: Akbar the Great Mughol, 2nd edition, p. 124

The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator, Dacca Museum, writes in his article, "The Naval Activities of the Indians":

"A unique period of martial activity dawned upon Bengal during the reign of the aggressive Mughal Emperor Akbar. Daud, the last Bengal Sultan, lost his life in 1576 A.D. in the battle of Rajmahal in a trial of strength with the Generals

of Akbar; but the Hindu and Muslim Zamindars of Bengal took up the struggle with alacrity. The wonderful struggle of the Bengal Chiefs has not yet received the recognition it deserves at the hands of the historians."

Though after some time Bengal was included in the map of Akbar's India and the yearly revenue was settled by the Emperor to be Rs. 1,06,93,152, this amount was never fully realised.

"The province of Bengal paid a nominal submission to the throne of Delhi, but during several reigns had been virtually independent."—Mil's History of British India, Vol. II, pp. 131-141.

It is well known that the twelve *Bhuiyas* of Bengal had sufficient army at their command including warfleets and gun-powders which inspired them to fight on many occasions against the Emperor of Delhi. In this connection the names of Raja Pratapaditya, Isha Khan-Masnad-i-Ali, Kedar Rai and Sitaram Rai may be mentioned.

"The Bengal Chiefs were strong in war boats, and mainly with the help of this arm of offence, they managed to defeat the greatest generals of Akbar again and again and drove them out of Bengal. Akbar went to his grave in 1605 A.D., with Bengal yet unsubdued. Jahangir, on his accession had to make huge preparations for humbling the proud Bengal Chiefs. The thrilling accounts of the struggle of the heroic Bengal Chiefs can be read in detail in the page of the Bahari-stan-i-ghaybi by Mirza Nathan, a young Mughal Lieutenant and an actual participator in the struggle. The Mughal army was under the command of Islam Khan, the Mughal, Governor, and the Mughal fleet of war-boats was commanded by Intiman Khan, father of Nathan. The most powerful Bengal Chief of the period was Pratapaditya, who possessed 700 war-boats, but he did not join in the country-wide struggle against Mughal imperiatism and attempted to conciliate the new Mughal Governor by presents and promises of help. Isha-Khan-Masnad-i-Ali, the most powerful chief of Eastern Bengal, master of Mymensingh, Tippera and a half of the Dacca district, and Kedar Rai, master of Vikrampur (southern part of Dacea district), Faridpur and Sandwip, had fought all their lives against Akbar. But they were both dead by this time. Isha Khan died peacefully in 1599 A.D., and Kedar Rai died fighting the Mughals in 1604 A.D. The leader of the struggle during the reign I Jahangir was Mus. Khan, son of Isha Khan, the Ghazis of Bhawal (northern part of Dacca district) and some Hindu and Muslim Zamindars of Pabna. Dacca and Sylhet. After six years of hard struggle, in which several stiff naval encounters took place, the chiefs at last submitted and Bengal became a Mughal province in 1613 A.D."—Dr. N. K. Bhattasali: "Naval Activities of the Indians." (Hindusthan Standard-Pujo Annual, 1944), pp. 193-194.

We have seen the military prowess of the united forces of Bengal in the field of Kurukshetra (in the Puranic period), against Alexander the Great (in 326 B.C.), for the restoration of Varendra as allies of Rampsla (in the Hindu period); we have also seen the hard struggle of Bengal against Mughal imperialism. This certainly shows the martial spirit of the race.

It is admitted on all hands that Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl is the most authoritative history of the Mughal Government. In his history Abul Fazl gives a fine description of the Bengal army of different places, wherein places are located as Sarkers, Parganas and Mahalas (comparable with districts, subdivisions and thanas of the present day).

| Sarker's name | Present position | Cavalry | Infantiy |
|----------------------------|--|---------|------------------------|
| Jannatabad or Lakhnauti | Malda | 500 | 17000 |
| Fathabad · | The whole of Fard- pur, a small portion of Jessore, southern Bakharganj, portion of Dacca District | 900 | 5 07 00 |
| Mahmudabad | Northern Nadia and Jessore & Faridpur | 200 | 10100 |
| Khahfatabad | Southern Jessore & western part of Bakherganj | 100 | 15000 |
| Bogia | Bakherganj & Dacca | | 15000 |
| Purniyah | Western portion of the present district of Purnea | | 5000 |
| Tajpur | Eastern Purnea, east of the Mahananda and western Dinaj- pur, Rangpur and Bogra | 100 | 50000 |
| Ghoraghat | Portion of Dinajpur and Rangpur and Bogra | 900 | 328000 |
| Pinjarah | Northern east of the town of Dinajpur & the greater part of Dinajpur District | 50 | 7000 |
| Barbakabad | Portion of Maldah, Dinajpur and a large part of Rajshahi and Bogra District | 50 | 7000 |
| Bazoha Sonargaon | Portion of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, My- mensingh and reach- ing in the south a little beyond the town of Dacca Both the sides of Meghna & Brahma- putra containing por- | 1700 | 5300 |
| | tions of western Pipperah & Noakhal | 1 1500 | 40000 |
| Sylhet | Sreehatta | 1100 | 42 9 2 0 |
| Chittagong | | 100 | 1500 |
| Sharifabad | Birbhoom, Burdwan | 200 | 5000 |
| Sulaimanabad Satgaon | Northern portion of Hooghly and some portion of Nadia and Burdwan 24-Parganas & west- | 100 | 5000 |
| Mandaran | orn Nadia and south- ern west Murshid- abad Western Birbhoom | 50 | 6000 |
| Minnaigi . | over Raniganj and the Damodar to above Burdwan | | 7000 |

⁷ Hindusthan Standard-Puja Annugl, 1944, p. 198.

-Colonel H. S. Jarrett: Ain-i-Akbani, Vol. II, pp. 131-141; and H. Blochmann, M.A.: "Geography and History of Bengal" J. A. S. B., 1873 (No. 3), pp. 215-218.

Regarding elephants and war-boats, Colonel H. S. Jarrett states in p. 129 (Ain-i-Akbari) that the Subab of Bengal had 1170 elephants, 4280 guns and 4400 boats. The history of Benga! or for the matter of that the whole of India, would have been otherwise, had not Mirzafar, the Supreme Commander of Sirajuddaula, betrayed the unfortunate Nawab by false representation, misleading the gallant Bengali Generals, Mirmadan and Mohanlal and stopping the battle of Plassey on false pretence. In World War I, the service of the 49th Bengal Regiment in Mesopotamia was highly appreciated by the military authorities.

It is difficult to ascertain the time and age as to when the image worship came into vogue in Bengal. However that may be, it is clearly evident that all the deities of the Hindu Pantheon are adorned with weapons. In Bengal, the Goddess Durga is worshipped with great pomp and eclat. Her hands exhibit various weapons and attributes such as sarpa (snake). ahanush (bow), asi (sword), chakra (disc), trisul (trident), parasu axe), vajra (thunderbolt), sankha (conch). The blowing of the conch gives the signal for fight. Spears and shields are not merely qualifying Ettributes but they are actual weapons of war, and there are separate mantras for them. If the Bengalis are non-martial, why they would worship the arms with which their deities are adorned? Still, in the southern part of Bengal, the Vijaya Dasami Day is performed with great enthusiasm. People of all communities assemble in boats, dressed like warriors with shield, sword, spear, lance, sankha and drum and take the image of the Goddess Durga to the river for the immersion ceremony. After the immersion ceremony 18 over, they play with various weapons and perform boatraces. Does it reflect in any way that the Bengalis are non-martial? If so, why should this martial inspiration still tingle in their veins? In what part of the world, weapons are so associated with religion, worship and gods. Still do we pray to the Goddess Durga or Sakti:

"Oh Mother, beetow upon. us the glory of victory in battles."*

The records of different eras point definitely to the conclusion that the Bengalis are not only martially inclined from time immemorial but they are

''संप्रामे विषयं देहि·····'

renowned in the world as brave and active soldiers and their deeds of valour have been recorded by many foreign historians. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali says:

"The popular notion that the military profession was the exclusive monopoly of the Kshatriya caste is wholly without foundation, and a 'nation in arms' is an entirely modern concept—a legacy of the French Revolution in the world. Nor there is much truth in the statement that caste prevented growth of a feeling that fighting for or defending one's own country was every one's business and not for a particular class of people."-Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's article in The Modern Review, 1930, p. 158; and The Art of War in Ancient India by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, p. 190.

Hopkins says that the mass of the epic army was composed of the lowest classes, mixed with barbarians and foreigners . . . In the Arthasastra (Bk. IX, Ch. 2), Kautilya approves of the employment of Vaisya and Sudra troops in the army. The Agnipurana specifically lays down that the Sudras have a right to the ait of war and that they, along with the mixed castes, are expected to contribute to the defence of the state."

The Brahmins are generally known as priests but they were also allowed to serve as soldiers, "if unable to support themselves as priests."

"It is well known that some of the most celebrated warriors in the Mahabharata such as Drona, Asvathaman and Parasu Rama were born in the . Alexander in the course of his priesty class. . campaign in India met with most stubborn resistance from the Brahman confederacy of the Indus Valley." And that is why he "regarded the Brahmans as his worst enemies, and his hand fell heavily upon them."—The Art of War in Ancient India by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, pp. 78-79.

In the Hindu period there were many Brahmin Generals and Commander-in-Chiefs who are credited for their notable victories.

"In the kingdom of Orisea under the Ganga dynasty, the Mahasthana Brahmans used to contribute a substantial number of military recruits of the peasant militia of the state. To this day some of their descendants bear the family title of Senapati, meaning commanders of armies."—Ibid, p. 81.

We need not recount here the stories of the thousands of martyrs who courted death and life-long imprisonment with smiling face during the Swadeshi days and the period following that great Movement, for that is current history.

The Bengalis have forgotten their glorious past. They must remember that they are descendants of heroic forefathers. They require inspiration and inspiration only in order to realise their real selves. They have brains and they possess the true martial spirit.



CHILDREN'S CITY

IF pleasure in learning and successful adjustment in real life are any test, Blochman City, California, has established a brilliantly successful precedent in modern education. Its teacher and founder, Mrs. Bina Fuller, justifies her methods by quoting noted United States educator John Dewey's dictum that school should be life itself. "All I have done," she says, "is to crystallize his philosophy with something you can see and feel."

The fruit of the experiment begun 15 years ago is a town in miniature—a children's Located off the beaten path, at the edge of a forest near the town of Santa Maria, about 100 miles north of Los Angeles. Blochman City has an area of only 20,000 square feet. But within that compact sphere it is perfect and complete, with conventional though diminutive streets, houses and functions: post office, bank, library, museum, newspaper, chamber of commerce. tourist and information bureau. grocery, florist's nursery even a park with trees, hedges, awns and ۹ lake.

Children run the town, elect a mayor and a city council; issue special currency used for salaries for maintaining the bank and store; learn first aid and prescribe for simple ailments at their own hospital; learn and practise home-making, merchandising,

book-keeping, carpentry, farming and a dozen other useful occupations in the warm pleasant congeniality of their own town built and equipped for their own needs and tastes.

For many years, with the sympathy of the born teacher, Mrs. Fuller had observed the efforts of children to adjust to what was to them a dull and lifeless school routine. She had seen too, their joyous and vigorous play—building houses; playing store, bank, or train; nursing or gardening. The solution appeared natural and inevitable; to be attractive and successful the school must give children "an earlier start at being grown-up."

Her chance to experiment came with the establishment of Blochman School District—a small two-room school-house crowded with the children of California oil-workers. From small beginning—a corner counter marked Store, a wooden grille marked Bank—Mis. Fuller led the enthusiastic pupils toward her sharished plan, building of an entire small-coals town.

The children worked with a will. The boys drew blueprints. The girls designed interiors. All wrote letters to business firms soliciting needed materials—and the unusual requests met with generous answers. The president of the oil company donated the land. Other enterprises sent sand, gravel, lumber, cement and paint. Many were generous with professional and technical advice. Some, like the president of the oil company, joined in weilding hammer and saw.



Two students visit the Information Centre to see recent periodicals and displays

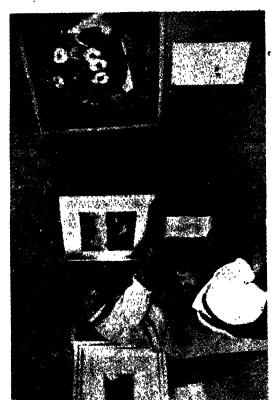
LEARNING AS AN EXCITING ADVENTURE

Both teacher and pupils saw learning unfold as an exciting adventure. Perhaps never before had children learned arithmetic not only in class but by keeping their own store, or negotiating loans on property at their own bank, with its walls of knotty pine and gilded teller's grilles. In their own post office they learned to regard geography not as a classrom catalogue of hard-to-spell names but as colorful descriptions of countries where lived their French, Belgian, English or Mexican correspondents whose problems and interests were like their own, with just enough difference to make them fascinating friends. Long, gossipy letters and souvenirs from distant Eskimo settlements and South Sea Island villages find their way to the little post office, which Mrs. Fuller considers the center "of tolerance and warmth . . . real friendship and world understanding."

In the past decade, Blochman City has become a kind of educational Mecca for teachers and students



A student makes a purchase from a model grocery store with the community's own currency





A student taking his mail from a locked post-office box

of teaching technique. All these observers find especially remarkable the high scholastic standards maintained by the junior citizens, the complete absence of juvenile delinquency problems, and the successful transfer of training to jobs in the business and professional fields.

The boy who was Blochman City's first grocer now owns his own market in Santa Maria, California, while his two assistants are in similar establishments in other towns. Some of the girls who directed the Blochman Health Center are now registered nurses in full-size hospitals. The first bank cashier of Blochman is now a successful banker in a nearby city.

Blochman's first mayor is operating his own bookstore. Many an early graduate credits the smooth functioning of her home to housekeeping practice in Blochman City's model homes.

Visitors view all this successful activity with pleased wonder, and dozens of letters from state officials, governors of other states, well-known writers and educators call it "a great idea." Many ask for more information, and the children write industrious and informative replies. Mrs. Fuller, supremely happy in her chosen work, sees in these fledgling citizens of a peaceful, tolerant and busy community and genuine essence of international peace.—USIS.

SRI CHITRALAYAM OF 'TRAVANCORE

By J. M. DATTA

"The study of a good picture helps one to fulfil one's duty by becoming a better citizen; and to attain liberation from the expensive and enslaving demands of the lower nature through the cultivation of the higher nature," says the Vishnudharmaottaram. The Hindu ruler of the Hindu State of Travancore, never conquered in the Mahomedan period, has recognised the duty of a civilised modern State to provide for the aesthetic education which is one of the prime elements of culture. With this object in view, they renovated the Padmanabhapuram Palace, a former seat of the State Government abandoned for over a century. It has given to the world a unique exhibition in situ of the major arts of architecture, sculpture, wood-carving and mural painting. The Travancore Museum has been transformed into an ever-pleasing centre of Oriental art-crafts. It has a very fine collection of Indian bronzes.

The need of a State Gallery of Paintings for the preservation of the indigenous creative impulse took shape in the establishment of Sri Chitralayam September, 1935. Anticipation extended back to the far past in the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh and Sittanavasal, and forward to the new spirit of artistic patriotism that had animated the Bengal revival of Indian painting, round the central massive figure of Abanihdranath Tagore and his direct and indirect disciples and grand-disciples. Painting, it has been truly said, with the probable exception of music, has the largest attraction for the majority of persons with its combined appeal to the sense of form and colour. The gallery was designed to be the nucleus of what may become an epitome of the best examples of Oriental Art. The object for which Sri Chitralayam was founded is, in the words of the official curator. "to provide for the people of Travancore State and visitors, for enjoyment, education and the development of artistic taste, a collection of pictures representing the various eras of painting in India along with some indication of the art of painting elsewhere

under the influence of Indian culture, life and scenery."

First as to the quantitative aspect. To the 359 exhibits enlisted in the fourth edition of the catalogue, has been added during the last year 12 pictures and copies of 5 murals from the Vaikom and Udayanapuram temples. The number of such copies of murals now exceeds 66. There is a remarkable power in these murals. Their technique and finish are excellent. As Art in India has been mainly the expression of religious ideas and sentiments, their atmosphere is always that of sanctity; they are eloquent with spiritual emotion. The makers of these superb wall-pictures are unknown craftsmen who inherited the traditions of their art from generation to generation. Their skill is remarkable and amazing in its deftness. The secret of attractiveness lies in the vitality of the figures and in the variety of postures and gestures expressing exalted religious life. In the collection are to be found copies of vestiges of paintings that must have made the mandapam of the small cave-temple of Thirunandikara in South Travancore a gem of mural art 11 to 12 centuries ago, just when the great era of Ajanta had ended. The age of the temple is calculable from inscriptions in stone; it is ninth century after Christ. Recently made copies of murals presumed to be of still earlier origin are going to be added.

How popular the institution is will be gathered from the following statistics:

Total number of visitors (during 1121 M. E. = 1945-46) 57,463

Largest number in a single day S35

Smallest number in a single day 63

Population of Trivandrum 1,28,365

Population of Travancore 60,70,018

Besides these murals, there is a representative collection of Modern Indian paintings headed by Dr. Tagore, an almost complete collection of works of Raja Ravi Yarma I and II, and fair samples of Rajput and Mughal paintings, Chinese, Persian, Tibetan, Balinese and Japanese paintings. Folk art is represented by Bengal pat paintings, etc.

PAINTINGS OF SUSHILA YAWALKAR

Br L. W.

THE paintings of Sushila Yawalkar now being shown at the Prince's Room, of the Taj Mahal Hotel, surprisingly reveal the strength of an untutored yet Considering this as the first attempt of her successful showing we may as well expect in her a brilliant addition to the artists' group of this city.



Dr. M. R. Javakar declares Exhibition open of Mrs. Sushila Yawalkar's paintings. Mr. Yawalkar thanking Dr. Jayakar and welcoming the distinguished audience

an intensely creative mind. The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar declared the Exhibition open on April 4, 1948. In all her paintings her approach is unsophisticated, unconventional and direct. The various compositions exhibit a dynamic urge to express vitalemotion stirred by a particular incident. The dramatic sense of grouping against almost an austere background of pink highten the appeal of such an unconventional subject. The same characteristics can be noted in other compositions where in spite of the unorthodox treatment the subject lifts up into well-knit linear or cherioscuric compositions.

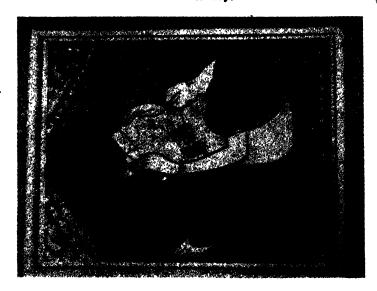
In her figure drawings Mrs. Yawalkar is interested more in carrying out significant poise than mere anatomical details, of her models.

In her landscapes a changing mood of nature is invariably caught and rendered with the vital simplicity of a child's imagination. For example, Tansa Lake and Moon Light.

One goes through the whole exhibition with a feeling of emotional upheaval, subtly stirred by paintings naively recorded in a technique which may baffle classification and yet serves its purpose to the full.

Born and brought up in Dhargal, an ideal beauty spot in that exquisitely lovely country of Gomantak (Goa), Sushila naturally created in her a love of the artistic. But it is a matter of common knowledge that in remote villages one rarely finds adequate scope for the development of Art and hence Sushila's talents remained dormant for a long time. It is one of life's little ironies that although Goa boasts of many creative artists, Sushila's genius could only blossom in Bombay.

Here, Indian music first captured her attention. She is an accomplished dancer too. Yet her ardent urge to learn painting remained just a dream till chance threw an opportunity in her way.



Bent on News

It was sheer coincidence that she met the well-known painter Mr. Nagesh Yawalkar whose works she went to see at the request of one of her friends. The chance acquaintance between the two soon sipened into friendship which eventually culminated into their happy marriage. Thus it was Mr. Yawalkar who gave



"Mahatma Gandhi" by Sushila Yawalkar



"Josean" by Sushila Yawalkar



Burden of Youth (oil)

her full scope to develop her talents in the domain of painting and enabled her to express her individuality with ease and freedom and the present exhibition is a glorious proof of what a woman artist can accomplish. This is probably the first bold and unique endeavour by an Indian lady artist to hold an individual exhibition of her paintings and as such Sushila undoubtedly deserves approbation.

These reproductions of Sushila's paintings reveal the impact of an unsophisticated mind to life's little dramas. The child-like simplicity coupled with adult discrimination intensifies the appeal of her various compositions. Her colouring invariably luminous is harmaniously blended with judicious tonal values. In good figure compositions, she is interested more in the significant simple form than what meets the eye. Her paintings display an individual colour-scheme which is more expressive than representative. Her dramatic sense is uppermost in interpreting familiar scenes of daily life as noted or imagined. In all her paintings direct simplicity, vital pattern and pleasing colour lift up the work into pieces of idyll. It is very refreshing to come across the work of this type, so untutored, enaive, yet eloquent in full expression in forms of volume and colour.

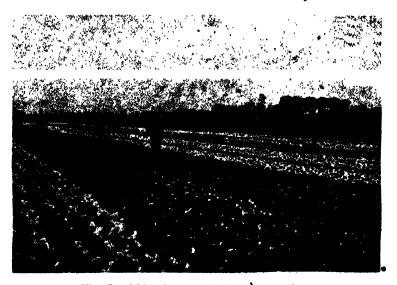
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EAST ANGLIA By AUGUSTUS MUIR

EAST ANGLIA, the largest plain in England, reaches out into the North Sea with a great curving sweep of the North Sea blows unchecked by hills. The 150

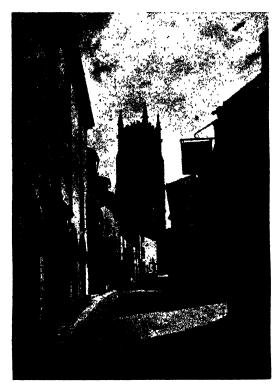
of land which forms the most easterly part of Britain. The Wash, its southern border is within 60 miles of Loudon, it is one of the least known areas of England. It is divided into two countries, Norfolk and Suffolk, but it has preserved throughout the centuries something of that unity which was its pride in the days when it was a kingdom with its own monarch.

Its landscape is like no other in Britain. Those who have surrendered to its placid charm take a never-fading pleasure in its wide horizons, its tiny streams and slow, deep rivers, its secluded marshland and lakes, its heath and its woods, its small ancient towns with their mediaeval buildings, and perhaps above all its heritage of noble churches.



The flourishing bulb fields in East Anglia

miles of East Anglian coastline, from the Wash to the River Stour, are dotted with fishing villages and towns. Between them are stretches of lonely shore, the haunt of sea-birds and wild fowl. The dry, bracing climate of that coast has been responsible for the growth of holiday resorts that include Felixstowe and Cromer, Lowestoft and Great Yarmouth, the last two being important herring fishery centres as well. Although there are no harbours for large ships, there is a thriving coastal trade and a busy river traffic.



A quiet corner of Cromer, a well-known holiday resort on the coast of East Anglia

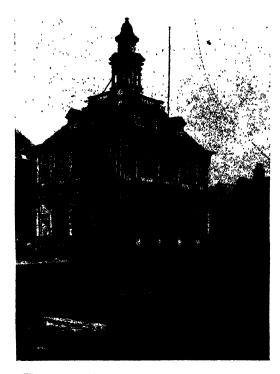
East Anglia has a wealth of inland waterways. The intricate series of lakes and river channels in the district known as the Broads attract great numbers of those who enjoy yachting in waters more placid than the open sea. As well as pleasure craft, Thames barges use those navigable rivers, their great red and brown sails attracting the eye amid the cool greenery of field and copse. They bring commodities of many kinds, and depart laden with cargoes of agricultural produce: for here is to be found some of the richest farmland in the world.

A thousand years ago the best farms in Britain were those of East Anglia, although the Middle Ages brought an era when agriculture yielded its place of honour to the wool trade. The cloth industry of England—the foundation of her industrial prosperity—received its first great impetus in East Anglia.

It was not until the centre of this trade moved

to Yorkshire that agriculture once again predominated; and today, more than four-fifths of its area is cultivated. Oats and wheat are grown, with flour-milling as a complementary industry. Beans and sugar-beet, dairy produce and fruit—these all come in great quantity from that busy countryside, every road of which seems to lead to a market town.

In the north, King's Lynn is a charming small town, with lovely old buildings that have been preserved in the midst of modern industries. The mingling



The largest river in East Anglia is the Ouse, on whose banks at Kings Lynn stands this Customs House

of the ancient with the modern, a respect for tradition and an eager desire for progress—these are features of all the little towns we pass through as we travel to the south, where Ipswich has its important industries and an outlet to the sea.

The centre of the whole region is Norwich, a delightful mediaeval city, once the capital of East Anglia. Its crowded market, held every Saturday near the walls of its towering Norman castle, is one of the most important in Britain. In and around the city are factories for the making of textiles, boots and shoes, and agricultural implements.

The bombs of the Luftwaffe damaged the town; but its famous Guildhall of flint and stone is intact, and so are more than 30 of its magnificent Gothic churches. These alone would make Norwich unique; the cathedral is one of the gems of English archi-

tecture. But indeed it is difficult to travel far in East Anglia without coming upon an ancient church, and realising how men lavished their wealth on these buildings in the great days of the wool-trade, so that many a tiny village of reed-thatched or red-tiled cottages is now graced with a church of astonishing size and beauty.

East Anglia has produced artists as well as builders. The fame of Constable is world-wide; his landscapes depict scenes that are typical of Suffolk, with gentle, tree-clad slopes beside the rivers and deep, green winding lanes. Gainsborough, renowned portrait painter of the eighteenth century, was the son of a Suffolk wool merchant, and the "Norwich school" of artists stands in high repute today.

Among East Anglian authors, the writers in process
—such as George Borrow and Sir Thomas Browne—
are more notable than the poets. One associates the
people of East Anglia with practical commonsense
rather than flights of the imagination. They are
observant and analytical: they are realists.

That they are an industrious and a kindly people is certain, with a deep love of their green and spacious countryside. The Angles, who sailed across the North Sea and settled there 1,500 years ago, gave England its name. Their descendants gave England its greatest naval commander, Admiral Nelson of Trafalgar fame. Today, by the labour of their hands, the East Anglian people are contributing many things essential to the national well-being.

-:0:

HEALTH OF THE FACTORY WORKER

By Dr. S. CHAKRAVORTI, L.R.C.P. (Lond.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.)

India stands today on the threshold of extensive industrialization and her people rightly look forward to greater industrial employment and increased productivity. Out of a total population of nearly 400 millions less than 20 millions are dependent on industry for their living and only some 2½ million people (that is, 0.6 per cent of the population) are actively engaged in large-scale and regular industrial establishments.

The potential resources for industrial development of the country are great but with the present underpaid, underfed, badly housed, and unhealthy population the outlook is disconcerting. While it is high time that more and more people were brought in to play their part in the industrial life of the country, so far there has been little evidence to show that Indian industrial organizations as a whole are applying, on any demonstrable scale, the results of research into the "human problems of work." The industrial worker is as important as the machine and the "health protection of the man who works" is an essential pre-requisite to any manufacturing project. If India must avoid those heavy losses in men and material which accompanied the industrial revolution of the West not so very long ago, the management of Indian industries must harness the knowledge and experience of their counterpart in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union. There was a time when nobody seemed to feel any responsibility towards the health and welfare of the workers; neither the employer nor the State took any serious trouble to inquire if the workers were physically fit for their jobs or whether harmful conditions in the factory were adversely affecting their health. The result was that many people of "occupational age-group" broke down in health and

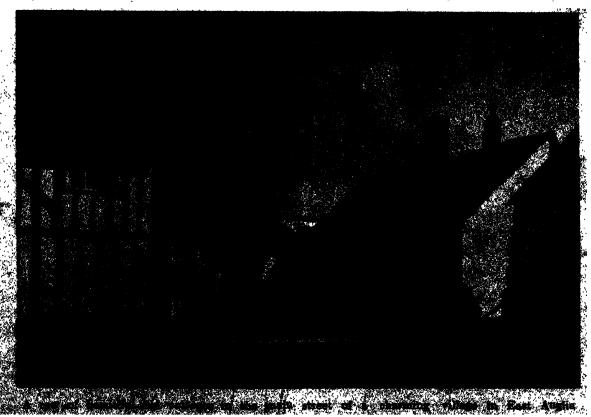
if not died prematurely, certainly, they eventually became a burden on the nation. No progressive country today can afford this preposterous loss in "man-power-hours."

Some measure of control of work conditions and environment is attempted by the various Factories Acts, but the actual medical guidance, at present, sought for detection of toxic hazards and investigation of health problems in the Indian factories is pathetically small. The Factories Acts also provide compensation when gross and irreperable damage has been done to health either from injury received whilst at work or from certain specific occupational diseases, such as anthrax, lead and phosphorus poisoning, chrome ulceration, arsenic and benzene poisoning, etc.; but so far little or no provision has been made to enforce the employer or labour to try and prevent occurrences of these, and many other, grave disabling diseases of industry. In this respect the English Factories Acts and those of other European countries are more advanced and aim at prevention of accidents and illnesses occurring in the factory in preference to paying out menetary compensation when the goose that laid the golden egg was dead or dying.

The fact that ill-health of the worker causes not only a loss to industries but is an ultimate drag on the nation has come to be appreciated by comparatively few organizations. A tremendous amount of research work has been done both in England and in America into the effects of hours and speed of work, of conditions and environment, of sanitation and mess-room facilities, the cause and control of accidents, and a host of other problems relating to industrial health and safety. Available working space is a very important factor in connection with speed

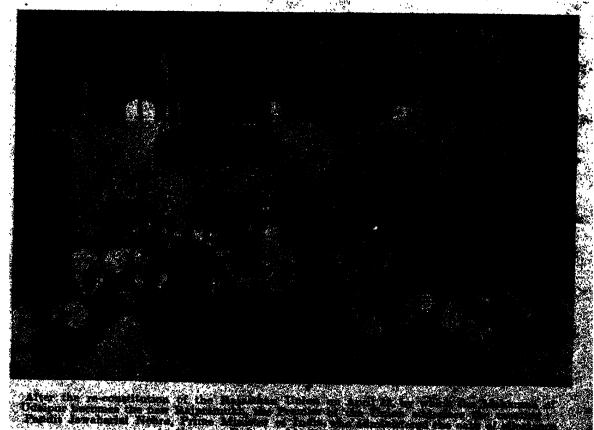


The Breads are a popular holiday resort of yachtsmen, whose graceful yachts can sail for many miles over the shallow inland waters of East Anglia





The India League of America pay tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi at the public memorial meeting held on February 7, 1948 at Town Hall, New York



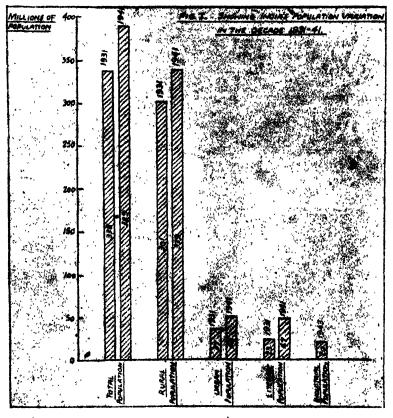
and efficiency of work and also in the control of droplet infection. To have to work under cramped conditions gives rise to irritation and annoyance and eventually leads to fatigue. The prevalence of infectious inness in any part of a factory may be an indication of defective ventilation. Good lighting, hygienic amenities and modern ventilating devices are all necessary adjuncts to make the inside of a factory pleasant and congenial and thereby prevent possible set-backs, especially group-fatigue, impaired efficiency of production and absenteeism. Above all, the important task of personnel selection, "finding the job for the man and the man for the job," has received a

great deal of bublic attention in the more advanced industrial countries. To wit : some people are physically and mentally unsuited for certain types of work, especially in the chemical and mining industries (i.e., people who are prone to develop industrial dermatitis and respiratory diseases, etc.); on the other hand, certain categories of visual acquity and "visual grades" are respecially suited for fine work in precision instrument making. Such examples could be multiplied manifold. A misplaced worker, "a square peg in a round hole," is not only a loss to the firm, he is unaccommodative to the environment of his work and to his colleagues, and is, in fact, just the subject to become "accidentprone."

This factor of "human element in industry" appears to have received very little attention in India. Pre-employment medical examination of prospective employees and a carefully planned system of allocation into suitable types of work are necessary

if man-power is not to be wasted. Again, it is essential that in certain hazardous occupations periodic medical examination of the workers should be carried out to detect early cases of health deterioration—for example, lead workers, miners, chemical process workers, etc.—and, if necessary, to transfer the worker from toxic to an innocuous job, for a time being, before permanent damage is done to his health. The still too prevalent practice on the part of the employer to dismiss a worker the moment he falls ill, or is unable to carry on the job he is set to do, is to be deplored, especially when his illness may prohably have been due not so much to his own constitutional health but in part due to a fault in the process or the machine. Very often a transient illness is made the cause of

permanent loss or diminution in the earning capacity on the part of the worker, for, unfortunately, so long as labour is so cheaply obtained in India, the employer finds it an easier task to replace the worker who has taken ill rather than investigate and remove the cause. It is both more profitable and productive to train a person for a particular process and aim at getting years of useful service from him rather than dismiss him after the first few months because he is suddenly taken ill. The worker must of necessity spend a third or more of his daily-life in a factory or workshop; it is not too much then to expect that his welfare and health problems should become a



major concern of the management and the State

There is one aspect of the factory-life which can render invaluable service for the health and happiness of the workers; I refer to the provision of canteens or tiffin-room facilities. The average Indian worker cannot afford a well-balanced diet. His meal at home, consisting of cereals and very little else, is almost completely devoid of animal proteins, fats, vitamins A, C, and B₂ groups, calcium and other minerals, and thus accounts for his inevitable undernutrition. The dietetic deficiency is also responsible for his low resistance against infection and other illnesses, as well as his poor performance and inefficiency at work. The average daily caloric intake of a working adult amongst the poorer classes in

India is between 1700 to 1800, as compared to 2800 to 3200 in Great Britain; 3000 in Australia; 3000 to 3400 in U.S.A.; 2800 to 3000 in Denmark and so on. Mann ist wass or asst.—Man is what he eats; and a great deal can be done for building and maintaining healthy workers if at least one wholesome properly balanced hot meal is provided during the working spell either at actual cost price, or less, or preferably free of charge. The cost will be amply rewarded by the saving of lost-time due to sickness-absenteeism and increased productivity. Certain progressive industrial establishment; in India have started to provide rest-shelters and tiffin tooms for their workpeople and supply cooked meals and light refreshments at actual cost price. This is a move in the right direction.

By and large the greatest loss to industry, both in men and material, is incurred through accidents. According to one American Insurance Company, the direct and indirect costs of an average accident, causing enforced absence from work for 3 days or more, amount to some £200 (about Rs. 2700), which serve to emphasize the economic burden of accidents quite apart from their social and medical importance. In 1942, more than Rs. 18,69,359 was paid out in india as Workmen's Compensation for some 44,443 cases of accidents and occupational diseases, averaging Rs. 42 per case; a very small amount, but less when it is considered that this does not never take o account such items as cost of hospitals, loss s and exact as them, of by the workman, cost t in territ and tools, interruption to produced time tost by other employees through interference of an accident in the factory, the net loss to the indusory, and the society in general, would seemme very a a conomic proportions. The frequency of accidents in the Indian Factories is high; about 1 m 40.6 workers sustains physical injury in course of his work, and 1 in 6818 meets with his death, that is to say that the annual accident rate is about 2463 per 100,000 employees, and the accident mortality or fatality rate is 6 per 1000 reported cases of accidents. It is not enough to organize and maintain a first-aid and accident treatment centre in the factory, however efficient, but we must also look deeper into the character and causes of accidents, the environmental factors, such as improper guarding of machinery, defective equipment and work conditions, general health, accident preneness and fatigue.

Social services in the factories, and in the country generally, are very meagre. There is no nation-wide provision for sickness, unemployment or old-age benefits. There is no Poor Law, and the lot of the worker at present is one of debt and destitution. Until some form of national scheme for disablement or relief for the unemployed is forthcoming, it is very necessary to ensure that the worker is at least maintained in good health during his "working-life" for his own sake and for the sake of the industrial progress of the country. Welfare of the industrial worker can indeed be termed "a new discipline," leading to national economic stability. But it should be realized, of course, that Industrial Welfare requires the combined efforts of the employer, the engineer, the chemist, the physician, and co-operation from the worker; all pooling their knowledge and experience for the promotion of a healthy environment in which to work. They must be aided and guided by a Central Industrial Health Research Institute whose function would be to collect and analyse all data from the country as a whole and arem abroad. The Institute must be prepared to research under experimental conditions, to investigate and explore means of improving working conditions and environment, and act as an Advisory Body both on behalf of individual industry and the State. It is only through conscious "team-work" between the State, the employer, and the worker, with a common Scientific Institute to help them, that production can be on the up-grade, industries prosper and the Indian people attain and maintain a decent standard of living-



THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN BENGAL

By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKHERJEE, MA., P.R.S.

EPOCH OF 1930-44

The problem of agricultural indebtedness of Bengal, as much as that of India, is a much-discussed and age-long problem. But during the last sixteen years, since the publication of Bengal Provincial and the Central Banking Enquiry Committee Reports, the nature of this problem has undergone some vital changes. The period between 1930 and 1944 has in mony senses been epoch-making, and, far-reaching shifts of position have taken places in respect of the debt burden of the cultivator. Little change has, however, been effected in his economic position as a whole. Rather, as the agrarian crisis in Bengal has deepened during the last one decade, his living condition has worsened more and more.

But what are the basic changes in the debtposition of the average agriculturist in Bengal as be stands today? And what are, in brief, the causes of such changes, if any?

DEBT CONCULIATION

In the first place, the money as well as the real burden of the agricultural debt in this province which greatly increased during the period of depression has been substantially relieved through active intervention of the Government. The volume of the total debt which stood, according to the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee, roughly at Rs. 100 crores in 1929, was said to have increased to Rs 275 crores by the year 1935 This last figure which was disclosed in course of debates on the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Bill, 1935, in the then Bengal Legislative Council, may not be accepted on its face value. The Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry concluded that the total capital debt of Occupancy Raivats of Bengal in 1933, was Rs. 97 erores Any way, the Government did intervene and quite a number of Debt Conciliation Boards were set up in far corners of Bengal beginning with July 1936. The volume of debts scaled down up to March, 1945, has been quite considerable as will be clear from the following table:

| TABLE 1 | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|
| Applications received by D. S. Boards | 34] | akhs |
| Cases disposed of by D. S. Boards | 29 | ,, |
| Cases awarded by D. S. Boards | 13 | ,, |

Out of total settled; amount of money—
claimed by creditors Rs. 52 crores
determined u/s 18 of B. A. D. Act , 32 ,
awarded by D. S. Boards , 19 ,
Claim reduced by D. S. Boards by
No. of cases pending at D. S. Boards
5 lakks

• 1. Vide Budget Session Dabates of the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1968.

CHANGE IN NATURE OF LONG TURM CREDIT-NEED

It appears, then, that the cultivator in Bengal has been substantially relieved of the crushing incidence of debt And consequently, the problem of long-term credit requirements has taken a different shape today. The Famine Enquiry Commission points out:

"There should be little need in the post-war period for the grant of loans . . . for long-term credit for the repayment of old debts."

It is obvious, however, that the cultivators' need for long-term credit for land improvement will remain, and, will even increase.

POOR PEASANT AND SHORT LOANS

But it will be too much to presume that debyposition of the poorer section of the peasantry has
reperciably improved Debt conciliation apart, the
small cultivators have derived but little benefit of the
increase in trices of agricultural produce during the
war and the famine. For it is truism to say that the
greatest bulk of the peasantry in Bengal is not selfsufficient, far less having a surplus produce from the
family holding.

Again, the problem of short and intermediate term credit needs of the cultivators taken as a whole has remained as serious teday as befor. The Bengal Banking Committees estimated such a ds at Rs 93 cross in 1930; the author of the Min Behind the Plough in 1938 worked out Rs. 60 cross as the annual need. But the minimum need is that of Rs 15 cross as per calculation of the Famine Enquiry Commission. 1945. This figure will not be easily acceptable. Provisionally, as the author of this note has been able to estimate any amount between Rs. 40 and Rs. 60 cross is the minimum for financing short-and-intermediate term credit requirements of the cultivators in Bengal.

WRONG PRESUMPTIONS

Much careless remark has in this regard been made both in the Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, 1940, and in the Annual Reports of the Cooperative Credit Department, Bengal, in recent years Thus, the former observes as follows:

"We agree that facilities for short-term credit are necessary, though we think that lands capable of cultivation rarely remain fallow in a normal

^{2.} Final Report, p. 301.

^{3.} Ibid, p. 82.

^{4.} Ibid, p. 185.

This point which requires further development will not be discussed here.

season for the want of it. At the present time, the economic depression, the operations of the Debt Settlement Boards, and the introduction of the Money-lenders Bill have compelled the cultivators to manage without credit."

Similarly, the following passage occurs in the Cooperative Annual Report for 1940-41:

. in no year throughout the depression . . or even after . . . has any considerable portion of the land remained uncultivated for lack of necessary finance in any part of the province. This fact goes to show that there has been no serious shortage of credit in so far as the basic requirements of the agricultural population are concerned."

CREDIT AND LAND TRANSFER

We need not challenge the truth of the premise of the last-named authority as quoted above. We should. however remember that partly in consequence of credit shortage, the cultivation of land has been less thorough and ill-performed; the processes of tilling, weeding. manuring, etc., have been largely reglected. Lower and lower yield per acre as shown in successive quinquennial crop-cutting reports of the Government of India reflects the deterioration of agriculture in Bengal. In the second place, it is not loans but sale-proceeds or salami on lease of real property of the cultivator that have more and more become the source of agricultural finance during the last one-decade-and-a-half. It is well-known that the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1928 under Section 26B gave a statutory recognition to the Occupancy Raiyats' right to alienate his holding, in any manner he chose. This right was made more absolute by the amending Tenancy Act of 1938, when transfer-fee to landlords was abolished and also, under-Raiyats were accorded the benefit of this right. That the cultivators have progressively been denuded their holdings is proved by the rapid increase in sale deeds executed from year to year. The following table shows this:

TABLE 3

| Docum Year | ients of Land | Transf | er in Ben Compulsory | gal (in l Mortense | akhs) Mortgage |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | property | | lease | | as p.c. ol |
| I DIE E F | | | | | sale |
| 1930 | 11 · 4 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 5 · 1 | 204 |
| 1031 | 8.7 | $2 \cdot 2$ | 1.7 | 3.7 | 168 |
| 1932 | 8.6 | 2.4 | 1.7 | 3.8 | 158 |
| 1933 | 8.5 | 2.5 | 1.7 | .3.1 | 124 |
| 1934 | 9.7 | 3.0 | 2 · 1 | 3.4 | 113 |
| 1935 | 10.5 | 3 2 | 2.4 | 3.5 | 109 |
| 1936 | 10.9 | 3.4 | $2 \cdot 7$ | 3.8 | 103 |
| 1937 | 10.7 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 90 |
| 1938 | 10.4 | 4.1 | 2.9 | 1.6 | 39 |
| 1939 | 13.5 | 6.5 | 3.6 | 1.5 | 23 |
| 1940 | 14.6 | 6.4 | 3⋅3 | . 1.6 | 24 |
| 1941 | 10-1 | 9.9 | 3.4 | 1.5 | 17 |
| 1942 | 16.8 | 9·1 | 3.5 | 1.6 | 11 |
| 1943 | 27 - 1 | 16.9 | 5.6 | 1.8 | 10 |

^{7.} Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Vol. I, p. 140, 1-414 278L

POVERTY OF CULTIVATOR

We have said above that the cultivators' burden of debt has become lighter because of scaling down but conciliation can offer no permanent solution. For, the cultivator, once relieved of his debt, will again fet! compelled, and to a certain extent, tempted, to incur fresh loan and thereby to get re-involved in debts, unless something is done to prevent it. As the Royal Agricultural Commission commented:

"In his ceaseless struggle to extort a bare livelihood from an insufficient holding, the cultivator has found it difficult to resist the temptation to relieve present necessities by mortgaging his future income and even his capital."10

Now, apart from actual expenses of cultivation, the peasant must incur a considerable loan for current domestic expenses. It is a tragedy that the grower of food himself has to borrow for procuring food. But no wonder ! For, as already said, an ordinary cultivator earns very little in a year to meet even his bare necessaries of life The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee holds that

"There is a kind of poverty, which, while not amounting to insolvency, nevertheless makes for precarious and uncertain living. It is this latter class of poverty, which is the real cause of indebtedness among agriculturists in Bengal ""

CAUSES OF POVERTY

The factors that make for a poverty-stricken peasantry may briefly be recounted. An absolute dependence on land, fragmented uneconomic holding. small out-turn of produce from land, scanty income from land and other sources, and finally unequal opportunities of life resulting from an unfair and uneven distribution of wealth and resources—these are some of the causes that are responsible for the low economic status of the agriculturists in Bengal.

PRESEURE ON LAND AND DECREASING LOW YIELD FROM LAND

The census figure given in the table below will reveal an ever-increasing pressure of population on land in this province:

| | | TABLE 4 | |
|-------|----|---------|-------------------------|
|]"ear | | | Agricultural population |
| 1891 | •• | | 25.5 millions |
| 1921 | •• | | 36.1 millions |
| 1941 | | | 43.4 millions |

The acreage out-turn of certain crops in India in different periods shows an appreciable decrease as will be seen from the following table.18

^{8.} Co-operative Annual Report, 1960-41, p. 8.

^{9.} The figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the tration Department, Government of Bengal.

^{10.} Report, p. 432.

^{11.} Report, p. 71.

^{12.} Sir Manifal Nanavati's Minute of Dissent, Famine Commission, 1045.

| In | lb. | per | аств | | |
|--------|-----|------|------|------|--|
| Annual | ave | rage | of | | |
| 4000 0 | | | a= . | 4040 | |

TABLE 5

| -√ Rice 1931-82 | to 1935-36 | 1936-37 to 194 | 0-41 Decrease |
|-----------------|------------|----------------|---------------|
| Bengal | 896 | 837 | 59 |
| Bihar | 738 | 676 | 62 |
| Wheat— | | | |
| C. P. | 666 | 590 | 76 |
| Bombay | 428 | 394 | 34 |
| Sugar-cane- | | | |
| Bengal | 624 | 577 | 47 |
| C. P. | 443 | 430 | 13 |
| Bombay | 5906 | 5587 | 319 |

SMALL HOLDINGS

The average size of holding per agriculturist family in different provinces of India and in some European countries is as follows:¹⁰

| Table | 6 |
|----------------|--------------------|
| Place | Average holding |
| Denmark (1919) | . 40 acres |
| Germany (1910) | . 26 ,, |
| Germany (1907) | . 21·8 " |
| France (1892) | . 20·5 ,, |
| Belgium (1905) | . 14.5 " |
| Bombay (1939) | . 11.7 " " |
| Puniah | 10·0 ¹⁴ |
| U. P. | . 6·0 " |
| Madras | 4.5 ,, 18 |
| Bengal | . 4.4 , 17 |

MAL-DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

But the size of the "average holding" is not a proper index of the actual economic condition of the raiyat. The range of holdings held by different grades of agriculturists in Bengal and the Punjab in 1939 is shown below. It will be seen that the owners are conjested in the lower acreage groups and that the land is concentrated in higher groups:

TABLE 7 (Punjab)14

| Size of holding | % of owners | % of land |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 01 acre | 20.2 | 0.8 |
| 1-3 acres | 28.6 | 5.2 |
| 3—5 " | 14.9 | 6· 2 |
| 5—10 " | 16.9 | 13·1 |
| 10—15 " | _ 7∙3 | 9.1 |
| 15-20 " | 3.6 | 7.2 |
| 20—25 " | 2.3 | 5.6 |
| 26 —50 " | 3.9 | 14.8 |
| over 50 " | 2·4 | 38.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The position of Bengal is little better than in the Punjab:

- For European countries, vide Darling: Panjeb Pensent, 1928.
 P. 291, foot-note.
 - 14. Famine Commission, Final Report, p. 257.
 - 15. Floud Report, Vol. I, para 198.
 - 16. Ibid, para 179.
 - 17. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 114-15.
- 16 Vide Results of the enquiry made by the Punjeb Beard Companie Enquiry, 1988.

| Size of ho | | (Bengal)10 | | % | of owners |
|-------------|-------|------------|-----|---|-------------|
| Less than 2 | acree | | | | 46.0 |
| 2-3 | •• | | | | 11.2 |
| 3-4 | 22 | • • | •• | | 9.4 |
| 45 510 | ** | • • | • • | | 8·0 17·0 |
| Above 10 | ,, | | • • | | 8.4 |

SMALL INCOME

From the above it will be easily realised that the meagre per capita income of the agriculturists in Bengal and their low standard of living and scanty, or often negative, surplus are not at all accidental or without sufficient reason. The figures of the following table will speak for themselves:

Table 9²⁰

Income, Expenditure and Holding per average
Agriculturist family in Bengal

| | | | | | L. | | |
|---------|------------|--------|------|------------------|------------------|----------------|--|
| | | Po | | | | +î | |
| | | erage | | ily | Family xpendi | # (-) # (-) | |
| | | , w | | E- | Fun | Sur | |
| Bengal | 1928 | 6.73 | 6-89 | Rs. 218 | Rs. 217 | _ 1 | |
| ·, | 1929 | 4.75 | 5 | 450 | 420 | +30 | |
| ,, | 1933 | 6.73 | 6.89 | 114 | 136 | -22 | |
| •• | 1938 | 5 3 | 5 | 184- 28 8 | 293-319 | -5 to | |
| | 1939 | 4 · 36 | 5 | 25 0 | | | |
| Faridpi | ar Dietric | t, | | | | | |
| Bengal | 1908 | | 5.6 | 250 | 250 | 0 | |
| •• | 1928 | 4 · 46 | 6.48 | 207 | 198 | +9 | |
| ,, | 1933 | 4 · 48 | 6.48 | 105 | 118 | 13 | |
| ** | 1940-42 | 3.7 | 8 | 417 | 465 | 48 | |
| | | | | | | | |

MEASURES RECOMMENDED

In the paragraph above, we have analysed in some detail a few of the causes of the root problem of poverty of the average agriculturist in Bengal which compels him to revert to borrowing repeatedly. To prevent the need for thoughtless borrowing certain measures are to be adopted, such as, curbing the money-lender, protecting the property of the cultivator from attachment and sale in exemtion of decrees, restricting the right of sale and mortgage of agricultural land, granting government loans to agriculturists. extending the facilities of co-operation, reducing the burden of land revenue and above all granting of improved tenancy rights in land, which again, is to be thoroughly redistributed equitably on the basis of economic holding and scientific, profitable cultivation. Produce-sharing tenants, i.e., bargadars must be raised to the status of tenants with permanent rights in the land they cultivate. This will eliminate bhag-chas

19. Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, Vol. II, Table VIII (b).

20. Sources: Bengal Banking Committee, Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry, Six Asixul Haque's Men Behind the Plough, Bengal Land Revenue Commission, Major Jack's Economic Life of a Bengal District, and, Revised Settlement Operations in Paridpur District.

of our country and weakens the rural structure of our society. But no less an eyil is the practice of subinfeudation which is the inevitable consequence of the popular initiative. defective land-systems in our country. Absentee landlordism and non-cultivating ownership of land, such as, in the case of tenure-holders, must be finally liquidated. The abolition of Zamindari system is a burning question of the day After the investigations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission were published, the proposal of State ecquisition of land-lords' rights or, in other words, the prospect of land nationalisation in Bengal has become a practical one. With the attainment of Dominion Status, India should not now brook any further delay to end parasitism in our agrarian life and the mal-distribution of the country's land assets. Ruthless extermination of all causes responsible for improve the 'Whole Man.'

which perpetuates parasitism in the agrarian economy agricultural inefficiency or lack of enterprise,—that must be the immediate programme of action. The question is how we are to open the flood-gates of

TACKLE THE 'WHOLE MAN'

The real aim must be to usher into existence race of self-reliant, contented, thrifty and prosperous peasantry in our country. Unless a comprehensive and well-thought-out plan of improving the diverse aspects of the entire economic life of the cultivator is seriously launched, we shall be far from achieving that aim. Under such a plan there remains no scope for leaving him to his fate or to his meagre resources. Lack of credit facility or indebtedness is but a part of the bigger economic problem that confronts the cultivator as a man. The crux of the matter is how to tackle and

0:-

THE CENTENARY OF K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU

BY P RAJESWARA RAO, BA, BL

ingam of Andhra that comes off on 16th April, 1948 has more than passing interest to all lovers of social reform in India He was the first pioneer in South India to advocate and perform widow remarriage on a large scale when it was undreamt of in the higher castes. What is more, he established a colony for the reformed couples and made them feel quite at home. He patiently faced all opposition from every quarter. At times his very life was in danger. He can favourably be compared to Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidvasagar of Bengal Sir Ganga Ram of the Puniab and Prof Karve of Maharashtra who were the greatest social reformers and worked incessantly for the uplift of women in their respective provinces. It is interesting to recall that when he was faced with the opposition of the learned Pandits he received invaluable help from Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar who was his senior in the field of social reform and was fortunately alive at that moment, and incidentally defeated the Pandits on their own ground

Besides Veeresalingam went a step further under the inspiration of the Brahmo Samai and discarded his sacred thread (the emblem of a Brahmin) with a view to inaugurate a casteless society. He popularised communal prayers through the Prarthana Samaj. He was the foremost rationalist of his time and vehemently criticised the belief in charms, devils and the like. At the same time he condemned the Western ways of life and warned the public about the impending dangers. Though he was issueless, he did not adopt anybody but bequeathed his all to the public.

To the Andhras he is more than a social reformer. He is really one of the foremost makers of modern Andhra-desha. He touched life at many points. He was

Tur Centenary of the birth of the late K. Veeresa- a great scholar in English Sanskrit and Telugu. He translated many a standard English and Sanskrit work into Telugu. Besides being a great poet and the author of the History of the Andhro Poets, he was an excellent writer of prose and rightly acquired the title of Sir Walter Scott of Andhra while alive. His Rajasekhara Charitra was the first novel in Telugu His Sakuntala was the earliest and the most popular drama in Telugu. Through his humourous skits his memory is still cherished.

> He was an eminent journalist and conducted two Anglo-Telugo weeklies, namely Vinckovardhani and Satyasamvardhani with distinction. His disclosures were sensational Week after week he fearlessly exposed the evils of inefficiency, corruption and nepotism. He was instrumental in bringing some important culprits to book He rendered veoman's services to Rajamundry as its city father. Though he was a moderate in politics as he ought to be since he was serving in a Government college, his influence on the student community was wholesome and lasting.

> Above all, he was a great philanthropist. He endowed his native town with a decent Town-hall and also established a High School. His doors were always open to the needy. Government too recognised his public vervices by conferring on him the title of Rao Bahadur as a personal distinction. He was loved and respected by the people and the powers-that-be. The best tribute that can possibly be raid to his memory is to publish all his works, carry on his mission with intense seal and place the institutions started by him, namely, the Victoria Widows' Home, Hitakarini High School and the Town Hall on a sound and stable footing. While others too may sympathise and extend their helping hand it is primarily the duty of the Andhras.

OUR FOREIGN EDUCATION POLICY

By DR. S. R. PALIT

Our Government have decided to send overseas about a whereas they were admitted not in any chemical engineer-, thousand students every year for training in various ing or applied chemistry section, not to speak of apprenticebranches of science. This huge expenditure of a few ship in an industrial plant which was really wanted, but crores from the public exchequer is undertaken with the they were enrolled for a degree in pure science which is hope that these students, their training finished, will be hardly anything more than duplication of what they had better fitted to take their share in the scientific and industrial development of the country necessary for our modernization. When the first contingent of these students arrived in U.S.A. about two years ago, the writer was present there and had the opportunity to watch the operation of this scheme from close quarters until his return lately from U.S.A. via England, where also he devoted himself to study the situation for a few weeks. For various reasons this scheme has, however, fallen miserably short of its desired goal, and in these few lines an attempt will be made to point out some of the salient reasons which have contributed to this dismal failure.

The foremost reason for the failure of the scheme has been the undue haste with which selection was made, not always very happily, and the selected boys dispatched to their destination without any assurance that these boys would have suitable opportunities for the intended training. Most of the boys have been selected to receive some technological training necessary for some particular branch of ordustry. But unfortunately for lack of suitable arrangements, practically all the boys have had to remain concent with getting emolled into a department of pure of applied science of a university for a Master's degree course, though practically all these boys already have a Master's and some a Doctorate degree.

The situation is painfully farcical, and the following illustrative cases are revealing commentaries to our inefficiency in planning and organization. In the fall of 1945, the Education Liuison Officer of India in U. S. A. came to California and visited the Professor I was working with, Dr. James W. McBain with the request to admit in his section two Indian scholars who were shortly expected. Professor McBain exercised his influence and secured seats for them. The liaison officer told Prof. McBain that one of these students was to specialise in solvents and other probably in paints, varnishes or some similar line. Dr. McBain particularly discussed the matter with me and it was arranged that they would work in our research laboratory in pure physical chemistry and register them for Master's degree and, time permitting, Doctor's degree. Both these students arrived a few months behind the scheduled time, and it transpired that none of them was a physical chemist, one being a biochemist and the other an organic chemist, and they could not possibly fit in with our plans. Accordingly, to some inconvenience and irk of my Professor, they had to be given berths in other sections of pure chemistry, which were more akin to their past training.

Note that the tentative or the final arrangement had nothing to do with the training they were intended for. Our public money was to be spent on them in order to surish their chemical experience in definite technical fields,

already gone through in India. This training will not equip them, except for an added degree, any hetter to plan, organize or run any industrial plant when they come back. The above is not an isolated instance but is an illustrative case and such an inordinate bungling has been practically always the rule in almost every case.

Take another example, that of Prof. Ramchandra lyer from Travancore. He was sent to study about Rayou (artificial silk) so that when he would come back he could take charge of a Rayon plant then under erection in Travancore. What was done about him by our Education haison officer was to enrol him for a Master's degree course - a course which he himself is capable of teaching others. Imagine his mental distress in his age and position to have to sit with fresh graduates. Many scholars everywhere have repeatedly told me about this unnecessary wastage of time and energy and their consequent depression and disillusionment owing to this type of mishandling the situation. Many Doctorates and almost all Ma-ter's degree holders of our Universities have been compelled to pass through such inglorious procedure to no altimate benefit to anybody whatsoever,

Such a confused affair is probably understandable in those hectic post-war days. The Government wanted to do something for the country and did not know exactly how to do it. The Government people at the helm at that time which was changing with kaleidoscopic rapidity stuck to the time-honoured method of relying on the civil administrators. That the advice of and direction from eminent scientists of the country for working such a scheme was the sine qua non for success was never realised. Even the existing report of the Indian Scientific Mission compiled by the then available best scientific talent of India at an enormous price was set at naught. It is certainly a bad reflection on the working of our the then central government that though even an insignificant commission's elaborate workings are printed and published at enormous expense, this valuable document, undoubtedly the most nationalistic and far-sighted report on our scientific welfare ever submitted to our government, has been withheld from public view, and buried in the archives of the Government to be eaten by white auts. The recommendations contained therein have been completely ignored, though without the least hesitation the writer, who had access to the report, can still recommend it with some modifications as the now changed conditions demand, as the most trustworthy guide in any proposed planning for scientific education in our country.

Even the very basic recommendations have been completely ignored with what a consequent confusion and inconvenience! It appeals to every sensible man as also recommended in the above report that since we are arranging for scientific and technical education, the Education liaison officer in U.S.A. and also in other countries should be a scientist. Unfortunately, for reasons not known, it is not so, and the abovementioned confusion continues unremedied. I wish to make it clear that this does not in any way reflect on the general efficiency of the present liaison officer, but I only wish to point out that you cannot get a tailor's job done by a carpenter however skilful the lutter might be with carpentry tools.

When thousands of these young men would be coming back in a year onwards after spending millions from the public funds, it will be a distressing problem for the Government to fit them in technical jobs profitable to the country, as the majority of them will not be in any sense better fitted to erect and run any technical plants than when they left this shore, for apparently no fault of theirs. The blunder is on the part of the government and these are basic ones. The government have scored three-fold blunders:

- (i) in the selection of candidates;
- (ii) in hastily sending them overseas without being assured of the requisite training facilities and
- (iii) in putting more reliance on purely administrative people than on scientists to plan and run such a scheme;

and the way to remedy them are discussed below:

(i) Selection of Candidates—The selection so far done has not been satisfactory. The intellectual prestige of our country has never before suffered so much in foreign eyes particularly in the eyes of the 'intelligentsia' of America and Europe as by sending 'misfits' and 'below averages'. Think of the shock of the professors when some government scholars supposed to be the 'pick' of the country scored way below average credits in class tests. Even their characteristic courteous reserve in remarks about foreigners could not completely check from public eye their surprised feeling and anybody who has been in U.S.A. for the last two years knows about this. This very fact had moved one of the great sons of India now living in U.S.A. Dr. Taraknath Das to write an article in The Modern Review depreciating the system, root and branch.

The criterion of choice should have been that only mature students with good academic record and some promise in original scientific thinking should be sent and this choice should have been left entirely to a truly representative panel of scientists from all over the country. The country does not gain in the least by sending herds of mediocres to get them labelled with an extra foreign degree or two, and it is sheer and irresponsible wastage when done at public expense.

(ii) Hasty Send-off—In their earnestness for doing good to the country, the Government should not have been swayed by the rather unwise policy of packing the students off to a foreign land with instruction to scrape off any knowledge they can. It should have been a well-arranged and ordered procedure, and nothing would have been lost by waiting until the proper facilities were forthcoming. Ask any student in U.S.A. or England what he is doing

and what he was supposed to do, there would hardly be any correspondence between the two.

It is the considered opinion of the present writer that mass-training in industry in a foreign country is a utopian dream. The best we can hope to achieve in this way is to send the student technicians to get a degree in a recognised foreign in stitution, which is often hardly better than our own.

Technical know-hows are essential to technological success and it is pure wishful thinking to hope to learn them by the easy road of sending our boys overseas. This can be true only in isolated cases. All countries have come to possess these know-hows by the hard and only way of asking Nature, the way of experimentation, the way of sustained effort, and we have to beat the same hard path in our own country. If we are to industrialize our country on a large scale and want to see our own people as technical experts, the only feasible way is to secure foreign machinery and foreign experts and let the training be conducted on our own soil. All later developments are to come from the experimentation of these trained people on our own soil, if we as a nation are worth it. Any other way or short-cut is bound to prove finally to be a costly failure.

However, in our hurry to industrialize we should not slacken our support to the pursuit of pure science, the jountain-head of all knowledge. For pure scientific research we must continue to send the proper type of our brilliant younger students to have opportunity to work with the masters in foreign land. If pure scientific research is neglected or not properly encouraged, which is unfortunately often the case nowadays, we shall be signing our own eventual death warrant in a scientific sense. This point has been thoroughly stressed in the report of the Indian Scientific Mission.

(iii) Scientific Planning by Scientists-Never before scientific planning was more urgently needed than now in India, and it is a sad and unpalatable truth that nobody however clever and intelligent he might be, has got the least chance of success in such matter unless he has a thorough scientific training. Also, such a job of national importance should not be entrusted to the sole judgement of a few, but should be the outcome of teamwork and cooperative effort of a group of able scientists working as one unit under the guidance of an able and inspiring scientific leader. A separate portfolio for National Scientific Planning under a renowned scientist, or an able administrator quite familiar with modern scientific developments, is essential at this juncture. He should be advised by a representative panel of scientists and technicians, and should go shead with this job of national planning for improvements and expansion of industries, agriculture, public health, etc. Anything short of this is incommensurate with the vastness of the problem and is bound to be insufficient for a thorough job.

In this connection may I point out another extravagansa in useless drainage of public funds, prolifically being displayed for the last two years. I refer to the sending of Directors, Assistant Directors, Professors, and practically

anybody in almost all educational and research institu- justified and this money could be better utilised by allottions of our country who have some influence in their respective governing bodies, to foreign countries on a trip or visit. Such a trip or visit is certainly necessary for people of international stature, but not to scientific midgets, though unfortimately for our country many of the latter group are holding substantial top-ranking offices owing to the miserably below-standard level of our general scientific attainments. Most of these scientific 'ordinaries' have also passed the best creative phase of their life. Very little is gained by the country by sending such people on an official tour. Even a genius has never learnt anything worth learning by a hasty tour but only by presistent application. I consider that such an expenditure is un-

ting the same to two or more of their young and promising subordinates to go overseas to learn some definite techniques in their line by a few months' stay in one place and not by a hasty tour.

In conclusion, I appeal to our Government in the name of public welfare of this poor country to put an immediat stop to such a farcical eye-wash in foreign technical education, and start afresh on a sounder basis with the ultimate end in view. It is senseless to pursue a wrong road which does not lead to our objective on the ground that the right course is difficult to follow or is not casily recognizable.

SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB

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By DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A., D.Litt.

In the history of British social thought the names of the Webbs have a permanent place. The 'aged mortals' were the 'Fabian oracles,'* who worked hard for the social and material advancement of the masses with a religious zeal which is second only to Marx and Lenin and none others. Sidney was an able civil servant before he took to public life and served with great ability and distinction in the London County Council.

The Webbs represent a very important phase of the social philosophy of human life. They were the foundation members of the Fabian Society which has men of great distinction in its fold. Among the prominent members were: the Webbs, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, Sidney Oliver, etc. They all believed that the chief need of man was a good material and social context. The Webbs were the first to take to a scientific study of Local Government and other economic problems. They developed the art of municipal enterprise and are responsible for what is called "gas and water socialism." They served on several important committees including the Poor Law Commission. Sidney Webb served in two governments, the Liberal and the Labour Party. Both the Webbs had a strong and pragmatic outlook, so they believed in details and buried their heads in plans and details. They did not believe in many gray theories.

On the intellectual side, the Webbs laid great stress on a detailed and scientific study of social services. They stood for dispassionate analysis of facts, honest thinking, and cogent reasoning. They wanted to build a new social order, not on the insecure foundations of broken heads or on blood baths. They made comprehensive blue-prints and educated men on the art of co-operation. The important works of the Webbs are A History of Trade Unionism, a book on the cooperative movement, secondary education and universities. They have works on the medical profession and on prison reforms. They have given us a sketched constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Their monumental volume on Soviet Britain. Communism is at once history and literature. In over a thousand pages, they have given us a vivid picture of the workings of the various institutions, economic, political and social, of the U.S.S.R. It is a sober account of the State of Russia and not a mere piece of propaganda.

The Webbs were the pioneers in the study of the social services in a scientific fashion. They treated facts as sacred and were the inventors of the phrase "measurement and publicity." They have drafted innumerable reports under the Fabian auspicies. They worked for the Benthamite ideal of the greatest happiness of the greatest number in more than half a dozen walks of life.

In the field of journalism they founded the most intellectual Leftist weekly, The New Statesman and Nation, which represents the Radical Socialist thought.

Their service to education is monumental. They were responsible for the present London School of Economies. They built it from its humble beginning in two rooms to its present status. Sidney was the Professor of Public Administration for some time. The influence of the Webbs was so great that the London School of Economics was called the "Webberies." The long list of men whose ability is the glory of recent English thought has been associated with the London School either as teachers or as students. The list comprises Harold J. Laski, Graham Wallas, R. H. Tawney, Lionel Robbins, Lord Beveridge, Dalton and the Prime Minister Attlee.

The celebrated couple spent their whole life-time in close companionship working for the fruitful activities and fellowship among men. Sidney jokingly said that "In a sufficiently integrated relationship the hushand and the wife make not two but eleven." They avoided personal loves and hates, and worked for impersonal ends. Their motto was, 'We shall strive,' They

* The Fabians got their name from the Roman General Fabius who believed in cention and inevitability of gradualness.

have done more than any other two individuals during the last century to free politics and economics from speculation and guess-work. They have given it a solid scientific basis.

The two worked as onc. They dropped the first person singular "I" and always wrote "We." Sometime early in their life, A. G. Gardiner tells us, there was a controversy as to which of the two came before or after and he concludes "that it is an idle theme because you can never tell where one ends and the other begins." It is difficult to say, "how much you are yielding to the eloquence of Mrs. Webb and how much to the reasoning of Mr. Webb." They were an institution in themselves. Nietzche observed, "Not round the inventors of new noises but round the inventors of new values doth the world revolve: inaudibly it revolveth."

IS DIPLOMACY A STRATEGY OR IS IT TACTICS

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

It is characteristic of our age to use terms derived from warfare even when speaking on non-military subjects. No political campaign is ever being held without one's being forcibly reminded of the fact that the word campaign itself is a war term. In any "field" of action or endeavor, the idea of field itself recalls the battle-field, rather than the field of the peaceful cultivator of the soil. The fighting field of modern times is the most noteworthy specialization of the much-used noun. The words manocuvre, strategy, tactics, allies, defeat, victor, victim, and dozens of others were born on the fields of battle and even an innocent term like exercise of the parade ground dates way back to Roman barracks.

Not merely diplomacy is a battle of brains, war also, even its most primitive and crudest forms, required more than mere muscle power, or sheer brutal physical strength and endurance. The dictum of Clausewitz:

"War is a political act. Politics and warfare have the same logic, although they are using different grammars,"

was much heard of while the last war was on, much to the chagrin of all lovers of peace. How to deprive war of its political status is perhaps one of the foremost problems of our generation.

The word global, a favorite war term, has gone somewhat out of use. Not much headway has been made toward crystalizing public opinion in the various leading nations into a sort of global public opinion. By common consent, the hope of success for the United Nations rests very largely on the strong arm of two or three of the largest nations to enforce a stabilizing equilibrium of the welter of contending economic and national interests. The strategy in all this has been to preserve and to defend the remnants of a bygone period against the persistent aggressiveness of a system of economics and politics which is believed to entertain global aspirations.

In his now famous article, signed "X", George F. Kennen has pointed out that the chief advantage of Soviet diplomacy is its ability to bide its time. To change from a mechanical pursuit of strategic aims to a nimble use of delaying tactics may be the most valuable lesson the present Russian rulers are teaching the rest of the world. Could it be, that in this matter, the East, with its unburrying, patient plodding way,

has assets, the value of which our nervously active Western world is slow to understand and appreciate.

Ciano, the late son-in-law of the late Mussolini, has been credited with the statement that there are no more boundaries in this world, but only strategical positions. Now the United States overnight have become the sole custodians of the rather exposed bastion of the European state system, the kingdom of Greece appears to be one of the chief puzzles of political observers. Greece is clearly a strategical outpost of British power in the Mediterranean, it seems likely, that Moscovite strategy may be flexible enough to allow tactics to come into play at this point, so as not to contest the holding of this pillbox by the Anglo-Saxon bloc, but who knows?

The complete reversal of American policy toward ever-expanding zones of Russian power, a reversal which, as rumour has it, is largely due to a new braintrust department of our foreign office, called the Department of State, is most perplexing.

Does a strong nation really require diplomacy? Our position has been up to very recently, that there was no likely challenge of the political supremacy of Anglo-American world coalition, provided that Russia could be kept in harmony, or at least in outward agreement with such a combination. Long after Russia had shown her bad temper she still for a considerable time was treated most chivalrously by her would-be friends. But now has come the astounding face-about of the former cuddling and wheeling tactics. How is this sudden change to be understood? We are being assured now, that no common ground exists on which the two rival systems of political thought can co-operate.

If one must grant that Russian diplomacy has time in its favor, how is Western diplomacy to overcome that handicap? The idea of "containing" Russia reminds one of the hunters, who had caught a bear with only a tree between him and the captive. He had hold of the bear's paws, but he was afraid to let go for excellent reasons. However one may dislike Roosevelt's policy of going "everywhere" in his crusade for righteousness, it is likely that, had he lived such an abrupt change of sides would not have taken place. The change seems to prevent automatically all hope for conciliation, it shuts the door to all further peaceful negotiation.

Springfield, Ohio.

NOW OR NEVER*

BY CHCWDRY AKBAR KHAN

THERE comes a time when a community or a nation is faced with problems concerned with its existence or obliteration. Such a critical time is surrounding the Indian Muslims at the present time. It is no use blinking the fact that in a senseless mad frenzy of fanaticism aroused by unscrupulous and callous leadership they had blindly followed the path of ignorance, or perhaps done wilful mischief, in supporting the case for the establishment of Pakistan. Perhaps they were even more vociferous in their demand for the rape of a country that had been the motherland of their forefathers for centuries, than their co-religionists who have been charged with the commission of the new state.

Indian Muslims for that matter have been left in a hopeless position, and that of their own making. The Pakistanis cannot but ignore them. The difficulties of the former are exploited by the latter for their ignoble ends. It is time and not a moment too soon that the Muslims in India said good-bye to the dreamland and face facts. Pakistan, whose policy of an all-out discrimination and religious fanaticism creates nasty reaction in India, has left them in the lurch. They (Indian Muslims) should atone for that; and that they can only do by purging themselves of the guilty ideas the Muslim League had drilled into their minds. As they have been disowned by the inhabitants of Pakistan they should fain transfer their erstwhile loyalty from Jinnah and his clique to the leadership in India. It would be wise for them to think in terms of India and India alone. To them the interests of India must come first of all things. They should feel proud to lay down their lives for the good cause of India, even fight against Pakistan or any other Islamic state if by any chance they happened to come to grips with their country.

At the present moment of the Kashmir tangle it is the bounden duty of all the Indian nationals of Islamic faith to volunteer to fight against the marauding bands of Pakistan origin, who are engaged in the spoliation of the fair valley of Kashmir. It is a golden opportunity for them to demonstrate to which side their loyalty lies, failing which may prove that their unabating intransigence will have to be broken in a manner that either they became and proved true to the land of their birth, or they chose to migrate where they cherish to transfer their loyalty and faith and patriotism. If and when the Muslims

decide to join the Indian fighting forces they join and serve in the mixed companies of all creeds, and not those formed on the communal lines as in the days of the British Rai.

False religious sentiment has done enormous harm and damage to nations in the past. It had been a cause of many a country's bondage, humiliation and ruin. That on no account justifies playing false to one's motherland and nationality. It is the sacred duty of a person to keep the interests of his country foremost, for his existence depends on that; and without existence everything, including religion, ends.

Muslim League propaganda has done irreparable harm to the Muslims. Other religious communities followed suit. They became the exact pattern of the Muslim organisation with the only difference in their religious denomination. Communalism fanned by the devilish fury of communal leaders, fostered, intensified and culminated in the fratricidal strife that has proved unparalleled in the history of mankind.

It is for the sake of India and for their selfpreservation that the Muslim nationals of that country join the socialist wings of the Indian National Congress that has no place for communatism of any sort. They should take part in this national organisation not as Muslims but as Indians. And they will soon find and feel that they are not strangers in this land but as equal partners in all spheres of life. They ought to prove good citizens and patriots like Siraj-ud-Dowla, Tipoo Sultan and Ibrahim Gardi and not quislings like Nawab of Oudh, Ikramullah and the Afghans of Qasur, who sided with the Abdali in the hour of India's supreme need. And why can't they follow the brilliant example of one who is among them today, i.e., Maulana Azad, the one who being a widely reputed Muslim divine has stuck to truth, and been in the foremost rank of fighters for the freedom of India? If there ever was a man living today to lead the Muslims on the right path it is Azad. Wise are his counsels; sincere are his actions.

There was a time, and not far back, when the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent used to pour their blood and wealth for the benefit of the senile Turkish Empire. They sent donations to Abdul Karim of Morocco who had declared jehad against the Spanish imperialism; and they made substantial monetary contributions towards the Arab struggle in the Holy Land. But all these sacrifices had not been in the least related towards the furtherance of the cause of freedom of their ewn country. It was the Indian National Congress, a predominantly Hindu body that by its incessant struggle, and in spite of

[•] The National Muslim Committee of London has sont this passiphlet to us for publicity. We publish it for the information of our readers.—Es. M. R.

the reactionary activities of the Muslim League and vested interests, brought about the liberation of the whole of India. In a similar manner the Muslim population of India will gain little by their benevolent attitude towards Pakistan; and if they do not modify their foreign outlook they will be heading towards an irretrievable disaster. If they must live in India they must live as Indians. If they keep on living there, estranged, dreaming of mythical Islamic lands all of which without exception, are nonentities today, they will be courting their own ruin. They should at the earliest, change their mental outlook.

Mr. Jinnah seems to have fallen into an error of judgment that he has achieved a great object by creating a new state. First of all, it being in the Anglo-American interest to create one, it was Britain who created it. But if the credit must go to the leader of the Muslim League then the British must deserve a ten-fold credit for having created five Arab states after they had shattered the Ottoman Empire in 1919. And how much more able and praiseworthy they must be when they are on the active move to form a state of the Sudan independent of Egypt, and to create two baby states out of tiny Palestine.

Living in fool's paradise is of little avail; facing realities is practical politics. The trend in the modern world is for states to coalesce in bigger units, to federate for self-preservation, political and economic. Newfoundland is being forced into the lap of Canada; a union of the Malay states has been brought about; and the British statesmen, who had always frowned upon any suggestion of the federation of the countries of the Continent, are today advocating the same European unity. But where then hes the wisdom of creating Pakistan? Was it now born just for the Anglo-American strategic purposes in future wars?

Since the formation of Pakistan, during the short period of the last six months the weaknesses of the new state have been apparent. It is beset with insurmountable political, economic and social problems. It baffles the good efforts of the patriotic Orientals to get rid of Western domination. The policy of Pakistan seems to keep European influence in saddle. After all the Muslim League leadership had been reared under the benign care of British imperialism. To expect otherwise would be deceiving oneself.

Pakistan is bound to remain a helpless, weak state, and a liability to India, and perhaps some other countries. The new state will be a deadweight hanging round the neck of its inhabitants. There are scores of instances of the like in the world. Day by day more and more intricate and difficult problems are appearing defying any solution. It will be in the high interests of the Muslims of India that they seriously start agitation in an organised manner for the unity of the estranged parts. They should undo what they

have done by urging their co-religionists in Pakistan that the path they had taken and the policy they had pursued were wrong; and that Pakistan united to India will be a credit to herself and to the parent land.

The Muslims in the Indian Union are passing through critical times. It is a question of their survival. Their greatest champion, Mahatma Gandhi, has fallen by the tell hand of the basest criminal because of the Mahatma's interminable drive to extirpate communalism. Gandhi has given his life for Hindu-Muslim unity, for one nation, for India. Gandhi was a second Buddha, a second Christ, a second Nanak. If one believe in revelation for him, the Mahatma may be ranked, and rightly so, among the messengers of old. Not only did he attempt and to a large extent succeed in the reformation of society like those missionaries of non-violent philosophy but he has excelled them by leading a degraded and degenerated India from chronic slavery into the realms of freedom, a freedom enjoyed by both India and Pakistan alike. Never in the history of mankind has a man been mourned so much as Gandhi, the saint of Wardha. When all the world has paid the Mahatma a fitting tribute it is piteous, shameful and shocking that Mr. Jinnah should refer to him as only a loss to the Hindu community. As the League leader had all along done his best to retain British hold in India, the Mahatma had been a chief architect of India's freedom, for the freedom of Hindus and Muslims alike, for the freedom of present-day Indian Union as well as Pakistan, without which Mr. Jinnah would not have been honoured with the dignity of the post of Governor-Generalship. For Gandhi there Hindu, no Muslim. For him both were Indian. For him both were the manifestation of the same light wherever it emanated from ; and that is the sublimest philosophy in human life.

The Mahatma has gone. He has left us. But happil there are men of high calibre among India's statesmen, among whom Pandit Nehru is an outstanding ardent believer in Hindu-Muslim unity. Communalism, upon which India has been criminally partitioned, is foreign to his nature. There being no question of championing the cause of this creed or that, it is but only a pleading for the equality among all the nationals of the Indian Union, provided they are loyal citizens of that country. Renouncing their misleading and damaging behaviour, fashioned by the erroneous ideas of the Muslim League, the Muslims of India by all means should give their sincere support to Panditji in order that he may overcome the evil forces of reaction before they engulf the whole of India in bloodshed, destruction and misery; and jeopardise the independence of the subthereby continent,

GANDHISM—A PROBLEM STATED

By PROF. PROMATHA NATH GANGULY, M.A.

THE fundamental, though not quite obvious to many, politico-economic as well as spiritual problem of the "moment regarding India's reconstruction simultaneously with making her fully sovereign, should be clearly stated and honestly faced. The matter again relates to Gandhiji. It is thus. Mahatma Gandhi will no doubt live as Christ and Buddha, but shall we, memorialcrazy, succeed at last in raising his memorial only in a similar fashion as the vast majority of the Christians have succeeded in making Christ remembered during these two thousand years of blood-stained European history? That is the important point to ponder and act upon. India (and for that matter the world) must needs be transformed to the common man's interest, it is admitted, and special conditions of the times are making this process only the more urgent. Politicians, thinkers and workers who believe in Gandhism must now prove through organised, comprehensive action that Gandhism is truly adequate for these argent and peculiar needs of world transformation, as the only other obvious way of the hour is Marxism. The following words of Gaudhiji are particularly significant in this context:

"The highest honour that my friends can do me is to enforce in their own lives the programme I stand for or to resist me to their utmost if they do not believe in it."—(Young India, 12.6.1924).

Believers in Marxism are 'resisting' him, as they must if they are to be ideologically sincere. Now, it is to be still seen if professed followers of Gandhiji, as private individuals and especially as and when entrusted with great State powers, are so ordering their private life and public appearances and activities so as to translate and extend Gandhism in practical action and prove it victorious even after Gandhiji's death. That is the test of the hour, particularly in India.

Here are some reflections that naturally occur on this subject. If Gandhism can't fully live after Gandhiji's death, either it is not a well-integrated creed covering the entire life, or though such, not completely successful in its re-adjustment of age-honoured spiritual values to the modern world given a special shape and tone by science, or else the creed is perfectly sound, but humanity must gather, in the nature of things, further costly experience before it can collectively and unreservedly turn to it.

If untruth, violence and greed are ethically bad, they are bad in all cases and for all purposes,—even more so in regard to momentous national and international affairs than in the private life of a single person. Thus argued Gandhiji, the chief argument indeed being his own life made into a vast weapon to hammer out old truths into the power-politics-ridden world. No genuinely good man or well-wisher of humanity can find fault with this logic (for the moment we are not taking note of the Marxian approach), except in order to make concessions to the usual

selfishness and greed. One feels that if the rich and ambitious, the ruling exploiters in different forms, too, being fully impressed with the inevitability of the coming change, would agree to act up to the Gandhian method of equity and peace, the desirable world transformation would have been possible even without bitter class struggle.

Socialists and Communists refuse to have any faith in such good sense of the present ruling classes, and so their effort is mainly concentrated on planned radical change of the external environments of society. That consummation alone, they point out, would cure society of its chronic lack of equity and peace, by snatching away all special privileges and opportunities, and hence temptation and power of exploitation from the now growingly obsolete class, the capitalists, created by outdated historical conditions. If believers in Gandhiji believe in somewhat different and more peaceful means of social remedy, they must set about to work to prove it. They must have the conviction and courage to carry on the work begun by Gandhiji, to its perfect, logical conclusion. They must convincingly work out the remedy, a remedy standing absolutely on its own strength, against all ideological rivalries, for its justification. It is also ultimately very important, for reasons more than one, that those among Gandhiji's professed followers, who happened to hold reins of power in the Central and Provincial Governments, must not use their authority to misrepresent and suppress the non-Gandhian Socialists, but depend on their own incorrupt and efficient action to prove that they are right or they also are right. Gandhiji's interpretation of life's affairs, and his statements of policy must be sincerely incorporated in their personal life and public or official activities. Government measures and policies, also, should fall in line with that, as far as honestly practicable. If Gandhiji's followers do not exert themselves to the full to explore all the possibilities of Gandhism, now when the whole thing is still to some extent an open question, they will injure it far more than the non-Gandhian groups, and the initiative may gradually pass on to the latter.

That Mahatmaji cannot be made to live for us merely through the erection of statues and memorials or renaming of roads and parks after him, all formal stereotyped ways requiring little spiritual effort, does not seem to have been sufficiently understood by us the public, or even the national government. Even the most reactionary or the non-Gandhian among us may well agree, for reasons of camouflage, expediency or investment in a way, to spend some money for the purpose, agreeing with great pretended gusto, how big and good, after all, was that old man for the country's many interests. Competitive exercise of sheer intellectual ingenuity, also, may become the pastime of many, as it is becoming, as how to find the most novel manner of memorial for him. Now, his memory can be

honoured, not in the most novel but in the most simple way, and not by the exclusive ways and conditions created by money only. Prophets in human history have often failed to do as much for us as they could, chiefly because after having behaved towards them awkwardly during their life-time, we behave still more foolishly after they die. They are raised to the pedestal of divinity, given a halo and their message is buried deep. Is that process automatic and unconscious, or are there a method, a motive and an agency, behind all that, however, cleverly concealed? Again, (whatever may be the reaction of distant times), is that sad process going to repeat in the case of Gandhiji too, before even the present decade is over? This question is not, of course, meant for Marxists, as their own analysis and reply in the matter are imaginable.

But what about the others among us who have all along chosen to swear by Gandhiji? What about those rich men, the middle-class people and the poorer classes of India, who professed to belong to his camp? What

will they all do now? What about the rich men and capitalists who seemed to adore him (genuinely or as the lesser evil to Marxism, we can't say), and whom he wanted to convert into willing trustees of the poorer people, in order to spare them and the country. the violence of class-struggle and revolution? What about the middle-class gentry, the greater part of whom have mere confused notions about contemporary trends and about the coming tides, but, paradoxically, a part of which chiefly provided leaders for new radical movements, again and again in history, and who were in India, the main willing factor helping Gandhian experiment and Gandhian success? How will they act now? Have they the conviction, vision and tenacity to carry on the work where Mahatmaji has left it, or even to retain what he has achieved? And what will do the great Indian masses who loved him and who, poor and exploited, still desired to end this old order of things in the peaceful Gandhian way (assuming, of course, that to be possible)?

COW-PROTECTION IN MUGHAL INDIA

By Prof. ANGELO MOSES, M.A., F.B.A.C., B.P.E.

The history of Mughal rule in India is replete with instances wherein Muhammadan sovereigns who were more liberal than the vast majority of their masses strove their level best towards protecting the cow. They conceded that cow-slaughter was never a tenet of Islam, and some of the illustrious sovereigns made brilliant efforts in the cause of cow-protection.

Babar, the first of the Mughal rulers of India, recognized the importance of cow perservation. For one thing, he never ate beef. We may read the whole of his *Memoirs* but we cannot find a single passage wherein it is mentioned that he ate beef.

Babar is more explicit as regards his respect towards the cow. In his death-bed advice to his son Humayun he gives vent to fine sentiments worthy of a genuine follower of Islam:

"O son, the kingdom of India is full of different religions": praised be God that He bestowed upon thee its sovereignty. It is incumbent on thee to wipe all religious prejudices off the tablet of the heart; administer justice according to the ways of every religion. Avoid especially the sacrifice of the cow by which thou canst capture the hearts of the people of India, and subjects of this country may be bound up with royal obligations."

The reigns of Humayun and Sher Shah may be skipped over as they are not quite so important to our present purpose. When we come to Akbar we have perhaps as persistent a sovereign in the cause of cowprotection as Asoka.

Akbar is positive as regards his distaste of flesh. Whether this be due to the Jain influence on him or to an instinctive moral repugnance and sensitiveness to see a brute butchered, we cannot ascertain. But this

much is plain that his instincts of humanitarianism are as strong as those of any Jain. Take this passage from the Ain-i-Akbari:

"His Majesty has a great disinclination for flesh; and he frequently says, 'Providence has prepared a variety of food for man, but, through ignorance and gluttony, he destroys living creatures, and makes his body a tomb for beasts. If I were not a king, I would leave off eating flesh at once, and now it is my intention to quit it by degrees."

This is but a significant passage testifying his strong belief about the sanctity of animal life. Akbar's reign was noteworthy for his legislation in the cause of cow-protection. He remitted several vexatious taxes including taxes on the sale and slaughter of cattle and the one for dressing hides. From very early times of Muhammadan rule in India, we find these taxes are collected vigorously to conserve cattle life. Dr. Syed Mahmud sums up this piece of legislation in the following marner:

"From the very inception of Muslim rule special tax was imposed on butchers for the slaughter of cows to the extent of twelve Jetal per cow. During the reign of Feroz Shah, butchers complained against this tax and the king abolished it. Details of this taxation are not given in books of history, but its object could only have been the prevention of cow-slaughter. This tax, therefore. continued for two hundred years after the esta-blishment of Muslim rule in India, right up to the time of Feroz Shah Tughlak. Instead of issuing a general order prohibiting cow-slaughter, this was the method adopted by early Muhammadan kings. This tax was called Jazri. The Hindus wielded great inthe reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-Diff fluence during Khushro. This king totally stopped the killing of

tows in his territories. It also seems that the Jasritax which had been discontinued by Feroz Shah Tughlak was re-imposed after his reign, because it is recorded in books of history that Akbar abrogated this tax. Akbar ordered a total prohibition of the killing of cows, and the tax was no longer found necessary and it was probably on that account that it was discontinued."

As a matter of fact, Akbar had no necessity to protect the cow by means of this paltry and indirect method of legislation. On the other hand, his cowprotection policy was broad-based and comprehensive.

Three Jain gurus, Hiravijaya Suri, Vijayasena Suri and Bhanuchander Upadhyaya, are credited to have exercised a wholesome influence upon Akbar, and obtained a Firman prohibiting under penalty of capital punishment animal slaughter in general and cowslaughter in particular. This Firman is preserved on the walls of a porch to the Adiswara Temple on the Shatrunjaya Hills close to Palitana State in Kathiawad.

Summarizing the series of inscriptions on the temples of the Shatrunjaya Hills which comprise the Firmans of Mughal sovereigns of India in their efforts to bring about mutual amity and concord between Hindus and Muhammadans, Mr. G. K. Nariman writes:

"There is first of all the Firman of Jellal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar. It guarantees the Jains the maintenance of their worship and the exercise of their religion and doctrine 'throughout our Empire and dominions.' Something more important follows—that no one can kill an animal on those mountains or temples or below or about them. The second edict is from the Emperor Jehangir in similar terms. The third Firman is from Shah Jehan who confirms the preceding documents. Then we have another of the same Emperor granting greater liberty. The documents are too interesting to be dismissed with a curt notice. It must have been an India in those days certainly immune from that fierce accribity between the Hindus and Mussalmans which seems now to usurp their minds to the exclusion of truly national endeavours."

• From this evidence it is positively clear that Akbar had very strong ideas about cow-protection from several viewpoints. Firstly, he is instinctively repugnant to pertake of flesh from the humanitarian point

of view as his declarations about meat-eating and his abstinence from eating flesh would clearly prove. Next to this, his respect for the feelings of his Hindu subjects and his leanings towards the Ahimsa principle of Jainism influenced him to order prohibition of cowslaughter in his dominions. Possibly, he might have had strong notions about the conomic relationship of the cow-protection problem to the country's needs.

Akbar's policy is maintained and perpetuated by his successors. Jehangir who is a mixture of extremes, and Aurangzeb who is notoriously known to have done the greatest harm to the progress of Hinduism, are famous for their efforts to save the cow's life. The Shatrunjaya Inscriptions mention Jehangir's Firman to protect cow-life which is in complete harmony with that of his father Akbar. Further, he is credited with having stopped all slaughter of animals and all manner of hunting on Sundays, to commemorate Akbar's birthday, and on Thursdays as a token of the Almighty's grace in consecrating him king on that day. Bernier, the French traveller, who visited the Mughal court during the years 1656-1668, refers to the sacredness of the cow in the eyes of the Hindus, and reports that on account of the scarcity of cattle, the Emperor Jehangir at the request of the Brahmins, "issued an edict to forbid the killing of beasts of pasture for a certain number of years."

According to Islami Gorakshan, later Mughal sovereigns of India also made efforts to protect the cow. The priest of Emperor Muhammad Shah issued a fatwa pointing out that the slaughter of cattle was forbidden by the Hadis and the Emperor accordingly forbade the slaughter of cattle. Emperor Shah Alam also prohibited cow-slaughter.

It is evident therefore that the Muhammadan sovereigns of India preached the wholesome gospel of the worth of animal life, in particular of cow-life. If the masses of the Muslim population of India at the present day were made to realize and appreciate this legacy of history which their co-religionists that have gone by have given to posterity, then the cow-protection problem in India would have been completely solved.

INDIAN TRINIDAD

BY MICHAEL 'SHAMSHER' OVERMAN

To the average man Trinidad means little or nothing, though some know that it is a centre of sugar production. Few are aware that the island was discovered by Christopher Columbus after his third Atlantic voyage in 1498 or that a third of its present-day population consists of Indiana.

Trinidad was not developed to any extent by the Spanish who ruled the island for three hundred years; it seems that their only use for it was as a base for expeditions in search of the fabled El Dorado. But after 1797

when Britain was at odds with Spain and Sir Ralph Abercromby took possession of the island, Trinidad's development as a sugar-producing centre began. Sugar production required labour; this was provided in the form of slaves from Africa.

In 1833 the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery became law. The freed slaves were offered paid service; but the majority prefered to settle with small plots of virgin land, of which there was plenty, and to lead a simple and easy life growing their own food and doing little else. Money meant nothing to them, for there was nothing they wanted on which to spend it. For a time it seemed that the owners of the sugar estates would be ruined.

But in 1845 a ship named the Faltel Rosack sailed from Bombay with several hundred Indians on board. These were the pioneers who, dreaming no doubt of the fortunes they would amass, were bound for Trinidad in response to the first call for indentured labour. The ship followed by others bringing wives and children too, and the newcomers were soon established; they had carved themselves pieces of land from the jungles; they had built houses and temples; and they had started to work keenly on the sugar estates. And because the chain of i-lands of which Trinidad is the Southernmost had long been known as the West Indians and their inhabitants as West Indians the newcomers became known as 'East Indians.'

Now in 1947 we find that Trinidad is a fertile island, flourishing by virtue of its exports of sugar and rum, of cocoa, of grapefruit, of petroleum oil and of asphalt from the pitch lake where the crude product can be dug up and deposited at once in waiting lorries.

It is an island peopled with a little more than half a million souls of which one-third are Indians, one-third Africans, and one-third made up of numerous other races and admixtures of races, but predominating in Englishmen, Venezuelans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Chinamen, Frenchmen, and Syrians.

In so cosmopolitan an island-and it is only fifty miles across either way-it is not surprising to find that African, Eastern, European and American ways of life have been come mixed together in a rather shabby synthesis, but even so we find that a cross section of the Trinidad 'East' Indian population of today is not unlike that found in many parts of India. 94 per cent of all Trindad Indians live in villages; 50 per cent of the men and 15 per cent of the women are employed in agriculture. Literacy is low. In the 1930 Census* 22,000 men were classed as literate with a further 2,293 who could only read; 50,605 were illiterate. Among women 7,030 were literate: 1,066 more could read; 56,387 were illiterate. But unlike the boys and girls of India all Indian children in Trinidad speak fluent English; for in only 100 years it has superseded Hindi as the native language of the community. Even some of the older illiterate women I spoke to, had only meagre knowledge of Hindi and found English much easier, using it at home.

The 1930 Census gave th Religious distribution of the Indians as:

Hindus 67.9% Christians 16.7% Muslims 15.0% Others 0.4%

The heading 'others' included 278 Parsis, 119 Buddhists, and 633 of 'no known religion'. There was no mention of the Sikh religion.

Marriages are celebrated in much the same way as in

the motherland. On such occasions the bridegroom will probably wear a long embroidered coat and turban, imperfectly tied through lack of practice; the bride will have discarded her European cotton print dress for a bodice and sari, though she may still carry her handbag! There will be drums and clarionets and crowds of gay people thronging to catch a glimpse of the marriage procession, and who after it has passed will gather in groups under the cocoanut trees and drink rum.

But in spite of the many similarities to his homeland the Indian visitor to Trinidad is often shocked when he sees the cultural decay into which many of his countrymen have fallen. Trinidad Indians seem to have jettisoned most of what is best in their personal heritage, their precious Indian culture, and to have taken pains to replace it with much of what is worst in the make-up of the West. Even those who have had most success in the social struggle for wealth seem to look upon the East from which they sprung with disinterested scorn, though during the past year the growing promise of freedom for their motherland stimulated some to learn something of the India about which they were so ignorant. But in favour of those Trinidad Indians who have become wealthy enough to live civilized Western lives, those who have fine houses and motor cars in which to run their emancipated women in and out of town, I must admit that they have not aspired to become aristocratic. This is perhaps because they all remember their humble origin so well; their fathers or grandfathers all came to Trinidad as labourers; they all started life as equals.

At the other end of the social scale we find the peasant in his village home not far removed from the simple way of life of his great grandfather who lived all his days in India. While he has not picked up many of the bad habits and customs of Western life, he has failed equally to discard the cobwebs of his Indian past; he is as backward, as unthrifty and as unhygienic as may of his contemporaries in rural India today. But though I feel there is some excuse for the Indian peasant in India not to have improved himself much in hundreds of years, in Trinidad there is none. There the prejudices of caste have largely been forgotten, but this is all the more reason why Trindad villager Indians, none of whom live more than twenty miles from a modern town or city, should have raised their standards and why Indian simplicity should have blossomed into something really fine.

But it is among the middle and lower class Indians of the towns and of the city of Port-of-Spain—and they are the people the traveller sees first—that the ret really lies. There we find Indians who scorn the Hindi language preferring their own rather obnoxious form of English known as the West Indian drawl. Among those people the rhythm of the tablas and song of the sitar have been forgotten and superseded by an aptitude for American Jazz and for the Trinidad Calypso, a local and rather worthless synthesis of Spanish melody, African rhythm and English doggerel, a product of the clash of races in the island, but one in which there is no trace of anything Indian.

The details of the 1946 Census had not been published when I left the island in June, 1947. The position has certainly improved since 1930 but I expect that the percentage of illiterates is still over 50 per cent of the total population. In 1980, the corresponding figure was 77 per cent.

PLAGIARISM IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE*

By Prof. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt.

PLAGIARISM is the art of copying from another's work and incorporating it into one's own without acknowledging. No literature can escape this curious phenomenon. Even as early as the Rigveda we find the popularity of this art. The Vedic poets freely berrowed lines and stanzas written by others. There are such repetitions amounting roughly to eight thousand lines. In these are the famous lines:

Jayeva patya usati suvasah Vadhuyur iva yosanam.

These borrowings reveal the existence of a common and rich poetic heritage. Yet the Rigyedic poets had the great virtue of acknowledging their masters or creditors. They openly declare their sources and the origins of their literary patterns. They even claim at certain places that they were retouching the past and remodelling something old and publishing a revised edition of the past. The famous example is the song of Trita (I.105) which was retouched and fashioned by Kutsa.†

Coming to classical Sanskrit we find Kalidasa being plagiarised by Asvaghosha, Bharavi and other poets. Bharavi was successfully exploited by Magha. Sri Harsha of Naishadha has successfully plagiarised Bharavi and Magha. Bana supplied the material for Dhanapala, Subandhu, Soddhala, Vadibha Sinha and others. In some cases the plagiarism refers to style. Great masters of literature always fail a prey to the style of others at a certain period of their literary career. Most of the hymns to Usas are entirely imitative in style in the Rigveda. Sankara has taken Sabara as his pattern in the matter of style. But later on Sankara developed a style of his own. The historians of literature when they begin to assign dates do take into consideration the question of style but they never consider the problem of plagiarism. Hence they distinguish two Patanjalis and three Bhartriharis.

Coming to the scientific literature we find Yaska supplying rich material for plagiarism. In his second chapter he tells us of certain dialectal variations in the meanings of words:

"Savatih gati karma kambojesv eva bhashyate. Vikaram asyaryeshu bhashante, savah iti. Datir lavanarthe

Paper read at the XII All-India Oriental Conference.
 † See the author's setticles on "The Origin of the Songs of Rigveda" (Nag. Uni. Journal), and "Rigvedic Theory of Inspiration" (Quart. Journ. of Mythic Society).

prachycshu. Datram udichycshu. Evam cka padam nir brwyat." (II.ii).

Curiously enough all these lines with very in-ignificant changes and with the absence of acknowledgement find a good place in the Maha-bhashya of Patanjali.

The next plagiarist of Yaska seems to be Jaimini, the author of the Purva Mimansa Sutras. The objections raised by Kutsa against Vedic interpretation were given in Yaska and these are incorporated verbatim into Jaimini's sutras. The following tabulation will help understand the position:

YASKA—(i) "Anarthaka hi mantrah" e.g. "Anu prathasva".

JAIMINI-(i) "Tad artha sastrat" e.g. same.

YASKA—(ii) "Anupapannarthah" e.g. "Oshadhe trayasva."

JAIMINI-(ii) "Acatane artha bandhanat" e.g. same.

YASKA—(iii) "Vipratishiddharthah" e.g. "Eka eva rudro 'vatasthe na dvitiyah."

JAIMINI - (iii) "Artha vipratishedhat" e.g. same.

YASKA—(iv) "Athapi janantam sam preshyuti" e.g. "Agnaye samidhyamanaya anubruhi."

JAIMINI-(iv) "Buddha sastrat."

YASKA---(v) "Akhapy ahur aditir sarvam iti" e.g. "Aditir dyaur aditir antariksham."

JAIMINI---(v) "Artha vipratishedhat" c.g. same.

YASKA-(vi) "Avispashtarthah" (1.15).

JAIMINI-(vi) "Avijneyat". (I.ii.31, 35, 36, 33, 37, 38).

This is the plagiarism of Jaimini. The answers to these objections too are given by Yaska; and what Jaimini did is only to copy down faithfully. This he did.

The next important plagiarist is the great sage Madhusudana Sarasvati. In his commentary on the Gita he has incorporated all the commentary of Vidyaranya on the Jivanmukti portions of Gita given in his Jivanmukti Viveka. There is another great plagiarist who is made famous by the spurious work Sankara Digvijaya. He is a Madhava called Abhinava Kalidasa. He has nothing to do with the celebrated Madhava Vidyaranya. This spurious Madhava mentions often the work of Vyasachala. Vyasachala belonged to the 17th century. From the work of Vyasachala he has copied extensively.

Such plagiarists are numerous and a critical study of the works will enable us to fix the chronology of Sanskrit literature better. We can also thereby ascertain the truth and error in their various discussions.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

-EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISII

SCIENCE AND EVERY-DAY LIFE: By J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S. Kitab Mohal, Allahabad. 1935. (First Indian Edition). Price Rs. 4-8.

Laymon take it for granted that the facts that the scientists deal with wa no high and therefore beyond the capacity of their understanding. It cannot be doubted that many scientists also definitely maintain that view and they therefore stienuously oppose any attempt to make available for general consumption what they consider to be their special prerogative. In this way has developed, if not a class conflict, at least a division of the people into aristocratic and the plebian from the point of view of intellect.

Marxist Haldane set out to demolish this class barrier. His main object in writing these articles—the present treatise is a collection of his essays—was to demonstrate that scientific facts and discoveries can be made intelligible to the average man. The average, man, he says, should know something of science just as the astronomer should have some ideas about how boots are made.

Haldane is not of course the first to take up the task of popularising science, but he has a peculiarly attractive way of introducing his topics and presenting his facts. The subjects he discusses cover the fields of almost all the current sciences. The interest of the readers is roused right at the start of every essay and is maintained throughout. Every person with normal intelligence can master the details given by him.

We cannot, however, congratulate the publishers so much though we are indebted to them for bringing out this collection of valuable articles. The get-up 18 absolutely unattractive and better quality of paper should have been selected for printing the volume.

SUIIRIT CHANDRA MITRA

DELHI DIARY (Prayer Speeches from 10.9.47 to 30.1.48): By M. K. Gandhi. Navapiyan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. March, 1948. Pp. xxiv + 400. Price Rs. 3.

The Navajivan Publishing House has collected in one handy volume Gandhiji's post-prayer speeches during the last period at Delhi. This was indeed one of the most significant periods of Gandhiji's life; and we note the concern which exercised his mind when India had become free, but when there was every danger that communal bitterness and strife might overwhelm what we had won so far. A vein of sadness runs through the pages, and we also discover how Gandhiji valiantly fought against it within his own heart through a spirit of self-surrender to God, and how also he tried to lift our minds above the immediacy of raging passions so that we could set ourselves free for the

greater task of establishing economic and cultural freedom which hes ahead of us.

GANDHIGRAMS: By S. R. Tikekar, Hind Kitabs Limited, Publishers, Bombay. Pp. 92. Price Rs. 2.

In this brochure, the author has collected, under suitable heads, striking extracts from Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings. They have been culled, more often, with a view to their literary excellence than with a view to presenting a complete picture of Gandhiji's ideas on the various subjects under which the epigrams have been classified. In its own limited way, the collection will prove to be of interest to the general readers. The author has done well in adding a bibliography of Gandhian literature in the end.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON INDIA AND HER PROBLEMS: Compiled by Swami Nirvedananda, Advaita Ashram, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Revised and enlarged Fourth Edition, 1946. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1-8.

Swami Vivekananda was the Representative Man of Holy India, a harbinger of India's messages of spiritual sublimity, boundless love and devotion to the service of humanity. He had the wisdom and foresight of a Rishi, strength of a Hercules, love and affection of a mother. He attained the highest spiritual realisation and transcended all attachments for things mundane but his heart bled for his distressed countrymen in whom he saw personified his beloved God in various

This nicely got-up volume contains selections from Vivekananda's speeches and writings on various Indian problems. There are eight chapters dealing with (i) Our Motherland, (ii) Present Decadence, (iii) Essentials for Regeneration, (iv) Education the Panacea of all Social Evils, (v) Uplift of the Masses, (vi) Caste Problem, (vii) Uplift of Women, and (viii) Invigorating Cultural Life. Swamiji in his characteristic vigour and directness gives a correct perspective of the past glories, present decadence and immense possibilities of future India. The flaming words welling out of a veritable volcano of strength, conviction and optimism are an abiding source of inspiration to mankind, especially to Indians and particularly to Indian youths of today who have to build up a mightier, richer, happier and nobler India of Vivekananda's dream. In Swamiji's words: "The only condition of national life, of awakened and vigorous national life, is the conquest of the world by Indian thought." Vivekananda himself has been a pioneer in this respect and his speeches arranged topically in single handy volume will be of great interest to general

NABAYAN C. CHANDA

MODERN MAN IN SEARCH OF RELIGION: By Swami Pavitrananda. Advaita Ashram. 4 Wellington Lane, Calcutta (13). Pp. 127, Price Re. 1-8.

In this booklet the author discusses the challenge to religion from Science, Politics and the New Psychology and asks himself the question if religion has any future yet. His answer is, as might be anticipated, that in spite of the various onslaughts on religion, it is not dead yet and will not die. True religion is an undying element in human existence which, after all, is spiritual. The author has presented his case well and his readers will like the book.

U. C. BITATTACHARJEE

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES: By Nagendra Nath Gupta. Foreword by Dr. Sachchudananda Sinha. Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 5.

As a publicist and author, Mr. Nagendra Nath Gupta was known throughout the length and breadth of India. He was a valued contributor to The Modern Review. And a very considerable portion of this brochure is but the reprint of his articles published in this journal. The period of these reminiscences covers roughly the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth till the death of Queen Victoria, Mr. Gupta's early life was spent in Bihar, and naturally the men and things of this province have got the first place in the narrative. He next deals with those in Bengal as he had to pass his college days in Calcutta. He came here in personal contact with Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Keshub Chunder Sen, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Rabindranath Tagore Swami Vivekananda was his class-mate in the college and as such was intimately known to him. The accounts of these personalities together with the story of his contact with Sister Nivedita are very fascinating reading. His early journalistic career-first in Sindh and then in the Punjab-brings the reader to many thrilling incidents of his life. The history of the political and cultural renaissance of these two provinces is inci-dentally narrated. His narrative not only includes the matters pertaining to the things Indian, he also unravels the mind of the officialdom of this part of the country. His association with the Indian National Congress in its early days was intimate, and his personal impressions of its early sessions will give the reader much material for tracing the growth of its power and influence. The account of his return to the village home fifty years after leaves an indelible impression on the reader's mind about the fact how the scourge of malaria played havoc with the people and how the locality was economically ruined. In the latter pages of the book we find Nagendra Nath engaged in Bengali journalism and Bengali literary pursuits. We have read the book with profit, and have no doubt that it will prove interesting to the general reader. That it will be immensely useful to the publicists and writers of history of that period, goes without saying. Printing and get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

A THRONE OF SONNETS · By Scrapia Devi. Published by R. S. Ram Jawaya Kapur, Lahore. Price Re. 1.

Scrapia Devi has earned reputation as a poctess by her The Book of the Beneficent Grief. This collection of beautiful sonnets will add to that reputation. She has the temper of a true poet and the vision also. She has also a delightful style to give her visions a charming expression. There is contemplative calm, a bright serenity, pervading her poems.

SUNIL KUMAR BORE

INDIAN COMPANY LAW: By M. J. Sethna. Pp. 398 + xx + cclxl. Price not mentioned.

Besides the Indian Companies Act, there are special chapters on Indian Insurance Act, 1938, and Company Income Tax. This is a really good book, useful alike to lawyers, liquidators, students, promoters and company directors. The get-up is good; and the printing free from errors. The value of the book is enhanced by an index.

INDIAN COMPANY LAW AND PRACTICE: By Dr. K. L. Gary, M.A. B.Com., Ph.D. Published by N. R. Agarwal and Co., Agra. Pp.230 + xii. Price Rs. 4-8.

Rs. 4-8.

This is more a student's companion volume than a free commentary on company matters like the above. There are several errors; and although cases are referred to, no references are given. Considering the fact that the author is the Head of the Commerce Department of a College we are disappointed in his performance.

J. M. DATTA

THE SECRETS OF ACHIEVEMENT: By S. Shamsher Ali. Published by Insurance World Office, 15 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. Pages 335. Price Rs. 7-8.

The author of Enduring Success has brought in another volume based on his personal experience as an Insurance Agent which every man of his profession will find inspiring reading. Mr. Ali is a confirmed optimist and never believe in anything but success. When there is a failure, he considers it a temporary set-back and attributes it to certain wrong handling of the situation. He gives examples from his day to day experiences, successes and failures, ups and downs of a man who has oto deal with men of every walk of life, to prove that success is sure to come if a person is earnest about it. The author had an average income of Rs. 200 per month in his early career about twenty years back and now he has an income of Rs. 7000 to Rs. 8000 per month, but he is not satisfied with it and hopes to attain an income of Rs. 15000 per month. Such a man should be an object of study and emulation to our young men who get disappointed at small failures. Work, work and incessant work is the ideal which Mr. Ali preaches to young generations and those who will understand and work in his spirit shall have success in their business career. Mr. Ali is one of those very few persons in our country who has worked hard for the professional dignity of the Agents of Life Offices and has been successful in getting the profession recognised by the authorities. The author wants agents to have faith in themselves and also in their profession and he assures that success will follow as day follows night.

In conclusion, we would suggest that the author shall try his pen in Bengali, so that his mother-tongue may be enriched with commercial literature, so very necessary for the future good of Bengal.

A. B. DUTTA

STRIJATAKA OR FEMALE HOROSCOPY. (Third Edition): By Prof. Suryanarain Rao, B.A., M.R.A.S. Raman Publications. Po. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Price Rs. 3.

Prof. Suryanarain Rao, one of the top-ranking astrologers of modern India, unearthed valuable materials of Hindu Astrology from the Sanskrit works of ancient astrologers. Though he is no more today, his valuable astrological works will immortalise him. His present work deals with the method of reading and interpreting female horoscopes. In some principal

astrological combinations, there is a gulf of difference between male and female horoscopes. An astrologer with all knowledge of other branches of astrology cannot interpret female horoscopes accurately if he does not know at least something of the Strijataka system expounded by Varahamihira, Venkatesa and Kalanvarman and some other eminent astrologers of ancient times. In writing this treatise Mr. Rao has followed Kalanvarman who is decidedly the best authority on the science of female horoscopy. The book is fifteen chapters, wherein valuable into materials have been gathered together and presented in a convincing way. Due to originality of thinking and rational exposition of astrological intricacies Mr. Rao attained a unique position amongst the astrologers of India and abroad. Astrology is no longer regarded to be merely the outcome of superstitious belief by the educated persons of the East and the West, rather a firm conviction is gradually gaining ground that it can be of immense benefit to human beings in various walks of life. If one learns how to judge a woman's nativity he may get proper guidance in selecting his life's partner inasmuch as a woman's horoscope indicates her characteristics, her inherent qualities and defects and drawbacks of her nature as well.

Mr. Raman, the worthy grandson of Mr. Rao, has contributed a valuable foreword to the volume. A short biographical sketch of Mr. Rao annexed in the appendix will be highly interesting even to a layman, because it gives definite proof of how our destinies are being framed out by some unscen mysterious power.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

BHARATIYA CHITRANKAN: Composed by Ravishankar Raval. Chitracoot Publications, "Chitracoot" B. M. M. Society, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad. Calcutta Agent: Ramnik Meghani, 14 Amratolla St., Calcutta, Price Rs. 3.

We have great pleasure in welcoming this modest but very useful Drawing Book for the beginners. Havell's Drawing Books being out of print, and Nanda Lal Bose's excellent Rupavaliya not being available owing to the neglect of the Calcutta University, there is a dearth of suitable drawing books for our schools. This publication is a very opportune one and comes happily to fulfil the demand. It has thirty well-chosen models, derived from old masterpieces of Indian Art, with a beautiful colour-print reproducing all the thirty examples in small colour facsimiles. This is a new innovation for drawing books. The plates are neatly reproduced and there is a sheet of useful instructions, in English, Hindi and Gujarati. We can wholeheartedly recommend this excellent guide for teaching drawing to all Principals and Art teachers of our schools. In a second edition, the plates No. I, IX, and XX should be replaced by better models.

BENGALI
O. C. GANGOLY

BANGLA SAMAYIK PATRA (Bengali Periodicals): By Brajendra Nath Bancrji, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, Price Rs. 5.

The Press is often called the fourth State. This is true in the case of a free country. But for the dependent countries too, it is a mighty power. The Press there not only struggles for its own freedom, but helps them to shake off the political shackles as well. The Indian Press is no exception.

In this book Mr Brajendra Nath Banerjee has narrated the history of Bengali journalism from its start in 1818 up till the year 1868. It is not generally recognised how far and how much Bengal's renaissance

is due to the rise of the Bengali Press. The perusal of this book will not only enlighten the reader about the Bengali journals and periodicals of this period, he will also find in it the story of the continuous handicaps placed in the way of its growth and development. This is not all. The seeds of Indian nationalism and the way of our future struggles for political freedom, one will come across in the course of its perusal.

A serious student of nineteenth century Bengal, Mr. Banerjee has arranged the journals—dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies, monthiles, quarterlies, etc., of this period chronologically and appended an account of most of them in course of the narrative. In the present edition, the author has thoroughly revised and enlarged its contents so that the accounts have been fuller and more accurate. While giving the history of the Bengali Press, Mr. Banerice has not forgotten to insert accounts of the journals of other Indian languages, started in Bengal during the period in question. To publicists and authors of Indian politics this treatise should be a constant companion. Illustrations of prominent editors have enhanced its value. Printing and get up are excellent. We should thank the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad for bringing out such & useful handy volume.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

BANGLAR BHASKARYA: By Kalyan Kumar Gangopadhyaya. Ashutosh Muscum, Calcutta University. 1947. Pp. iv + 44 and 18 plates. Frice Rs. 2.

The present brochure forms the third of a series of educative guide books issued by the Ashutosh Museum. It gives a brief outline of the history of sculpture in Bengal, and also tries to correlate this to the succession of political and social events in the country. The scope is thus fairly wide, and the author has consequently had to compress many things within the limit of a few pages. His statements are clear; but he has occasionally had to take a little too much for granted on behalf of the average reader.

The printing, particularly of the plates, is very satisfactory.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

DAS-GURU: By Dr. Sirdar Jaswant Singh. Sri Guru Singh Sabha, Gurudwara Nakahindola, Lucknow. Pp. 70. Price eight annas.

This is a collection of brief biographies of the ten gurus of the Sikhs,—from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. They are simply written and with an eye to the essentials of the Faith—one God, one caste, one ritual—the remembrance of His name; one sacrament, the service of humanity.

GUJARATI

ASHRUMATI (or The Pot of Basil): By Dr. M. O. Suraiya Jageshwari, Bombay. 1945. Khadi cloth-bound. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 5.

This is a rendering into Gujarati verse of Keats' Isabella or the Pot of Basil. Dr. Suraiya is a Muslim, but not a novice in Gujarati verse-writing. He has substituted Gujarati characters and places in the place of those in the original and thus given it an appearance of the scene having been enacted in Gujarat. The English text is printed on one side of the page and the Gujarati rendering opposite it; that facilitates comparison. As usual the text is preceded by photos of a beyy of young Gujarati Hindu women and their opinions of his work.

K. M. J.

G. M.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Some Thoughts on Basic Education

Education means the pursuit of human excellence, in craftwork, in citizenship, in creative art and above all, in character. Margaret Barr writes in *The Aryan Path*:

1. "The first element (in education) is training in social behaviour... Self-centred, self-willed creatures as most of us are, it is our fate to be citizens, members of a community. Men are born to four citizenships: they should be able to live as good members of their family, of their community, of their nation and of the whole human society.

The more democratic its (i.e., the day-school's) internal government, the more its pupils learn to manage their own lives, the better . . There is only one way to learn social habits: by living a life in

which such habits automatically develop."

2. "Of course I left school ignorant of many things, desirable and important to know. To complain of this is to be guilty of the deadly heresy that education must be completed in school and university, that this is our last chance of learning, and, therefore, that we should be foreibly crammed with all the food of knowledge needed for the journey of life. That heresy, often unconsciously held, is current and leads to educational damnation. The true faith is that education should send us out into tife knowing thoroughly something which is itself first-rate, knowing how to learn, and interested in the world."

3. "A complicated society quickly enslaves its members to its own creations: the characteristic creations of the age are its science and its elaborate machinery, economic, social and political; they demand—and rightly—much knowledge and close attention; and they can easily make men their slaves. Some people frankly embrace the slavery and think that we shall be cured by more science, more economics, better foreign languages and a dose of sociology. The

past gives no colour to such dreams."

4. "Mankind is engaged in painting a picture which may be called 'A Design of Civilization,' without knowing exactly what it wishes to paint . . My suggestion is that the subject of the picture is a world of human beings as perfect as human nature allows; that our model is, therefore, human greatness and goodness, derived from the only source we know—from the revelation in religion, in poetry, in history itself, of human nature at its best. That study should be the centre of all education . . ."

Readers who know something about Basic Education may be surprised to learn that the above quotations are not from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi or Dr. Zakir Hussain, but from Some Tasks for Education by Sir Richard Livingstone. But they will surely also be interested to find that the pronouncements of one of the greatest living educationalists of the West are in such close harmony with those of our own pioneers

of a better education for India.

Several of the most important points stressed by Basic Education are stressed also by Sir Richard Livingstone.

Take first the point raised in the first paragraph of these extracts, as to the necessity for social training and education for citizenship. Now this is one of the most interesting and important aspects of Basic Education and one of the matters in which it differs most widely from the old type of education. Basic Education is education for citizenship, and that children may learn the meaning of citizenship in a democratic society, each Basic School is a miniature state in which all have equal rights and all have duties and responsibilities commensurate with their several abilities and with their power to win the confidence of the rest. For the children elect their own officers and make their own rules and have their own methods of dealing with antisocial elements.

The ideas of citizenship which they get, moreover, are not confined to the narrow realm of the school community. Day by day outstanding items of national and world affairs are read from the daily papers and discussed by the older children so that they grow up knowing something of the dominant personalities and conflicting forces at work in the world in which they live and of which they are called upon to become intelligent, enlightened and public-spirited citizens. Sir Richard Livingstone has much to say about the Golden Age of Athens, in which democracy flourished as never before or since, and he believes that one reason for this is the fact that the state was small enough to be a training ground in citizenship for every individual member, and that, from their carliest days, children were encouraged, first in listening to, and later in taking part in, discussion of all topics of immediate importance as well as of philosophy and general principles. The day of the small city state is gone for ever, but the world has still much to learn from Athens and if the democratic principles which she embodied are to prevail in the modern world, some training ground in citizenship must be evolved, and quickly. One has only to look round the worldstoday to realise that this is one of the major points on which our education is woefully lacking. Some of us who have seen Basic Education at work in Delhi and Sevagram feel that in this great experiment we have the solution to this problem.

Another point, and one which is of central importance in Sir Richard Livingstone's book, is the necessity for character training if education is to be worthy of the name.

He quotes Ruskin with approval:

"Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know; it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave."

And in the third extract above and the whole of the lecture from which it is taken, he reiterates the warning of many other modern writers that it is worse than uscless to increase man's knowledge unless at the same time we increase his will and ability to use that

knowledge wisely and well.

Here again we find the writer closely in harmony with Busic Education in which mere eleverness and the amassing of useless knowledge are discouraged, while the abilities and qualities of each individual child are developed to the utmost in craftwork and in learning to play a worthy part in the running of the school as a democratic organisation. For obviously (and this is at once the strength and the weakness of democracy) a democratic community can only succeed when its members co-operate loyally and unselfishly, each individual striving to be and to do the best of which he is capable for the good of all.

India's Constitution

The New Review observes:

The Draft Constitution presented by Dr. Ambedkar's Committee is a monumental work of political acumen and legal sagacity. It was no easy task to trame a state-plan for so vast and complex a nation as India at a most critical time of her evolution and to accommodate scheduled castes and tribes, old provinces and backward areas, and to make room for foudal states resigned to accession or mergence. The plan appears to be consistent, and that is a great merit; it is largely inspired by the Government of India Act 1935, and that will make for comprehension and stability. What is most original is found in the Preamble and in the list of fundamental rights and of the directive principles of state-policy. The Preamble proclaims the resolve to secure to all citizens justice social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.' Philosophers will discuss whether the virtues enumerated in the Preamble cover the whole social life of the human person and the common good of the nation, and come up to Aristotle's good life. They will be at pains to explain how so internal and individual matters as thought, belief and faith are made the objects of so external and social an institution as the State, and why a more general phrase like liberty of personal development was not chosen. They will point out that the mention of fraternity, added on the Committee's initiative, goes further than the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

They should, however, remember that a constitutional preamble rarely aims at summing up a state-philosophy, and that it rather reflects a mental complex with its emotional peculiarities of emphasis and preterition. The present Preamble aptly summarises the mood 1947 Constituent Assembly chastened

by the events following the partition,

A GRIEVOUS LACUNA

When going through the Fundamental Rights and the Directives of State-policy, one cannot help being struck with a most regrettable omission. Nothing is said about the family. All sorts of rights are mentioned: access to wells, shops and hotels, the right to talk, assemble and acquire property, to elect and be elected, to go to school, etc.; children, youths, tribes and communities are claborately dealt with here and there, but in all the 214 pages, there is not one single mention of the family, not one word about the right to marry, the right to a family wage, the right to protection of the family. The nearest allusion is a vague mention of maternity benefits, which seems to cover every type of citizeness. The State will have no family policy, and the Committee do not seem to be aware that the family has something to do with and for the State.

Has nobody in the Assembly or the Drafting Committee ever come across the sensible leading idea to be found in Art. 41 of Eire's Constitution? It reads:

"The State recognises the Family as the natural primary and fundamental unit-group of Society, and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights, antecedent and superior to all positive law. The State, therefore, guarantees to protect the Family in its constitution and authority, as the necessary basis of social order and as indispensable to the welfare of the Nation and the State."

The omission is most grievous. It endangers the foundations of State-life and goes against the conviction and tradition of the people of India. How was it passed over by our constitution-unkers? Were they hoodwinked or out-manoeuvred by flippaut apostles of free-love or by budding dictators who are out to atomise society before shaping it into a totalitarian

magma?

The Crisis of British Imperialism

In the course of an article in the New *Perspective Doric DeSouza observes:

Politically and militarily, the basic rivalry in the world today is that between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. Both in Europe and Asia, Britain's military might is overshadowed, and she can do little more than to manoeuvie between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S.

This political and military weakness has also its economic consequences. Quite apart from Britain's own economic weakness, the consequences of her deterioration as a great power effectively block her out of the world market. Thus she can play only a small part in the "reconstruction" of Europe. She cannot tie Europe to herself economically. One part of Europe will be geared to the U. S. S. R. and the other is America's playground. In the Middle East fight for oil and the general development of these regions, Britain is similarly left out in the cold. Certainly in the Far East she has to reconcile herself to America taking the economic spoils of victory, for America and not Britain won the Pacific war. South America also is definitely an American preserve. If Britain has any leeway at all to manocuvre (and this is doubtful), it must lie within her Empire. That is why it is natural that the British Government, in the face of its crisis, is turning its main attention to and pinning its only long-term hope of recovery on the Empire.



The Empire itself is threatened in three ways however. Firstly, there is the threat of colonial revolts, and these have already reached such dimensions that Britain cannot hope to hold them down indefinitely by force alone. Secondly, there is the threat of American economic penetration within the Empire, a threat which, as we have seen, although not unpostponable for a short time, is a very real threat. Thirdly, there is the threat of Russian expansionism, and the whole problem of the Middle East, which threatens to become a terrible battleground in the not distant future.

If the British Government has a single constructive policy of a long-term character, this policy turns on the question of consolidating the Empire.

In this Empire, of course, the chief problems lie not in the Dominions, where a fairly sound basis of partnership (even at the cost of great concessions) has already been set up by Britain. It may be possible, without very great difficulty to persuade Australia, Canada and South Africa to line up with Britain in some form of Imperial preference. But the colonies, especially India, present a much more thorny problem. Hence it is to these that the British Government, in one last great effort to stave off collapse, must turn.

Let us look very carefully, therefore, at Britain's new colonial policy. In the first place, it is a new policy, breaking substantially and radically with the traditions of the past. Some well-meaning leftists, in their anxiety to demonstrate that British Imperialism is not being liquidated, make the mistake of acting as if nothing had changed in Britain's colonial policy, and thus make it easier for those interested in supporting the present British policy to pretend that "Britain has suffered a change of heart," "she is sincere." and "intends to give freedom to the colonies," etc. Neither of the above estimates is correct. Britain has suffered no change of heart. Perfidious Albion, capable of every hypocrisy and moral cant remains true to her material interests. Attlee, like Churchill, has not become the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. He is trying precisely to save it—but by a radically new polacy. Let the Labour Party speak for itself, through the mouth of Patrick Gyrdon Walker, Secretary to Herbert Morrison:

"The aim of the Labour Government is to save the Empire. This will be accomplished by giving Indua, Burma and Ceylon self-governing status, and seeking to keep them within the Empire. The Empire will be very powerful indeed if that comes off."

We must grasp the full meaning of this statement, since it represents the basic manoeuvre of British Imperialism in the face of its deteriorating international position.

Until recently, Britain ruled her colonies politically with an iron hand, while economically she fleeced them left and right.

That was Imperialism as Curzon and the old breed of Imperialists understood it. But the structure reared by the old Empire builders, though adequate for its time, was not built to last. Its chief defect was that it gave the colonial regime no substantial base within the colonial population itself. Hitherto, the only colonial class on which Britain relied was the feudal class of Princes and landlords. But in recent times the specific gravity (economically and politically) of these feudal algebrash became heavily reduced, and with it

their capacity to speak for the colonial people as a whole

The alliance with the native feudalists exclusively further committed British Imperialism to a thoroughly reactionary policy in the agrarian field, a factor adding tremendously to the drive of the colonial revolts. Because of the agrarian problem, the support of the hundreds of millions of India's peasants is guaranteed to any class that boldly assaults Imperialism.

The extreme poverty and therefore back of purchasing power of the mass of the population, and British hostility to industrial expansion, complete the picture of the arrested development of the colonies, while they were plundered one way or another by British finance-capital.

Apart from this, the sweep and rise of colonial revolts in Asia have convinced the British that they cannot hold down the colonies by force alone, and have to mix fraud with force, at the least. The August upsurge, followed by the I. N. A. demonstrations and the Naval Mutiny in India, the resistance to the reoccupation of Burma, the chaos in Malaya all proved this to the hilt.

This need thoroughly to reorganise the colonial regime, if it is to be maintained at all, was doubled and trebled for the British by her economic crisis.

If Britain's economy is to revive at all from the stunning blows of the war period, then the only economic reserves she can mobilise are those of the Empire.

Political stabilisation, in the form outlined below, becomes absolutely essential if Britain is to take economic refuge in her Empire resources, and develop some form of self-sufficiency and resistance to U. S. penetration.

The political weakness of the colonial system built up by the Imperialists was demonstrated during the war when at the first threat of external attack the whole edifice in Asia threatened to collapse. Collapse actually took place in Malaya and Burna. No substantial section of the colonial population was ready to raise a finger in defence of the British Empire, in the face of Japanese attack. When this was realised in Britain it provoked a great shock, and made the Imperialists understand that the Empire could no longer be run in the old ways.

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The Dravidian Theory

In the course of his article on the abobe subject in Science and Culture, N. M. Chaudhuri observes:

An attempt is made here to trace the history of the Dravidian theory and examine the data of distinguished anthropologists, to find out the truth about the Dravidian question. Though there has been a little change recently in the attitude of some of the anthropologists to the Dravidian question, this attitude is unsatisfactory, and old notions persist.

ETHNOLOGICAL ASPECT

The Dravidian question has two aspects, linguistic and ethnological. The ethnological aspect will be examined here. In its origin the Dravidian theory was a linguistic theory, but it developed into a ful-fledged ethnological theory which met with worldwide acceptance. The theory was first enunciated by Bishop Caldwell in his famous work entitled Comparative Philology of the Dravidian or South Indian languages, published in 1856. It was he who used the word 'Dravidian' to indicate the South Indian languages and later to indicate South Indian people. Sir George Grierson pointed out long after Caldwell's theory had been accepted in Europe that the name 'Dravidian' applied to the principal languages of South India was purely conventional:

"It is derived from Sanskrit Dravida a word which is, again, derived from an older Sanskrit Dramila or Damila and is identical with the name of Tamil. The name Dravidian is, accordingly, identical with Tamilian, which name has been formerly used by European writers as a common designation of the languages in question. . . . In India Dravida has been used in more than one sense. Thus the so-called five Dravidas are Telugu, Kanarese, Marathi, Gujarati and Tamil. In Europe, on the other hand, Dravidian has long been the denomination of the whole family languages to which Bishop Caldwell applied it in his Comparative Grammar, and there is no reason for abandoning the name which the founder of the Dravidian Philology applied to the group of speeches."

The credit for creating a Dravidian race must go to the learned Bishop, and Grierson himself speaks of the Dravidian race forming the bulk of the population of South India. Caldwell's book illustrates a very instructive process of researches in comparative philology leading to the creation of a new racial type. On the use of the common term, Caldwell adunts that it corresponds to Tamil and its use is restricted to the Tamils (Com. Philo., 2nd Ed., pp. 5, 7). He admits that Tamil and Telugu grammarians, do not use a common term to designate all the South Indian languages, (ibid. p. 8) and incorrectly assumes that the Sanskrit writers used Dravida for South Indian peoples (ibid., p. 5) notwithstanding the Manu Samhila list (Manu Sam. X. 43, 44) and the references in the Mahabharata with which he shows his familiarity. So the term restricted in its use to the Tamil-speaking people is applied to cover people speaking Tamil, Telegu, Canarese, Malayali, Tulu, Kodagu, etc.

DRAVIDIAN RACE

Thus arose imperceptibly the conception of the Dravidian race from the conception of the Dravidian family of languages. It may be stated here that Caldwell admits that these languages are not merely provincial dialects of the same language, that Tamil and Telugu are farthest apart (*ibid.*, p. 42) and that the has no answer to the question which of these languages or dialects should be considered the family of which the others are members (ibid., pp. 80f.). He says next:

"There is no proof of Dravidian, such as we have it now, having originated before Kumarila's time (7th century A.D.) and its earliest cultivators appear to have been Jainas (ibid., p. 122). He thinks, however, that Dravidian is independent of Sanskrit and Sanskrit has borrowed from Dravidian (ibid., pp. 45, 47). He also thinks that 'there is remote original affinity between Indo-European languages and Dravidian languages for which the latter may be given a place in the Indo-European group'." (Ibid., p. 46).

About the Dravidian race, Caldwell's view is that it was distinct from the Aryan race. The Dravidians were expelled from northern India by pre-Aryan Scythians not to be identified with the Kols, Santals, etc. The Dravidians were themselves Scythians but they belonged to a group which had entered India earlier. The later Scythians but not the earlier group were subdued by the Amans and incorporated into the Aryan society as Sudras (ibid., pp. 108, 109). According to this theory there should be racial affinity between the early Scythians or Dravidians and the later Scythians who became Sudras. But Caldwell is a believer in the independence and integrity of the Diavidians and he is at great pains to prove that the Scytho-Dravidians were altogether so superior a people as to form a distinct race from the "secondary Scythians" or Scytho-Aryans (ibid. p. 109, Intro.).

IMMIGRATION OF THE DRAVIDIANS

Thus, according to Caldwell, a body of immigrants of Scythian stock entered India through Baluchistan before the Aryans came, followed by another body of immigrants of the same stock also before the Aryans came. Caldwell would give the name Dravidian to the first body and deprive the second group of the name.



He does not explain his reason for it. It has been stated above that in Caidwell's opinion the speech of the Dravidian group shows remote original affinity with Indo-European. About the physical type of the Dravidians his view is that the type is the same as that of the Aryan (Com. Phil., p. 558). It is Caucasian or identical with the Aryan (ibid., p. 560). But in spite of linguistic affinity with Indo-European, Aryan physical type and friendly relations with the primitive Aryans the Dravidian languages were, according to Caldwell, quite independent of Sanskrit and the Dravidian race was nothing but Dravidian. "The high-caste Dravidians claim to be purest representative of the type. Their institutions and manners have been Aryanized but it is pure Dravidian blood which flows in their veins." (ibid., p. 562).

POLITICAL LIGHT

How linguistic researches, unaided by ethnological investigations, helped Bishop Caldwell to come to definite conclusions about the independence and integrity of the Dravidian race and purity of Dravidian blood may appear puzzling. In his Ethnology of India Sir George Campbell says:

"I draw no wide ethnological line between the northern and southern countries of India, not recognising the separate Dravidian classification of the latter as properly ethnological. . . A change takes place where passing southward we exchange the Maratta for Telugu or Canarese. But looking at the people we see no radical change of features. . . I have no doubt that the southern society in its structure, its manners and its laws and institutions is an Arvan society" (p. 15).

Commenting on the above Dr. Caldwell writes, "His impression of the similarity of the physical type of the higher castes among the southern Dravied dians to that of the Aryans of northern India is asstrong as mine while the reason for the similarity he assigns is different."

Obviously Dr. Caldwell's reason is outside the

purview of ethnology.

An instructive passage occurs in the controversy between Dr. Caldwell and Mr. Gover, author of Folk Songs of Southern India, who held that the Dravidians were Aryans. Dr. Caldwell writes, "He (Mr. Gover) considers it of great moral and political importance to prove that the Dravidians are Aryans and not a Scythian race. The Scythian theory he says, 'shuts up the door of sympathy and fellow-feeling between the Dravidian peoples and their English conquerors.' (ibid., p. 535). Evidently Mr. Gover thought that the recognition of the Dravidians as Aryan would make

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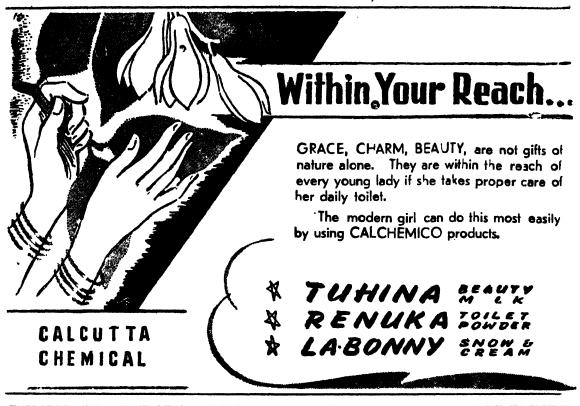
matters smooth for the English conquerors. This hint was lost on the learned Bishop who probably thought that to prove that the South Indians were racially different from the North Indians might prove more advantageous to the English conquerors in the long run.

"Dravidian" Type

Let us now turn to examine the Dravidian type which, in fulfilment of the desire of Dr. Caldwell, has become a "settled fact" with anthropologists.

The Dravidian type looms large in Sir Herbert Risley's Ethnographic Survey. He gives us the Scytho-Dravidian type in Western India, the Aryo-Dravidian type in the United Provinces, the Mongolo-Dravidian type in Bengal and the Dravidian type in South India. The Dravidian type is defined thus by Risley: "The Dravidian type extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges, and pervading the whole of Madran, Hyderabad, the Central Province most of Central India and Chota Nagpur. . . probably the original type of population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian and Mongoloid elements. In type specimens the stature is short or below mean; the complexion very dark, hair plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl; eyes dark, head long; nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat." (The People of India, 1908). This characterization applies however to those only of the type specimens that have been called Australoid-Veddaic. The specimens of Risley's Dravidian type are drawn from Chingleput, Bellary, Tinnevelly, Combatore, the Annamalai hills, Madras city, from Travancore, Malabar, the Nilgin hills, from Mysore and Coorg, from Mewar in Raj-putana, from Chota Nagpur, Santal Pargana and Western Bengal. The cephalic index of the selected specimens varies from 71-7 of the Badaga (Canarese) of the Nilgiri hills (maximum 77.5, minimum 66.1) to 77.0 of the Desatha Brahmans of Bellary (maximum 83.3, minimum 71.0); the maximum rises to 80.0 in the case of Tamil Brahman of Madras city, 85.4 among Shan ans of Tinnevelly, 86.4 in the case of Nayar and 90.4 in the case of Kannadiyan (Canarese) of Chingle-put). The nasal index varies from 69.1 of the Lambadi of Mysore to 95.9 of the Asur of Lohardaga (the maximum rises to 108.6 among Paniyans of Malabar and 115.4 in the case of the Kadia of the Annamalai hills). The stature varies from 1701 of the Shanan Nattat of Tinnevelley to 1584 of the Chero of Lohardaga. A glance at the variations of the cephalic and nasal indices and stature will show that we have to deal not with one but different types.







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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi

J. J. Singh writes in The New Leader:

The familiar, revered, frail little figure of Mahatma Gandhi is no more. This man, this seer, this saint, who was known to the poorest of the poor in the most remote corners of India and who wielded such tremendous influence over the people of India, has died a marryr's death.

Gandhi's death is not only India's loss, but a world loss. A world Teacher has gone. Another Gandhi may not arise for another 1,000 or 2 000 years. After all, between Jesus of Nazareth and Gandhi of India, there has been a lapse of nearly 2,000 years.

Future developments in India and their repercussions on the world situation, particularly in Asia, will show whether or not Gandhi in his martyrdom per-

formed the greatest service to humanity.

Suppose that the shock of Gandhi's death, the realization of this deep loss, were to create a new era of Hindu-Moslem unity in India. Suppose the people of India were to rebel against leaders and organizations which preach intolerance and supremacy of one community over another. Suppose fanaticism were to be replaced by sanity and clear thinking. Suppose both Hindus and Moslems were to realize that India and Pakistan face a hopeless dark future unless tolerance, friendship and understanding could be brought about.

If that were to happen, all danger of war between India and Pakistan will have disappeared. The 36,000,000 Moslems in India would then begin to live without fear and with honor. The 15,000,000 Hindus and Sikhs. hving in Pakistan. would then begin to live without fear and with honor. Then 400,000,000 humans living in India and Pakistan would heave a sigh of relief. The whole of Asia would come out of its gloom. And who can tell that it would not also affect the sword-rattling big nations of the world?

If this were to come about, Gandhi will have achieved in death what he did not achieve in life. He will have served not only India, but all of mankind, which today is so dangerously close to extinction.

Well-wishers of India and humanity all over the world must pray and hope for such a development.

Gandhi not only spent all his life practising his ideals but he died for them

Last year, when I was in India, I was told that when Gandhi decided to go to Noakhali, in East Bengal, in early 1947, to preach Hindu-Mos em unity, after rioting massacres and abductions there, frieds warned him that even though his message was a plea for Hindu-Moslem unity and peace, tempers were so frayed and bitterness so intense, that there was every likelihood of his being killed. To that Gandhi replied that he had never feared death in the cause in which he believed.

How did Gandhi become an all-India and later on an all-world personality? Did he have modern medias of propaganda? Did he have managers, public relations officers? Did he have control of radios, movies and press? Did he have a hugo organization working for him?

No, Gandhi did not have any of the known medias of propaganda. Then how did he become a world figure? This is the mystery.

I know many people will say, "Ah, but he had the Indian National Congress Party and the Indian nationalist press at his disposal" True, but only after he became the All-India leader.

Franklin D. Roosevolt, even Wendell Willkie, had to be built up by their respective organizations. But in the case of Gandhi, he built the organization, he built the Congress Party, after having become an All-

India leader.

The Indian National Congress did not have much influence before the advent of Gandhi. It did not have a popular following. The poverty-tricken masses of India were hardly aware of the existence of the Indian National Congress. It used to meet every year (I attended a few sessions) and pass pious, forceful resolutions, and go home. It was the meeting place of intellectuals who tried to outdo each other in long speeches. It was a gathering, where one would show off new suits and saus. Many speakers used to turn out in striped trousers and cut-away coats, very, very British. True, there were some very high-minded, high-principled, fearless men connected with the Indian National Congress, but the Indian National Congress did not have the active support of the common people.

It was Gandhi who took the Congress Party to the masses. It was Gandhi who brought their sanction and strength to the Congress Party. It was Gandhi who faced the British Empire with the might of the

people of India.

I was in India in 1918 (a young man of 21). I was educated, and I read newspapers, as I belonged to a fairly well-to-do and well-informed family. And though I had vaguely heard the name of Gandhi, it did not mean anything to me. There were other names more powerful and glamorous—such as Tilak, the outstanding leader of the self-government movement. There were millions of young, educated Indian lads like me who had hardly heard or known anything of Gandhi. And then, suddenly, we heard his name, as if by the touch of a magic wand, a deep dark curtain had been lifted. We saw Gandhi, we felt Gandhi, we heard Gandhi. It was Gandhi, Gandhi, Gandhi everywhere. I still ask the question—how did that happen?

I have lyied in the United States for over 21 years—with frequent trips to Europe and India and other



parts of the world. My experience has been that practically everyone in this country knew the name of Gandhi: the taxi driver, the shoe shiner, the soda jerker, the industrial worker, the farmer, the whitecollar worker. But it has also been my experience that, though a large number of people respected Gandhi and held him in esteem, yet the vast majority of Americans joked about him; they had a little snicker when they talked about him. Oh yeh, how is Gandhi's goat?' they would ask. But ever since the news of his death was flashed in banner head-lines in every newspaper in America, "smart-alec" remarks have completely disappeared. Now there is solemnity and sadness in their voices. Many have told me that somehow they feel that they have lost someone very near to them. The taxi drivers, the shoe shiner, the delicatessen store man and the porters at the airport have one and all said : "But he was such a good man; why did they kill him?" It is clear to me that Gandhi in his death has won the affection and respect of the American people.

I have a feeling that even the hard-boiled diplomats, sitting in the chancelleries of the world capitals, are becoming keenly conscious of what Gandhi stood for. I have a feeling that they are asking themselves whether force is the answer to the problems of mankind, or understanding between human beings-based

en human dignity, tolerance and love.

Gandhi in his life brought independence to India--Gandhi in death may bring peace to the world.

The Resources of India and Pakistan

India Today, published monthly by the India League of America, makes a comparative study of the resources of the Indian Union and Pakistan as follows:

The division of the Indian sub-continent into the two Dominions of India and Pakistan in the space of a few weeks is one of the most tremendous administrative operations in history. A completely accurate statement of the human and natural resources of the two countries is impossible at the present time for a number of reasons. Boundary lines have not been completely settled in several important places. In the divided provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, allocation of resources is extremely difficult to obtain at the moment. The movement of persons and property between the two dominions has been considerable in recent months. The important Princely States of Hyderabad and Kashmir, the former contiguous to India and the latter to Pakistan, have not yet acceded. Official figures are based largely on the 1941 census, since which time many changes have taken place. Taking all these factors into consideration, only a rough approximation is possible.

Population and Area

The population of India is 297,542,000; that of Pakistan, 71,096,000.

India comprises a territory of 1,055,621 square

miles; Pakistan has 361.218 square miles.

- (Hyderabad and Kashmir have a population of 16.338,000 and 4,021,000 respectively and each has an area of approximately 82,000 square miles.) COMMUNICATIONS

India has 25,970 miles of railroad; Pakistan has 14.542. India has about 264,605 miles of roads; Pakistan

has about 49,863.

The major ports of Bombay, Calcutta, Cochin, Madras and Vizagapatam lie in India; Karachi and Chittagong are in Pakistan. Of the three largest canal systems, each of which commands an area greater than

the whole of the cultivated area of Egypt, one is in Pakistan (Sukkur-Sind), one in India (Sarda-United Provinces) and one (Sutley Valley Canals) is divided.

Of the nineteen largest airfields in the peninsula, India has fifteen and Pakistan four (including the large

field at Karachi).

The largest dams are found in Bombay and Madras in India. There is also a large dam in Hyderabad. Of dams underway at the present time, three (Bhakra in East Punjab, Damodar in Bengal, Tungabhadra in Madras) are in India, while the Thal project lies in Pakistan.

FOOD CROPS

Rice is the staple tood for all low-lying, wellwatered tropical districts. The production for the cereal year 1944-45 was 27,122,000 tons (husked), about twothirds of which was grown in India.

Wheat is the staple food crop of the great part of Northern India. The great wheat-growing areas of the Punjab lie in Pakistan as does the wheat-producing province of Sind. The United Provinces in India also produces a good deal of wheat. The 1941-45 production for the entire peninsula is estimated at 10,458,000 tons.

Millets, a staple foodstuff with a total production of 9,643,000 tons in 1914-45, is grown mostly in India. The bulk of the other basic food crops, pulses,

its, barley and maize, are grown in India.

The Indian prinisally is the world's largest producer of cane sugar. The bulk of the 5.422,000 tons produced in 1944-45 was grown in India.

The Indian peninsula produces 40 per cent of the world's tea. In 1943-44, this amounted to 248,000 tons The chief production areas fall in India, although the Surma Valley and some of the Brahmaputra Valley tea areas fall in Pakistan,

Coffee production (about 16,000 tons yearly) is mostly confined to Southern India.

The Indian peninsula is the second largest tobacco producer in the world (1943-44, 375,000 tons), almost all of which is grown in India.

India produces more than half of the world's groundnuts (peanuts)-more than three million tons annually. Groundnut production in Pakistan is negligible.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

The Indian peninsula produces almost all the world's jute. The bulk of this lies in Pakistan. The bulk of the 1945 crop of 2,409,000 bales (of 400 lbs.) was grown in Pakistan. (But India has almost all the jute mills.)

The Indian peninsula is the second largest producer of cotton in the world. The bulk of this is grown in

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India, with an estimated acreage of 13,770,000 acres in countries. It is estimated that India produces about India and 1,630,000 in Pakistan. Most of this is short stable cotton.

Rubber is produced only in India. In 1942, pro-

duction amounted to about 16,000 tons.

Almost all the copra produced on the peninsula is grown in India.

India is the only source of soft hemp, apart from Russia. Sunn hemp, with an annual production of 100 000 tons, is grown only in India. Deccan hemp is

also grown only in India.

Wool, most of which coarse and used only for carpets and blankets, is produced at the rate of about 45,000 tons annually. At the moment it is impossible to ascertain how wool production is divided between India and Pakistan.

MINERAL PRODUCTION AND NATURAL RESOURCES

The Indian peninsula is the eighth largest producer of coal in the world. It is estimated that about 25,079 802 tons were mined in India in 1944 and about 198,476 tons in Pakistan. The two principal coalfields (Jharia and Raniganj) are in India. It is estimated that reserves total 76 milliard tons, but most of this is of low quality. About 11 billion tons are considered suitable for metallurgical coke and almost 5 billion tons are estimated to be high grade coal.

The Indian peninsula possesses tremendous potential water-power, estimated at 39,000,000 h.p. Much of this falls in Pakistan. The great bulk of hydroelectricity at present is produced in India. Development of rural electrification is most advanced in Madras. United Provinces and Mysore, all in India. The great hydro-electric projects now underway are also in India. There are oilfields and refineries in both India and

Pakistan, and unexplored deposits occur in both

65,968,951 gallons annually and Pakistan about 21,113,420

India produced about 2,655,000 tons of iron ore in 1943, Pakistan none. India is believed to have the largest reserves of high-grade ore in the world, with estimates placing the reserve as high as 20 billion tons.

India is the second largest producer of manganese ore in the world. Production in 1945 was 595,000 tons. Pakistan produces none.

India produces copper in small quantities, about 7.000 tons (metal) annually. Pakistan produces none. India leads the world in mica production, with Pakistan producing a small quantity In 1943, 160,000 cwts. was produced.

Chromite is mined in both India and Pakistan, It is estimated that of the pre-war annual production of chromite. India accounted for about 5,194 tons of metal and Pakistan about 21,892 tons of metal.

In 1943, 252,222 fine troy ounces of gold was produced in the southern part of the peninsula. While the leading production center is in India, Hyderabad also accounts for a considerable amount.

Bauxite deposits exist in India and in Kashmir. Total production was 21,000 tons in 1944.

India leads the world in the production of ilmenite and her steatite (soapstone) deposits are among the largest in the world. India also produces graphite.

Monazite and other minerals bearing radioactive substances are also found in South India, and their production is under government control.

INDUSTRIES

The most important industries in the sub-continent are iron and steel and textiles. Almost all are found in India.

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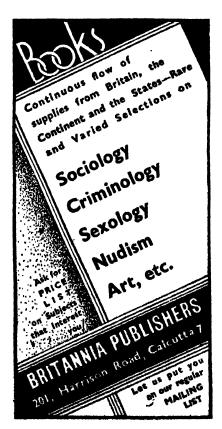
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All the iron and steel works, which in 1943-44 turned out 1,959,000 tens of steel ingots and 978,000 tens of finished steel, are in India. The major plants are in Bihar and West Bengal. In 1939-40, it is estimated that there were 18 iron and steel mills in India, mone in Pakistan. The Tata Iron and Steel Works in Bihar are the largest single steel works in the British Commonwealth.

Almost all the textile mills are found in India. In 1939-40 there were 380 in India. 9 in Pakistan. In 1943-44, India produced almost 5 billion yards of piecegoods and over 1½ billion pounds of yarn. The most important textile center is Bombay Presidency, followed by Madras and the United Provinces.

Most of India's 113 jute mills are in and near Calcutta in India while the bulk of raw jute is produced in Pakistan. Jute manufacture in 1913-44 amounted to 1.068.000 tons.

The chemical industry is also located in India In 1943-44, 42,000 tons of sul hurse acid and 22,000 tons of animonium sulphate were slueed, as well as a number of other chemicals

Almost all the other industrial plants making matches, points, glue, gloss, soap, aluminium, cement, etc., are in India. There are shipbuilding yards in Calcutta and Cochin in India and in Karachi in Pakistan.

General Economic Position

In the division of the Indian peninsula, the bulk of the opulation and territory went to India. As for communications, neuch of the roads and railways fell to India as well as no b of the ports and airfields. The great port of Karachi went to Pakistan. The canal systems were divided between both. The largest dams also went to India.

India has large food resources but will nevertheless be deficient in food while Western Pakistan is expected to have a surplus of 1½ million tons, of which at least a half million tons will have to go to Fastern Bengal (Pakistan) to meet the deficit there. India will thus have to import as much food as Pakistan can spare, which will be between a half and one million tons.

In other agricultural products, India will have considerable resources of sugar, tea, tobacco, cotton, etc. Pakistan will also have a good deal of cotton and will hold a virtual world monopoly in raw jute. India has just enough raw jute for her own needs, but unless she imports a good deal from Pakistan, her jute mills will be severely affected. The imbalance in jute production caused by the division is one of the most striking instances of the economic insanity of division, although the food situation is a much more serious problem.

India will be rich in minerals and, with the exception of chromite, has much of the known mineral resources of the sub-continent. Almost the entire industrial plant went to India. India has 771 factories of seven major industries; Pakistan 9 factories.

Both countries have considerable potential hydroelectric power which is an important factor in industrialization since India's coal resources are not too good. This will take time to develop and for the moment. India produces most of the electric power, although Pakistan's potential is probably about twice as large. Pakistan will have to import about 21 million tons of coal annually from India for railways and other uses. Pakistan is also deficient in cotton textiles and will have to import most of her supply from India.

According to present estimates, Pakistan will have a favorable balance of payments of Rs. 18 crores (\$54,000,000), while India will have an unfavorable balance of Rs. 110 crores (\$330,000,000) due chiefly to the need for food imports.

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Latin America: Host to Homeless Millions?

Richard F. Behrendt observes in *Unity*, September-October, 1947:

Most promising of all large scale areas for settlement projects in our time is undoubtedly Latin America. What hope this can mean for the 1,000,000 permanently displaced persons who still vegetate in European detention camps and makeshift dwellings, without homes, normal family life, or work! They, and millions more, long with feverish intensity to escape from Europe, the grave of so many hopes and lives, and build anew.

In Latin-American countries no prejudices of a self-appointed master race poison the air for a newcomer. Besides these lands need immigrants from Europe, and have proclaimed as much ever since Juan Bautista Alberdi, distinguished Argentine thinker, long ago made the classic pronouncement that "to govern is to populate."

The so-cilled social and economic backwardness of many countries to the south is partly due to the fact that, unlike Anglo-America, they never received a sizable number of European settlers with superior technical training, economic initiative and, in some cases, experience in self-government. Despite almost constant professions of eagerness for immigration, only a few Latin-American econtries—Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil and south-central Chile received large numbers of settlers. During and after the world decression of the 1930s, most of the national quota system of the United States.

This restrictive policy is now in some degree being officially changed. Brazil, with a new immigration law, has made plans to let in 100,000 newcomers a year, though the scheme has been watered down of late. However, Brazil, Argentina, and Peru have had com-

missioners in Europe making preparatory studies for the selection of suitable immigrants.

For a number of years, the Dominican Republic has offered settlement to refugees from Europe. At the illitated Refugee Conference of 1938 in Evian, that country was practically the only one to make a concrete proposal. A few hundred refugees responded, but the experiment was hampered by transport difficulties caused by the war. Yet the country has repeated its willingness to receive up to 100,000—and its geographical area is only half the size of Virginia.

Rural folk in Latin America urgently need doctors, dentists and pharmacists. Among the displaced persons in the American zone of Germany alone, reported Mr. La Guardia in November, 1946, there were 1,926 physicians and surgeons, 677 dentists and 579 pharmacists. Latin America, anxious to develop public utilities and industries, needs technicians and administrators. In the detention camps of the American zone it could find 692 civil engineers, 371 architects, 2,539 business executives, and 3,985 auditors and book-keepers.

Vast areas in South and Central America are under-populated or virtually empty. The population density of Latin America is 17 per square mile, as against 45 in the United States.

All the 20 republics of this region, two and a halt times as large as the continental United States, have, as a whole, a smaller population. A relatively high percentage of the people are concentrated in urban regions.

The "Oriente" of Colombia, more than half the entire country, with an area equal to that of pre-war Germany, Austria, and Belgium combined, or twice that of Japan, has about 125,000 inhabitants. Great areas in central Brazil, southern Argentina, northern and eastern

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8 00 RUBBER NOSPITAL REQUIBITED CALCUTTA • NAGPUR • BOMBAY NORROOM Bolivia. central and southern Venezuela, the eastern territories of the West Coast republics of South America, and the highlands of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama, can in theory support many millions of people. Yet they are among the least populated parts of the globe.

Equally obvious, however, are the obstacles to rural settlement by natives of the temperate zone and of more or less industrialized countries: the torrid and wet climate; tropical diseases; long distances to markets and sources of supply, with poor communications. Large groups of the native population would in some cases be indifferent or even hostile, looking askance at efforts to give aliens land and a comparatively comfortable livelihood, in countries where most of the native-born lack both. The greed of influential land speculators will be met with, too, along with land monopolists and above all, unstable political and economic conditions.

The real opportunities lie somewhere between the bright theoretical prospects and the dark picture often painted by skeptics. The climate is not uniformly unhealthful; high areas escape excessive heat; temperate regions are available; sanitation has advanced; or ntrary to the myth fostered by white colonials living among colored peoples, no evidence exists that manual work in the tropics, where sanitation has been introduced, is

harmful to whites.

Modern air transport and roads are opening up vast areas until now remote and sometimes unexplored. Advances in agriculture and the use of tropical and subtropical products made during the war point to new and

promising lines of endeavour.

Much will depend on the attitude of European immigrants. They will have to show genuine willingness to adapt themselves to the new environment, with its strange and at first difficult conditions. They must determine to make a go of it and stick it out, without the seeming easy refuge of city life and its business ventures.

Claims to remain a separate minority group within the host country will have to be abandoned.

The languages, traditious, and problems of the new country should be studied, positive relations with the native people cultivated and joint enterprises and intermarriage encouraged. Immigrants must consider themselves at once partners and fellow citizens of the people among whom they make their new homes. This need not mean the dropping of separate religious ties.

On the other hand, Latin-American governments and people can do much to help sound resettlement by their own attitudes. They need to set up pareful, long-range plans for settlement, not subject to the frequent changes and hazards of political fortune, All agencies will need to assume grave responsibilities towards the newcomers as well as their own people. Settlers must be pretected

against exploitation by office-holders.

A fair chance must be given for newcomers to become permanent citizens and to develop the loyalty and emotional attachment which can thrive only on mutual helpfulness, and on equal rights and opportunities. Good land will need to be provided, in accessible places, with adequate credit facilities, public health, education, co-peratives, and local community life.

But international agencies and nations not directly affected have responsibilities also. They will have to aid the Latin-American nations in selecting the most desirable types of immigrants, and arranging transportation to the New World. They will need to carry some of

the financial burden of resettlement. Especially will they need to share in a permanent international organization devoted to problems of migration.

This world agency, which should have broader responsibilities than the International Refugee Organization, should make continuous studies of population changes and migration movements, national and international, and it should co-operate with governments, somi-official and private agencies in carrying forward resettlement projects.

Tremendous as the "displaced persons" problem is in terms of human suffering and in the responsibility of those who can help to solve it, the task is ridiculously small in comparison to the problems of war-such as training and equipping military forces, making huge production adjustments, and finding means of longdistance transport.

Constructive resettlement policies are important tests of our time in international co-operation. Such are demanded not only in the interest of those millions of our contemporaries who must rebuild : their lives, but for the sake of young countries in need of new productive citizens. They are demanded most stall, perhaps, in the interest of world order-the most altal concern of us all.

The Indonesian National Flag

The Indonesian National Committee has conducted a research into the origin of the Red and White flag as the emblem of the Indonesian National movement.

It has found stories and legends which indicate that this banner has been used by the Indonesian people down the centuries, long before they were scattered throughout the islands as they are today.

But the first historical mention is contained in documents relating how Jayakatong revolted against the Kingdom of Singasari in East Java in 1292 under this banner. And similar records prove that the Red and White was also used by Sultan Agung in 1628, when Java was united under his rule—united for the first time since the collapse of the Modjopahit Empire.

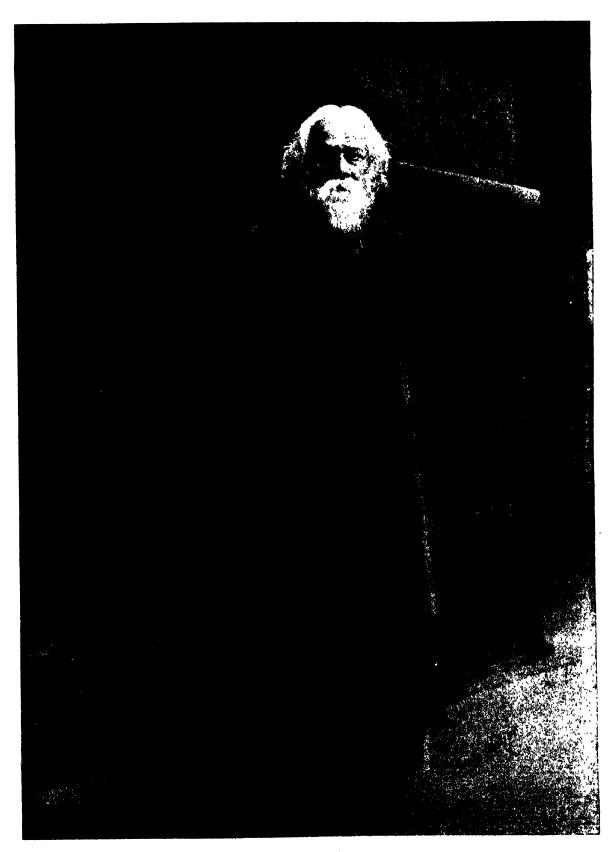
With such a history, it is natural that this was the emblem chosen by Indonesian Nationalists who struggled against the oppressions of the Dutch regime.

The Indonesian Association was formed in the Netherlands in 1908, seeking independence. In 1922, it introduced the Red and White to Europe, but this flag also bore the Bull's Head, as the bull is the traditional symbol of courage and is identified with the national spirit in its struggle for freedom.

The Red and White with the Bull's Head was also used as the flag of the Indonesian National Party, which was founded in 1927 in Bandoeng.

The hoisting of the Red and White was, of course, prohibited by the Dutch, but they could not prevent its use. It was flown publicly in Diskarta in October, 1928, during the Indonesian Youth Congress under the leadership of the Indonesian Students' Association.

In spite of all bans and prohibitions, the Red and White came to be used generally by the growing National movement, and has thus become the symbol of an Independent Indonesia.—Merdeka.



Rabindranath Tagore

IN THE RAINY SEASON By Nilverioring Sea Cuper

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Economic Freedom

At Ootacamund Pandit Nehru's welcome speech to the E.C.A.F.E. delegates contained a note of warning regarding the possible attempts at the economic domination of Asia by more organised and financially stronger Non-Asiatic countries. It was a timely warning because it will not be very long now before the rival power blocks, that are now striving for the domination of Europe, turn their attention to Asia. And with China in chaos and the Near East on the verge of a total war on a minor scale, the control of the Indian Union will soon be felt to be a paramount necessity by the rival groups. Pandit Nehru's statement was couched in unequivocal terms and it certainly expressed the conviction that all the freedom-loving peoples of Asiawhich prominently includes the nationals of the Indian Union--clearly hold. And there is not the slightest doubt that the sole path for the salvation and renaissance of the Asiatics lies in this determined resistance towards foreign economic domination.

But mere brave words would not suffice against aggression, economic or otherwise. The statesmen of Asia in general and our own leaders in particular have to be alert and beware of traitors and fifth columnists inside the camp. It is notorious the world over today that Big Business owes allegiance neither to State nor to Society and is capable of any treachery or breach of faith. And to Pandit Nehru we must point out that in the history of the world there has seldom been seen such a set of ruthless and unprincipled traitors, capable of any anti-social crime for the lust of filthy lucre, as there are today in the Indian Union, in the snape of those who have become "the successors in India to British Exploiters and Blood-suckers unlimited." Until Pandit Nehru and his colleagues have definitely formulated a plan to guard the nationals of the Union against these social criminals and moral lepers, there can be no safety for the State. We say with conviction that those who starved to death six millions

of their own compatriots for the sake of 150 crores of rupees, those who have reduced to penury some 300 millions of their fellow countrymen by countrywide blackmarketing, are capable of the blackest act of treachery at the first sign from International Finance. They will sell the country, if the price be forthcoming, without the least compunction.

On June 3, at Coimbatore Pandit Nehru said in reference to the recent textile strike:

"If production suffered for a long time, then there must be something wrong somewhere. Whoever is respensible for this loss of production is guilty of a serious attempt towards the nation. In future, we must find ways and means to prevent it. If the textile industry in the country cannot function effectively for the good of all it will have to be nationalised."

Pandit Nehru also referred to the recent partial removal of control and said:

"When we have control blackmarketing flourished. When controls are removed, prices still go up. Every body seems to profit at the cost of unfortunate consumer and Government. Some way will have to be found to check this profiteering. I wish people whether they are workers, or owners or managers of factories, appreciate that the State cunnot possibly permit a state of affairs to continue which interfere with the general welfare of the people."

Does Pandit Nehru really think that the owners of factories are little children, to be deterred from their wayward ways by mild rebuke? Does he realize that to-day the greatest danger to the Union lies in this unchecked and black-hearted exploitation of the hapless Indian consumer by those who are masters of India's trade and industry? For decades the poor suffering millions of this luckless country suffered privations due to tariff barriers, being obliged to buy inferior goods at inflated prices, just because they were "swadeshi." The hard-earned money of the poor thus went towards the sustenance and growth of the "infant swadeshi industries." And now that very same

consumer is realizing to-day what venomous reptiles he nurtured thus.

India must be industrialised, for it is an axiomatic truth that no nation can lead a healthy and safe life to-day, unless she has fully developed key-industries, inside its domain and under its control. But the vital questions of the moment are, under whose control and for whose benefit?

On the same day as Pandit Nehru made the above statement, Ex-Ambassador Asaf Ali declared at Delhi that

"Mr. Asaf Ali thought there were very few countries which could meet the principal requirements of India within a reasonable period and the U.S.A., he said, was the most important of them all. And the U.S.A.'s local and foreign commitments meant such heavy calls on her production that it India was not on the list "almost at once" she may have to go a long way down the queue and wait for deliveries.

"He affirmed that the immediate need of the country was industrialisation and increased production and it appeared to him that individual enterprise was an absolute necessity unless the people were prepared to postpone their immediate needs until long-term plans had been converted into blue-prints along socialistic lines.' Mr. Asaf Ali welcomed Mr. Birla's plan which he said was

'attractive.'

"Mr. Birla's five-year plan recently released is a timely contribution to constructive thinking. It can form the basis of a fruitful discussion of the immediate tasks for developing the country's untapped resources. Had not abnormal times and difficult circumstances supervened in a successive series of unioreseen political crises, the Government's productive projects would have been well under way by now and many of the difficulties which are being experienced by the people in respect of their daily needs could have been nearer a satisfactory solution. Much precious time, however, has already been consumed by urgent emergency problems, and the urgency of the economic problems, which affect the categorically imperative requirements of the people both individual and collective, have by now reached a point when they must claim the most immediate attention of those who are conscious of the gravity of the consequences.

"Mr. Birla's plan is attractive. As a businessman of proved acumen he has envisaged the raising of a loan in the USA. Right in the beginning of my term as Ambassador in America. I received from private businessmen offers of large loans amounting to one to two billion dollars for selfpaying constructive projects. The policy of the Government regarding such proposals at the time was one of examining their implication without any commitments one way or the other. In my opinion the time has come when definite decisions have to be taken. There are very few countries which can meet some of the principal requirements of India within a reasonable period, and the U.S.A. is certainly the most important of them all. But the USA's local and foreign commitments mean such heavy calls on their production that if we are not on the list almost at once we may have to go a long way down the queue and wait for deliveries for a long time. I have examined the position very carefully and I feel that our expectations from other countries are not beyond questions."

We admit the cogency of Mr. Asaf Ali's plea and we are prepared to admire with him Mr. Birla's plans. We further admit that Mr. Birla is a "businessman of proved acumen"- and there, in that last entry in Mr. Asaf Ali's encomiums, we find all the cause for wariness and hesitation. We have all seen what the "businessmen of proved acumen" have done for the poor consumers of this country. Is it not a fact they have all battened on the prone flesh of the suffering millions? Is there any real exception? We think not, and therefore we are suspicious of all such plans. Where is the guarantee in Mr. Birla's plan that his scheme will result in the greatest good to the largest number? What guarantee is there that this scheme will not further strengthen the shackles that enmesh the limbs of our nationals, holding them helpless while those of "proved business acumen" squeeze them dry of the last drop of blood?

Pandit Nehru said in the course of his speech at Coimbatore:

"I want India to be a progressive, fast-marching State, growing from one objective to another and raising not only the standard of living of millions of the people but then moral and spiritual quality."

If he really wants that then let him devise a scheme for National Control of all industries in India, present or future. The system of Managing Agencies - a truly saturic device for illicit gain—must be smashed, and all concerns that control industries and large-scale commerce in public utility goods must be subjected to rigorous inspection by special departments of the Governments, so that the public can no longer be muleted. Anti-trust laws, fully equipped with the necessary "teeth and claws", must be put in force at once.

Let the Indian Union borrow, if it must, from abroad for the development of a free country, but let us all beware of the trap that may lead to the perpetuation of economic slavery for the millions, exploited for the vast benefit of "Big Business."

Pandit Nehru's Inaugural Speech at Ecafe Conference

At Ootacamund welcoming the delegates to the U. N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East to India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "India has alone been associated with the United Nations, because India has believed in the aims and purposes of the United Nations. And even if sometimes no tangible results have followed from the United Nations, we have, nevertheless, believed that we must and the world must, follow that course in the hope that tangible results will come sooner or later. We have believed in Commissions such as ECAFE because we have felt that whatever the political aspect of the United Nations the economic aspect is at least as important, if not more important than political

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aspect indeed, perhaps, we cannot consider the one undoubtedly in a sense shake up their static condition, without the other.

"Politically we have not so far met with great success but I hope that if we met with success in the economic field that will affect the political field also."

Emphasising the need for looking at Asia's economic problems in the larger context of world problems, Pandit Nehru said that speaking as a layman he would urge the importance of dealing with economic problems in a human way and not as so much with facts and figures. He proceeded, "In this area that is under your survey, I suppose, there are, at least, a thousand million human beings and if you look at the human aspects of it, at the aspect of the joys and sorrows and the sufferings of these one thousand million people, the problem becomes something much more than a dry economic problem to be solved on paper and assumed a tremendous urgency."

Pandit Nehru said: "In the past many years, most of these problems have been considered in the world context. And I have a feeling—and I still have that feeling—that the Continent of Asia has been somewhat neglected and somewhat overlooked.

It is not considered important enough to receive as much attention as is given to certain other parts of the world. Possibly that was so because the people who considered those problems were intimately connected with the non-Asian parts of the world and naturally they thought of themselves in the first instance. Probably, if I were to consider these problems, I would have attached more importance to Asian problems, because they affect me more intimately. But it seems to be obvious that you cannot consider the problems of Asia, or Europe or of Africa isolated from other places. That just cannot be done.

"If some countries which are fortunate enough today, more fortunate than others, think that they can live their lives apart, whatever happens in the rest of the world, it is obvious they are under a misapprehension. Today if one part of the world goes down economically or otherwise, it has a tendency to drag others with it.

"So it is not a question of the prosperous nations, merely out of the generosity of their heart, helping those that are not prosperous—though generosity is a good thing. But it is a question of enlightened self-interest, realising that if some parts of the world do not progress and remain backward they have an adverse effect on the whole economy of the world."

Pandit Nehru continued, "Asia has been for many generations past in a somewhat static and backward condition but during the last few years mighty forces have been at work in Asia. These forces inevitably thought in terms of political changes to begin with, because without political changes it is not possible to have any far-reaching and enduring economic change. Large parts of Asia were politically territories dominated over by other countries. While their connection has had some advantages sometimes, it did

undoubtedly in a sense shake up their static condition, and at the same time it tended to preserve that condition. The political struggle in Asia is largely over, though there are parts of Asia still where some kind of struggle for political freedom is going on."

Pandit Nehru continued, "It is obvious that so long as there is that type of struggle on the political plane, other activities will be ignored as not important. The sooner, therefore, it is realised that politically every country in Asia should be completely free and be in a position to follow its own genius within the larger world policy that the world organisation lay down, the better it will be, but one thing is certain and it is this:

"There will be no peace in any part of Asia where an attempt is made to dominate by force.

"I regret that some such attempts continue to be made in some parts of Asia.

"They seem to me not only undesirable themselves but singularly lacking in fore-sight, because there can be but one end to that attempt, and that is the complete elimination of any kind of foreign control.

"Now generally speaking, this political aspect of the Asian struggle is drawing towards its natural and inevitable culmination. But at the same time, the economic aspect continues and it is bound up today by all manner with other economic problems affecting the world. From Asia's point of view, it has become extremely urgent to deal with these problems. From the point of view of the world, it is equally urgent, because unless these are dealt with in Asia, they must affect the other problems of the world."

Pandit Nehru added: "I trust that these gentlemen who are members of this Commission will no doubt realise the importance of what I have said and will make it clear to the United Nations as a whole that any attempt not to pay enough attention to Asian problems, economic and other, is likely to defeat the ends which the United Nations have in view."

Pandit Nehru said that the Commission could look upon the problems of Asia from the long-term and short-term points of view. There was the food problem and, incidentally, he considered it wrong that a predominantly agricultural country like India and similarly placed countries should be lacking food supplies. But the problem was there and they had to face it urgently.

It was admitted all round, Pandit Nehru went on, that industrialisation should proceed in these countries of Asia. The only limiting factor for industrialisation was the lack of capital equipment.

The easiest way, of course, of getting that capital equipment and also the various technical experts was to secure them from those countries, which at present possessed it and who had a surplus of such items. How far this could be done, it was for the Commission to calculate and for those countries to decide.

The Prime Minister said that if such help was not obtained quickly the process would be somewhat delayed, but the process would go on. He continued, "If it is considered right in the larger interest of the world that countries like India and other countries in the East should get industrialised, should increase their agricultural production and modernise it and have new industries, then it is to the interest of those countries that can help in this process to help the Asian countries with their capital equipment and their special experience. But in doing so, it has to be borne in mind that no Asian country will welcome any such assistance if there are conditions attached to it which lead to any kind of economic domination.

"We would rather delay our development, industrial or otherwise, than submit to any kind of economic domination by any country.

"That is a maxim that is accepted by everyone in India and I should be surprised if other countries in Asia did not accept it also."

The Prime Minister added: "We want to cooperate in the fullest measure with any policy or
programme laid down for the world's good, even
though it might involve the surrender, in common
with other countries, of any particular attribute of
sovereignty, provided that is a common surrender all
round. But a long period of foreign domination has
made the countries of Asia very sensitive about anything happening which leads to some visible or invisible form of domination, and I would, therefore,
beg of you to remember this and to fashion your
programme and policies so as to avoid anything
savouring of the economic domination of one country
by another."

The Prime Minister then proceeded to refer to the long-term needs of Asian countries and particularly to the need for developing India's power resources. He referred to the various schemes of the Government of India for increasing power resources and irrigation facilities. "If you look at the map of India, you will see the noble range of the Himalayas on the north and the northeast. I do not think there is any part of the world similar in area which has so much concentrated power, latent or potential. We intend tapping and using it. We intend doing it fast and speedily. To some extent we have done this."

Pandit Nehru then referred to the mineral resources in India and said what was true of India was also true of other Asian countries.

The problem was how to yoke all these resources, human as well as material. The easiest way was to have assistance in capital equipment and technical personnel from countries which had them, but if that was not forthcoming, then naturally Asian countries should have to go on their own. Pandit Nehru did not think Asian countries were utilising their resources to the fullest extent. There were long-standing social injustices in these parts and they could not hope to get satisfactory work as long as these existed.

Pandit Nehru said: "In India I have no doubt that our production has suffered because of this acute feeling of social injustice. So this problem has to be viewed from the human point of view and apart from purely economic view."

Pandit Nchru asked the Commission to look at the problem from the human point of view of removing social injustices. The Commission, of course, would not dictate to each individual country about its economic structure but any advice from the Commission would, no doubt, go a long way and most countries would probably follow it in as large a measure as they could.

Pandit Nehru welcomed the representatives of Burma and New Zealand as new members of the Commission and added: "I should have liked to see the representatives here of Indonesia. I am not going to enter into legal or constitutional aspects of such matters, but it seems to me necessary from the practical point of view that an area like the Indonesian Republic, which is one of the richest areas in Asia obviously cannot be ignored in any plan that you might draw up for Asia. Now if that area is not directly or sufficiently represented here, then your plan is inadequate. It does not meet the necessities of the situation.

"You cannot leave out a highly important part of Asia and then make a plan for the rest of Asia. So regret that direct representatives of the Indonesian Republic have thus far not found a place here. I hope it may be possible for them to be invited and to take part in the Commission's deliberations in some form or other."

Pandit Nehru referred to the importance of India, both from the population point of view-it had 40 per cent of Asia's total population-and also from the geographical point of view. But while India proposed to take the fullest part in this co-operative effort, both for Asia and the world, he deprecated all talks of India's leadership of Asia. "I want this problem to be approached not in terms of this country or that country being the leader and pushing or pulling others, but rather in a spirit of co-operation between all the countries of Asia, big or small. If any country pulls more than its weight, well and good. If it can serve a common cause more than its fair share necessitates well, I have no doubt it will be patted on the back and it will be a good thing. But this business of any country thinking of itself as the leader of others smacks too much of a superiority complex which is not desirable in organisations working together for the common good."

In conclusion, on behalf of the Government of India Pandit Nehru extended a cordial invitation to the Commission to have its headquarters in India. "You will be very welcome and we shall do our utmost to meet your requirements here," he said.

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The Impending Economic Collapse

Unmistakable signs of an impending economic collapse are fast appearing on the horizon. The recklessness and thoughtlessness with which our economic problems are being handled must, and in very near future, lead us on the abyss of a colossal economic disaster with rack and ruin for the multitude. Administrative incompetence, short-sighted and utterly selfish economic policies and an unheard-of official corruption in every sphere of economic life, including production, distribution and communication, by way of discriminating grants of trading and production permits under the control systems in force, have made the collapse inevitable. Uneasiness in the banking circles and in the mind of the general public has already started. Prices show no sign of abatement, instead it has taken a turn towards further increase and in this racketeering the "national" industries have succeeded in obtaining the full support of the Government at their back Commodity prices have now gone beyond the purchasing power of the masses. The millionaires have amassed fabulous wealth by profiteering. Tax dodging has been so successful that huge quantities of illicit cash remain in their possession. The requirement of Income-tax certificates for registering deeds in land transaction has effectively excluded them from land speculation ventures. Then share speculation has also become risky because of the increasing uncertainty and threatened economic crisis. So, the huge cash stocks seem to have been diverted into "cornering" and strong corner-bases in essential commodities have already been formed. The fall in prices of dal, sugar, mustard oil, etc., have been completely halted and a steep rise in case of mustard oil has been effected. The leading racketeers have established their own banks during the past few years; an enquiry into the manner of employment of their funds should yield illuminating and instructive facts.

The following comment by the city commercial editor of the *Hindusthan Standard* is illustrative:

"It seems there has been a conspiracy all round to squeeze everything out of the consumers. And this has been aided by wrong economic policies pursued by our administrators. Our administrators have forgotten all the while that the country's malaise is economic in essence, and as such it is neither for the political pastmasters nor callow nephytes to solve them.

"It is said that since the acquisition of freedom by us our administrators have been too busy with an unexpected plethora of untoward events and troublous happenings. But that is merely a "stunt" to hide one's administrative incapacity. These events and happenings are, in truth, nothing in comparison with the problems and troubles that beset our alien rulers during 1942-43. There was utter discontent, all over the country due to incarceration of our popular leaders. The resentment of this from the underground

let loose the forces of violence and destruction all over the land. Food shortage and subsequent famine took its toll of millions here and there. The Japanese knocked at the very doors of India, and the bombing of the city of Calcutta and its environs threatened the industrial production of the country. These were the problems that faced our alien rulers in 1942-43 and notwithstanding that they administered the country well.

"Now, however, we have our own Government, and we suffer more than we suffered under an alien rule. Today, the whole problem can indeed be solved immediately if the rich men's problems be ruthlessly cast aside for a moment, and the poor men's burdens be kept in the front. As a matter of fact, during the past six months or so the rich have made more money by blackmarketing, profiteering and through the rising spiral of commodity prices. In other words, aided by Government policies, the rich have continuously kicked at the back of poor consumers. Take for instance, the essential necessities of life like food, clothing and housing. Food prices have gone up everywhere. Even the prices of rationed articles like rice and atta too have been increased by our Government. Prices of sugar, mustard oil, fish, vegetables and everything have gone up recently. Cloth prices are now double that of what they were some three or four months back. And as for housing the situation can best be gauged from the following table showing the cost of some of the building materials:

| | Nov., 1947. May, 1948. | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|--|------|-------------|
| Bricks (1,000) | | | 55 | 100 |
| Lime (100 mds.) | | | 210 | 600 |
| Soorkey (") | | | 100 | 160 |
| Sand (") | | | 80 | 200 |
| Cement (ton) | | | 180 | 26 0 |
| Steel (") | | | ,600 | 1,000 |

"Is not this table sufficient enough to show what money the rich business community has made during the past three or four months at the cost of the poor consumers?

"Indeed profiteering has now gone amuck. Blackmarketing has become more rampant than it had ever been at any time before. The blackmarketers thrive because of official anathy and connivance. Look at the cloth racket set up by the blackmarketers in Burra Bazar. They flourish openly and sell cloth at any price they like. Ask the Government to help you in the matter, and they would plead their impotence. They would say that they are unable to check blackmarketing because cloth has now been decontrolled. That is true. But they should have the vision and imagination to take prompt action in any other way to check this evil than see indifferently citizens being cheated downright by a set of rogues and scoundrels that have sprung up under their apathetic aegis. They can, for instance, immediately stop blackmarketing by prosecuting them on charges other than blackmarketing. These blackmarketers, as a rule, do not issue any

cash memos to other customers, which in other words means that they are cheating the Government of its revenue from sales tax. The blackmarket has perhaps already caused loss of sales tax to the Government to the tune of several crores of rupees. Let there be immediately a raid on these evaders of sales tax, and blackmarketing as now openly practised will come to an end.

"Indeed the problem of the hour is: lightening of the burdens of the common man. The Government should concentrate all its efforts on that. There should be an all-round fall in the prices of commodities."

The industrialists who are teday shamelessly cheating the consumer have all thrived behind protection walls, the entire cost of which has been borne by the consumer for the last three or four decades. The resulting excess profits that have gone to fatten the Indian industrial concerns run into many billions. These human sharks should now be made to face realities and reap the whirlwind. They have cheated both the people and the Government. Indian mills have forfeited all rights and claims to be termed "Swadeshi industry." They are worse than the worst foreign blood-sucker. They have tarnished the fair name of India in the eyes of the world. The sooner the stamp of "swadeshi" is withdrawn from their signboards, the better for the country's interest and honour. The Government would now honour people's sentiments if they treated the cotton mill, the sugar mill, the paper mill, the oil mill, the cement mills., etc., with punitive measures branding their owners as social crimmals fit to be put under restraint under Public Safety Acts. For the next three of four decades there should be no talk of granting such industries any tariff protection. War profiteers and blackmarketeers must not be recognised as Swadeshi businessmen.

Re-distribution of Provincial Boundaries

The Prime Minister of the Indian Union appears to dislike the idea of disturbing the present set-up of provinces. In an indirect way he has tried to explain the reason or reasons for this unwillingness. Faced by many problems unimagined when the Mountbatten Plan of division of India was accepted, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru feels that his Government should be allowed to take up leisurely the problems associated with the re-distribution of provincial boundaries and the constitution of new provinces in the Union of India. This plea for delay has not been accepted by the people. Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Maha-Gujanit have been expressing their determination to "evolve a homogeneous administration for themselves," to adopt the words of a resolution passed by a Maha-Guiarat Raiasthan Praja Sammelan held at Bombay sometime back. To this crescendo of demands must be added that of Bengal for the return of Bengaleespeaking areas that were added to Bihar when it was constituted into a separate province in 1912. We cannot see how the Nehru Ministry can ignore these claims without creating feelings that would seek outlet in agitation. And we are one of those who have long felt that the Nehru Government would be wise to resolve all agitational factors, or as many of them as are possible, so that the people can devote their whole attention and energy to constructive activities. We have also felt that the Nehru Government have been taking dangerous chances in putting off the solution of this problem whose dimensions extend almost throughout its whole territory, south, west and north-east.

The All-Parties Conference of 1928 of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a secretary, if we mistake not, recognized the importance of this problem and stated it in their report which has come to be known as the Nehru Report after the name of Motilal Nehru, Chairman of the Conference. We make no apology in queting a relevant portion of it.

Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of tradition, of literature. The redistribution of the provinces must be governed by the history of the people concerned. The mere fact that the people living in a particular area feel that they are one unit and desire to develop their culture is an important consideration even though there may be no sufficient historical or cultural justification for the demand. Sentiment in such matters is often more important than fact."

This recognition may be accepted as the charter of the demand behind the linguistic re-constitution of provinces referred to above. The leadership of the Congress for the last 30 years has been recognizing its validity, and the people are in no mood to tolerate their resiling from that position. This "sentiment" the Nehru Government has got to respect, and give concrete shape to. And if they once determine to solve the matter, the difficulties will yield. These difficulties revolve round certain vested interests that have grown up as a result of decades of neglect of one of the deepest sentiments of the human mind. The Nehru Ministry has the power in this behalf to have an Order-in-Council passed in the name of the Governor-General under Section 290 of the India Act (1935) since adapted and amended. Why they are afraid of or unwilling to have recourse to it is more than we know. And their silence in this matter has been creating confusion in the public mind. "After me the Deluge" is seldom a good quality in a statesman.

At page 159 of the Draft Constitution of India, First Schedule, Part I, there is a foot-note by the Draft Committee, recommending that "a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new State to be created under Section 290 of the Act of 1985." This appears to be a departure from the procedure that was followed in the case of Sind and Orissa; immediately after their mention in that Act, these two provinces were constituted; the Act came into force in 1987. Os

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the present occasion, the mention of Andhra province alone by name has created a suspicion in other areas which have demands to be re-grouped into new or existing provinces. The New Delhi correspondent of the Nagpur Hitavada writing on February 25 last hinted that there had been a deal with Andhra leaders who had been keeping themselves "aloof from the others" who were also interested in the formation of linguistic provinces. Strange are the ways of politicians! Time was when Andhra leaders were the most forward of the protagonists of linguistic provinces; but the New Delhi report referred to above sought to make it out that "it the Andhras had joined issue with the others, linguistic provinces would have been in existence shortly."

The facts discussed above make it clear that the Nehru Government for unexplained reasons have been pursuing a "Go Slow" policy, that the non-official leadership of the Congress does not know its own mind. There is hardly a month before the Draft Constitution proposed in the Constituent Assembly will be finalized. So every day is precious. Dr Rajendra Prasad advised the people concerned through the Karnataka Unification Deputation on January 24 last "to make the task of the Government and the Constituent Assembly easy" by themselves coming forward with "an agreed solution regarding their boundaries." We should like to know what he himself has done to help this process of evolving an "agreed solution." Four precious months have been wasted, the Congress President giving no lead in the matter. And during these months bitterness has been mounting high in areas which should be his special concern as custodian of the people's interest. He should declare himself, and let us know where he stood. We will then know what to do.

Kashmir

Fighting in Kashmir continues with success on the Indian side, but the State has not yet been cleared of the tribal intruders. With the gradual clearing of the snow, the situation seems to have come well in hand. Meanwhile, the Security Council has given its final blessings to the five-man Commission formed with the object of supervising the holding of plebiscite in Kashmir this year for deciding whether the State shall be incorporated in India or Pakistan. The Commission has started for Geneva where the first formal meeting will be held on June 15. The Commission is composed of the United States, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Argentina and Colombia.

The Security Council has given the Commission power, "when it deems it appropriate" to look into three questions raised by Pakistan, viz., the matter of a plebiscite in the State of Junagadh; the allegation that murder of Moslems in India is a calculated State policy of "genocide"; and the claim that India is not delivering to Pakistan all the stores to which it was entitled under the partition scheme. These terms of reference are the result of the successful and U.S. conspirate at Lake Success for bringing

the Kashmir question under the general term of "Indo-Pakistan issue" and India's rather too gentlemanly handling of the pernicious issues that Sir Md. Zafarullah brought into the Kashmir issue with the help of Mr. Noel Baker. The foreign policy of India is still following along the lines of an inferiority complex in utter contradiction of the guiding principles of Kshetre karma vidhiyate and Sathe sathyam samacharet. We again commend our heads of the foreign department and our ambassadars abroad to carefully go through the Rajdharma-prakarana chapters of Manu Samhata and Kautilya's Arthasastra.

The final terms of reference that have been given to the Kashmir Commission were discussed in a meeting of the Security Council under the presidency of Faris Bey al Khoury of Syria. Pakistan pressed for the inclusion of the three terms and Syria was clearly very much in favour of it. China opposed the claim for the inclusion of alleged genocide and said, "It casts a certain amount of slur on the Government of India and 1 don't think that our handling the question here would improve relations between the two Governments." As regards the Pakistani complaint of alleged non-implementation of agreements, China asked Pakistan to drop this also. Colombia supported the idea of instructing the Commission to concentrate on Kashmir. India opposed any extension of the Commission's terms of reference to include the three subsidiary questions raised by Pakistan, Finally, Britain put forward and got passed a clever resolution which extended the terms of reference under the cloak of "study and report to the Council, when it considers it appropriate, on the matters raised by the letter of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan of January 15." This resolution virtually enables the Commission to stretch its powers to whatever length it likes and may now be looked upon as a menacing intrusion in the domestic politics of India.

We do not yet know what the Government of India's attitude to this resolution will be, but we have reasons to apprehend that it may not be as strong as is expected under the circumstances. Calcutta papers report that whatever may be the Security Council's decision about its previous resolutions on the Kashmir dispute, the Indian Government thinks that the proposed Commission can function only as a conciliatory body. A high official of the External Affairs Department is reported to have told them that the Security Council itself, as had been emphasised on many occasions, would act in an advisory capacity. "I should be surprised," the spokesmen said, "if it were now beginning to think in terms of giving effect to the resolutions." Asked whether India would withhold co-operation from the Commission's programme in India, the spokesman could not see any reason why the Commission's scope had been extended to investigate the additional complaints of Pakistan, namely, Junagadh, genocide and the alleged nonimplementation of agreements. The facts here are that Junagadh's accession to India had been decided by a plebiscite. The Pakistan representative on the U. N. had also admitted that if there was another plebiscite in the State, the result would be the same. The application of the term genocide to what has happened in India is as mischievous as it is preposterous. Only a very small fraction of the Muslim population of India has left for Pakistan while their bulk, numbering 45 millions, still remain here and continue to enjoy the same civic rights and amenities that they did before.

We commend, in this connection, the stand that Sheikh Abdullah has taken. At a press conference held at Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah said, "The U. N. Commission on Kashmir cannot act without our consent, nor can the United Nations thrust any decision upon us. We have rejected the Security Council resolution but I shall be happy if anybody comes here and see things for himself. We have nothing to hide from anybody. Our hands are clean. We always offered to decide the Kashmir issue absolutely democratically. If the people of Kashmir do not want to accede to India, neither I nor any body else can force them to do so. In fact this has always been our attitude and the attitude of India. In the beginning Pakistan rejected the offer. Probably they had their own plans. Kashmir did not take part in the communal killings and probably in view of that and from the Pakistan's point of view the atmosphere for holding elections was not favourable. So they tried to create chaotic conditions just as they did in the Frontier. They failed in Kashmir, although to a certain extent they succeeded in Jammu. As the atmosphere was not favourable they laid down conditions and counter-conditions. They said plebiscite would not be impartial as long as Abdullah was there. So they wanted to thrust somebody from outside. Even in regard to this they stipulated so many conditions. All this shows that they do not want a straight fight."

Asked what was the possibility of plebiscite, Sheikh Abdullah said, "I have not claimed to be a prophet. We shall see. The Security Council cannot dictate terms. Our attitude is the same as before. It is fantastic to say that some people will come from the other end of the world and they will dictate terms to us. It is no good telling us that as long as Abdullah is there you cannot have fair elections. It is no personal question. It is a question of principle."

"Failure" at Security Council

The "failure" at the Security Council of the United Nations Organization by India to secure its help in stopping the Pakistani marauders into Kashmir has led to much heart-searching in the Indian Union. Some disgruntled elements have been blaming it on the leader of the Indian Delegation, Shri Gopalaswamy Iyangar, for his handling of the

case. But the real fault appears to be extra-Kashmir considerations that have influenced the various elements amongst the powers dominating the organization. There had been also an element of innocent faith on the part of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the U.N.O .faith born of his internationalism. Shri P. D. Sharma, in an article in the Bombay Forum, has brought out these and some other factors that explained the failure of the Indian reference. "Our ignorance and lack of independent experience" of men and matters of international significance, explained part of this failure. "The Security Council is not a Court of justice," it is not concerned with "the rights or wrongs of disputes brought before it," its primary concern is "the bringing about of peace" threatened by aggression by any one of its members. We do not understand how the U.N.O. can function in such a moral vacuum; directly or indirectly it has to pass judgment on disputes brought before its forum. If it does not, it fails. And we are of opinion that the U.N.O. has failed because of this lack of courage to consider the morality of disputes brought before it.

The next point that the writer emphasized was the hostility of the British delegation which was regarded by the others as "experts" on India. The U.S.A. delegate agreed to be briefed and guided by them; the French were more or less uninterested, though with their tiny possessions in India, they will have scores to settle with India; the Chinese, understanding all that, could not take an independent line of their own, their internal difficulties handicapping them; the Soviet delegation appeared to be prepared to support our cause at a price-in "return for Indian support on the Korean Commission." Belgium, newly bound to Britain by the recent pact along with France, Holland and Luxembourg, was ineffective;" Canada followed the British lead, as well as Colombia! with regard to Argentina, the writer points to an episode to explain her attitude—"Argentina scems to be angry with India because of the notorious visit of an Indian delegation which did no credit to India." Shri Sharma should be more specific in explaining this charge; the Indian public should not be kept in ignorance of the men who go in their name and bring disgrace on it. The New Delhi authorities as the custodians of India's reputation should make an example of such men. Have they done so on the present occasion?

Shri P. D. Sharma seems to suggest that the Indian Union cannot maintain a neutral attitude in the competition between the two Power Blocs into which the international field is divided today. He has no concrete suggestion to recommend; he is against "a daily declaration of foreign policy which makes no friends but adds to suspicion against India;"... "we have to keep our mouths shut more often than we are prone to do." This is a failing which we also have warned against both in internal and in external affairs. Our ministers in the Central and Provincial Governments cannot get over the habits

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of their agitational days; they must hold forth, and in doing so simply add to the confusion of thought and action. Their opposite numbers in Mr. Jinnah's realm do not feel this urge to talk. It is sometimes wise to learn from the opponent.

The article in the Forum is, however, not confined to pointing out the deficiencies of other people; it does well to indicate the mote in our own eyes. And the following long quotation is, we are afraid, representative of a state of things that should engage the attention of the Central Ministry.

Some of our Ambassadors and diplomatic representatives do not believe in hard work or closer association or personal contacts. They believe in cecktail parties for the sake of cocktail parties and social contacts for the sake of social contacts. The Ambassador of India stays in Washington away from the American Press or Lake Success.

One of our delegates, due to make a speech at the United Nations Assembly, came full of alcohol smelling and his head swimming. The other members of the delegations and the staff made frantic searches for this worthy, and at last he appeared, and what a speech he made! No one seems to have reported about his misbehaviour and he is still in high esteem.

Hyderabad

Grave concern is expressed in quarters authoritative as well as public at the alarming increase in border incidents and train attacks committed by the Razakars in the Hyderabad State. On May 16, an A. P. message from New Delhi stated that the Government of India have drawn the Nizam's attention to the border raids. But neither any action has been taken by the Nizam to stop these unwarranted attacks nor have the Government of India been able to protect the lives and properties of their own citizens inhabiting villages bordering on that State. Hollow threats from this side seem rather to have brought the Indian Government into ridicule and the incidents have assumed an alarming and menacing proportion. - IJ.

The Government of India, as well as the Hyderabad State Congress, desire an immediate introduction of constitutional reforms on democratic lines. These demands, not yet fully published but occasionally hinted in the press as a surrender by Nizam of the three subjects, of defence, foreign affairs and communications to the Indian Government for ten years and setting up of the State Government and legislature on a 60: 40 ratio, fall far short of the demands that justly ought to have been made. These timid approaches to the Nizam are sure to be interpreted there as signs of gross weakness and cowardice on the part of the Union Government, indicating their eagerness to avoid an armed conflict even at the cost of national self-respect.

Meanwhile, the militant Rasakars continue to gain strength and entrench themselves solidly within the State. The efficiency and resources of the Rasakar teganisation can be assessed from the following

facts. The Ittehad-ul-Muslemin, the parent body of the Razakars, control seven daily newspapers, besides a number of weeklies which all enjoy complete freedom in propagating a violent campaign against the Hindus and the Union Government. Their publicity is done by the Nizam's radio and the Information Department as well. Members of the Nizam's Government attend Razakar meetings and deliver fiery speeches there. While the public are denied petrol, the Razakars get as much petrol as they want on permits signed by the Director-General of Police. The Razakars are generally recruited to the army, police and the civic guards. No criticism of the Razakars is permitted within the State and newspapers which venture to criticise them are put under a pre-censorship order. It has been reported on several occasions that the Razakar raids on the border areas are backed by the Nizam State forces and considerable evidence has reached authoritative quarters New Delhi, reports the A. P., that the Razakars act in border raids and internal incidents in unison with the police and the military. This unison has been further proved by the inactivity of the Nizam police at the railway station where the Razakars had made an attack on the Madras-Bombay mail running through the Hyderabad territory.

The attitude of the Ittchad-ul-Muslemin and the Razakars to the proposed reforms in the State has also been made clear by their leader Syed Kasim Razvi. In a public meeting at Hyderabad, held on May 15, Razvi said that he wished to make it quite clear once for all that a responsible government could not be established in the Hyderabad State and that he would not be a party to any round table conference to discuss matters. He said:

I want to make it clear to members of the so-caffed State Congress that they will not be successful in their efforts to form a responsible government in Hyderabad.

It is now abundantly clear that the Nizam is riding two horses and making preparations to sabetage any responsible government that he might be compelled to accept under pressure of the Indian Union. In that meeting, Razvi asked for enrolment of five lakhs of volunteers. It was resolved in the meeting that in the event of the grant of a responsible government in the State they would launch a direct action and establish a parallel government. The strength of the Razakars is now estimated at 60,000.

Account should also be taken of the Arab element in Hyderabad. The Jamiat-ul-Arab is the most powerful body of the Arabs there and the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin is also dominated by them. The Special Representative of the *Hindusthan Standard* gives the following account of this aspect of the menace in Hyderabad:

Arabs are a menacing and turbulent lot and have been likened by more than one observer to the Janissaries of Turkey. In any street affray it is they who are involved. If any violent conflict occurs in

Hyderabad, it is the Arabs even more than the Ittehad volunteers; who will first take the law into their own hands. The Arab in every part of the State has created an uneasy feeling among the people. He has been and still is the local money-lender, the office treasury guard. The Indian Union will do well to watch these people, many of whom are recent arrivals but known as 'Villayatis', i.e., native-born Arabs.

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Nizam's Government started the process of creating feudal armies on a contract basis. Mercenaries soon flocked to the court of the Nizam. Among these, most prominent were the Arab hirelings brought over from Arabia to sell their swords to the highest bidder. They swarmed over the Deccan-in the courts of the Nizam, Peshawas, Gaikwars of Baroda and Rajus of Nagpur. Their contractors, themselves known as jamedars or chaushes, carned good estates for themselves. These contractors received estates for their levies as also for their personal upkeep. Thus they owned two kinds of jagirs, known as Tanka and Jat jagirs. After the downfall of the Marathas, the Arabs of the Maratha kingdoms flocked to Hyderabad as a rallying centre.

"This intrusion of the Arab element in the Deccan is something the like of which is not found in northern India. Arabs have not ruled in India outside Sindh. We do not hear of any migration of Arabs in northern India. In the Deccan they today number nearly one lakh. The Arab contractors raised levies and proved generally good fighters. We hear of the tough fight they put up in the Anglo-Maratha wars. In Hyderabad they found further scope for their talents.

"These Arabs do not know Hindustani, let aside the local languages. They are known as Villayatis and are noted for their very quick temper and insulting behaviour. Those who settled and married locally bore children who came to be known as Moulluds. The captains of these Arabs became prominent jagirdars in Hyderabad. The Arabs proved good soldiers, but were never amenable to discipline. They actually proved such a nuisance in the Maratha wars on the side of the Nizam that the East India Company insisted on a trained contingent by the Nisam and offered to train the troops themselves. These Arabs after 1817 were no longer called upon to perform duties of a military nature, and so rapidly became as tough a problem for Hyderabad as the tribal problem is for Pakistan. Bands of Arabs would swarm about the streets of Hyderabad, armed to the teeth, making life insecure for every one. Street fights between Arabs and the Pathan soldiers of Chanchalgura became a notorious feature of the life of Hyderabad. In the thirties of the nineteenth century in nearly half dozen fights thousands of Pathans, Arabs and other Muslims were murdered. Prime Minister Sirajul-Mulk thought of dispersing them in districts. Three thousand Arabs surrounded the Diwan's Palace and forced him to rescind the order.

"Arabs lent money to Government. The distinttion between private debts and State debts was thin in those days nor was it felt improper by the Government to borrow money from the Arab and Pathan money-lenders. The result was the curious spectacle of ordinary Arab Jemadars who lent money to the Diwan and other officials of the State to the extent of lakhs of rupees. What is more, the State mortgaged many districts to its money-lenders who held these districts for years together only on interest. There are a number of such money-lenders, Arabs and others, who fattened at the expense of the State. Arabs further used to bid for districts at auctions and thus held them. Hundreds of Rohilla families also followed the same game in Hyderabad. Thus by 1853 the State held only one-fourth of its area directly. After Salar Jung came into power in 1853, Arabs were slowly and tactfully spread to some extent in districts as guards for office treasuries. There are thousands still left in Hyderabad. Salar Jung also stopped the system of letting out districts on contract. He further set aside many illegal acquisitions of land, he also examined and settled many of the State debts and recovered the districts held by money-lenders.

"The Arab contingent in Hyderabad is known as 'Nazme Jamiate Be Qaida,' the irregulars. The individual Arab guard or sepoy is known by the contractor who brought him, such as Muhummad Bin Salam, Awarda Qamqam Uddowla and so on. They are allowed to retain their arms with which they terrorise the local population. Whenever there are murders or stabbings, the principal perpetrators are Arabs. In districts Arab money-lenders are looked upon as worse than Shylocks. There are instances when an Arab guard of an office treasury, starting life on ten rupees a month, has become owner of lakhs. Then they sometimes leave off their jobs and set up independent business. Other relatives are attracted and also become good businessmen. The moral depravity of Arabs has become a bye-word in Hyderabad. It is a common sight in towns to see the debauched Arabs, swaggering in streets and terrorising the people. Nobody's honour is safe at their hands. The local Arab is a nasty fellow. More often than not he is ignorant of Arabic. He is mostly illiterate. He does money-lending in spite of the orders prohibiting Arab soldiers from doing this business. In one place an Arab has become a millionaire by money-lending. He has also made good business by securing permits and control in these days. He gets false documents written on pain of murdering villagers. He has the backing of the local officials. This is the typical Arab in the Deccan. Being mercenaries, these Arabs have made no cultural contribution to Hyderabad. Today the Arab is the most hated Mussalman in the Deccan. His liquidation will be the first charge on the statesmen of the future. The local Muslims feel this nuisance, but they have a sneaking admiration for the way the Arab and the Robilla exploit the Komti and the Baniya, and squeeza money

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out of them. The Muslim Press admires what it calls the traditional bravery of Arabs and almost grows eloquent over their swaggering, their dress, their arms, and their honesty, ignoring that the typical Arab is not in the Deccan but in Arabia, that the worst Arab has come here, that his progeny has remained brutal and illiterate and that with his rapacity, debauchery and greed he is hated by all in Hyderabad.

"Rohillas have a few jagirdarys of their own. They also came in the early 19th century. The Nawab of Tarbun is their representative. Bahadur Yar Jung's family came from the Manduji Pathans of the Khyber Valley. Rohillas and Arabs are traditional enemies of each other. In 1840 in the brutal massacre of Pathans by the Arabs many prominent families were murdered. Rohillas also came as contractors of levies and became money-lenders to the State, though not to the extent as Arabs did. The present-day Rohilla money-lender has become a menace to Hyderabad. But he is a newcomer. The Rohilla jagirdars have produced Bahadur Yar Jung as the most energetic Hyderabadi Muslim since Salar Jung I."

After a long series of futile talks between the representatives of India and Hyderabad carried on at New Delhi the centre of gravity relating to the negotiations had shifted towards the end of May, from New Delhi to Mussoorie where Sardar Patel has been convalescing. Pandit Nehru had previously met Mir Laik Ali. He apprised Sardar Patel of what transpired between him and Mir Laik Ali and discussed the line of action which the Government of India would now take up in regard to the Hyderabad problem. But nothing tangible and understandable has as yet been the outcome.

The Nizam's Terrorism

"Eh Union! Eh Union! Hushyar, Hushyar! Ham Hein Rajakai-e-Watan, Rajakai-e-Watan."

A writer in the Bombay weekly Blitz quotes these lines of a song that is heard in the Nizam's State now-a-days as the volunteers of the Majlis-i-Ittehadul-i-Muslimeen, the terrorist gang organized by Haji Qasim Razvi with the ruler's support, are being drilled for a fight with the Union of India in defence of his dynastic interests with which have got entangled the ambitions of the dominant section of Muslims in the State. In the ranks of these volunteers are to be found "all types of people-young and old, educated and illiterate, Government employees and buginessmen." Their daily parades are not only a sight in Muslimmajority areas, they make a special point in displaying their semi-military organisation in Hindumajority areas also. The Hindus being about 85 per cent of the population of the State, the purpose of this display is to strike terror into them and paralyse their power of opposition. Mir Osman Ali Khan, the Nisam of Hyderabad, is "an astute and politicism" as Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of the Landen New Statesman and Nation, describes him; but even his cleverness cannot hide the secret any more that the Majlis-i-Ittedhad-ul-i-Muslimeen could not have thriven so luxuriantly if the money of the richest man in the world had not been at its beek and call. And this organization has proved itself to be worthy of its hire. It has been able to rouse Muslim feeling in the State to a white heat of excitement, and the peace of the Deccan is in jeopardy with its repercussions beyond this State's territory.

This fact has become plain today. And as the negotiations are being prolonged from week to week, the chances of peace are getting progressively thinner. Observers, Indian and foreign, are agreed on the diagnosis of this malady in the body polity of India. We have mentioned the name of one of the latter. As a result of his tour through Hyderabad, he is convinced that the genii which Mir Osman Ali Khan has released from his pot has got beyond his control. Mr. Kingsley Martin went so far as to say that should he agree to accede to the Indian Union, the fanatics of the Mailis "would probably murder him." The rulers of the Indian Union have been trying to halt such a possibility, and to arrange for a peaceful settlement of this affair. The leadership of the Rajakars appear to regard this as a sign of weakness, and, therefore, are they emboldened to warn the Indian Union in the way they have done through the song quoted above.

There are other factors to encourage them; one of them is "Pakistan," the other is the encouragement of British imperialists. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's double morality has been notorious; he went all out for partition of India, he is opposed to partition of Palestine; he is not against plebiscite in Kashmir; he is opposed to it in the case of Hyderabad. British imperialists under the leadership of Churchill and Butler, are ever in the look-out for opportunity that can be used towards making things difficult for the Indian Union.

But the malignity will not avail. The Indian Union can wait. There are elements of strength in its armoury that can bring the Nizam and his cohorts to heel. Mr. Kingsley Martin has wondered why the Nehru Ministry has not been bringing these into use. He doubts the success of "diplomacy," and suggests as a "realist" the way out:

"... instead of discouraging pressure from the Communist-Socialist elements, Delhi should turn a blind, if not a favourable eye upon all such activities, legal and illegal."

Pakistani Tactics

Dr. Hameed, a nationalist Muslim of Bombay, had got published in the last week of last month a circular in the Bombay Press throwing light on the doings of a certain organization in West Punjab whose aim is to wrest areas from the Indian Union which have been specified as "Delhi, Ajmer, United Provinces, Bihar, Berar and the city of Bombay." But this is no news to us. For, we saw published in a Bombay daily, a news

under the date line of January 25, 1948, giving publicity to the text of a circular addressed to all "prominent Muslims all over India." We do not know whether or not Dr. Hameed refers to this circular. But whatever be the fact, it will bear reproduction as an indication of how the mind of a section of Pakistani Muslims has been working. The areas marked out for inclusion in Pakistan have not been incoherently chosen. Delhi as the seat of Muslim kings has an attraction for Mr. Jinnah's followers; Ajmer as seat of Moyenuddin Chisty's Dargah has a traditional attraction for Indian Muslims; Rohilkhand and Lucknow in the United Provinces played a part during the decadent period of Moghul rule. Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman hailed from the latter place. In Bihar there are areas where Muslims are concentrated in strength, one of which, owing to the Radcliffe "award" is next door to East Pakistan; Berar was a "dominion" of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, is therefore a Pakistani area, and Bombay-which Karachi hopes to rival-must fall a prey to Pakistani greed! The circular did not elaborate this thesis of acquisition; the "literature" annexed must have done it. Therefore, the circular has to be interpreted between the lines, and here it is:

INDO-PAKISTAN ISLAM LEAGUE Ferozpore Road. Lahore, Dated 10th January, 1948.

Janab-i-Wala,

As-Salamo-Alikum Wa Rahmat Ullah. The annexed literature is sent to you. It explains itself. A quick reply is essential in case you agree to the necessity of this organisation. When a very large number of prominent Muslims in Pakistan and Hindustan agree to its necessity, a meeting will be called in Lahore, Karachi or Delhi (whichever you prefer) which will choose the President, etc. Up till now about 1,500 Muslims have signed the membership form and more are signing every day. But there is none in authority yet and this letter is sent with the general desire of other members. A few of the prominent forms are about 200 Advocates, Barristers and highly educated Muslims, members who have signed membership are also men of note like Nawab Mohammad Sewar of Bekh State, Allama Mashraqi, and Nawab Muhammad Hussain.

You may send the adjoining receipt with your signature on the counterfoil and subscription in case you wish to enlist as a member and give choice of place where the meeting should be held within the next three or four weeks. Your other suggestions will also be welcome. An intimation to the effect that you will certainly attend the meeting will greatly help in knowing the exact position.

The stern realization that the existence of ten crores of Musalmans of India is a sure danger, that five and a half crore Musalmans in Hindustan are bound to be wiped out or converted to Hinduism under communal tyranny and that the two parts of East and West Pakistan are separated from each other by many hundred miles (which puts the Pakistan Musalmans to a terrible disadvantage) ought to bring home the necessity of immediate action on your part. May Almighty Allah be with you in the action you take at this critical operation on our part at this moment which threatens to render us a

nation of hewers of wood and drawers of water. So beware of the danger ahead: Please address the reply to this letter to: The Secretary, Office of Indo-Pakistan League, Ferozpore Road, Lahore.

Palestine

Fighting between Arabs and Jews has started, the former taking the offensive. The United Nations Organization has been making vain attempts to stop it. A "Cease Fire" order issued by it has been under the consideration by the contestants; the latest report is that the State of Israel has agreed to it on condition that the Arab States do the same. As we write we cannot say that the fighting will not develop into a regular war, and if that does unfortunately happen whether or not the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain will be able to keep their hands off it. The first two Powers disagreeing in every conceivable subject under the sun, are agreed in recognizing the new State of Israel. Britain has withheld recognition in consideration of the feelings of her Muslim subjects and allies, far and near. She is agreeable to partition of Palestine if the Arabs and Jews agree. This has been her policy since the Peel Commission recommended this solution. But as the Arabs have been refusing to abide by it, there is fighting in the Palestine made anew by Jewish enterprise and idealism. Jews have transformed what was desert into smiling settlements where the most modern of scientific technique have drawn out of the womb of the earth life-giving waters: these have utilized the Dead Sea as source of fertilization of desert lands.

In India Britain divided the country on the plea that the Congress and the Muslim League had accepted the solution. In Palestine she had been at the back of Arab intransigence. And the Pakistanis are being heard put to it to justify partition in India and oppose its application to the case of Palestine. Sir Muhammad Zafarulla on behalf of Qaid-e-Asam Jinnah's State whined out, in the course of his speech made in the Assembly of the U.N.O., that partition as "a means of divorce with continuation of marital intercourse" for the purpose of procreation was \$ "monstrosity." How his similies fit into Palestine's case, he did not care to explain. But things in Palestine have so developed that these cannot be reconciled by similies, and cold steel and gun-powder will settle the problem.

The Arab League of States, a creation of a Britisher, General Clayton, and of an Australian, Mr. Richard Casey, who was in 1942-'43 Resident British Minister of Britain in the Near and Middle East, has taken the lead in starting the fight. The most powerful of them—Saudi Arabia—is dependent for its solvency on U.S.A. dollars for oil. And perhaps therefore King Ibn Saud appears to be lukewarm with regard to this enterprise. King Farouq of Egypt and King Abdulla of Trans-Jordan represent the most forward amongst the "Jehadia." And it may happen that

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dynastic ambitions will weaken the solidarity of the Arab League. This is the position as it has developed up to now. The future is on the lap of the Lord of Hosts.

As anticipated, British ceremonial withdrawal from Palestine on May 15 has been followed by the birth of Israel and an all-out Arab attack on the new-born State. The withdrawal has relieved Britain of the ignominy of playing a double game. She has now openly joined the Arabs. The "Nation Associates" have submitted a Mcmorandum to the General Assembly of the United Nations on April 30, which covers the British record in Palestine since November 29, 1947. The Memorandum has been published by the Nation, the leading American liberal weekly. Discussions at the U. N. over Palestine are taking palce in an atmosphere of violence to which Britain is alleged to be a party. An examination of the facts contained in the Memorandum shows that the present violence results from:

- (a) British Sabotage of Partition: This British sabotage was deliberately undertaken in order to ensure British base rights in Palestine in perpetuity, as well as to safeguard British oil trade and military interests in the Middle East.
- (b) Britain's alliance with Arab League. To achieve these ends, the British have embarked on an alliance with the Arab League composed of the Governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan and Yemen. The Arab League, and not the Arab Higher Committee, controls the military and political developments among the Arabs of Palestine. Representatives of the British Government were present at the meetings of the Arab League where the revolt was planned and organised and are in continuous connection with it. Within a month after the November 29th resolution, the Arabs were encouraged to believe, partition would be substituted by a Federal State, and arms shipments continued to the Arab States despite their known use for Palestine warfare. On April 28, Foreign Minister Bevin was still refusing to halt them.

Moreover, the Memorandum claims that facts will show that:

The British have allowed 10,000 foreign invaders, to enter Palestine, offering the feeble excuse that the British armed forces, consisting at the outset of over 80,000 men, could not adequately protect the border.

Although since December 11, 1947 the British have been promising to return to Transjordan the contingents of the Arab Legion brought to Palestine for police duty, they have allowed the members of that force to remain in Palestine and to attack Jewish communities. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Arab Legion constitutes a major part of the effort to operce the Jews into accepting less than the Jewish State granted by the U. N.

At no time has the British Government, in spite of its alleged impotence, requested any help from

the U. N; in fact the British have continued to deprecate the situation, refused to identify the invaders, and have consistently denied that the Arab States as such are involved.

Through their action they have admitted into Palestine Arabs of known Nazi allegiance in command of the invading forces and have even admitted escaped Nazi prisoners of war now to be found in command of Arab detachments.

From Secret British Intelligence reports, which have been quoted extensively in the Memorandum, it is clear that the British know and have always known of every single Arab troop movement in Palestine, and that their relations with the Arabs are such that they could ask Arab leaders to request the invading forces to remain unobtrusive.

British sabotage has resulted in turning Jerusalem into an armed camp, has permitted the Arabs to seize the Old City and to hold as hostages some 2000 Jews. This great advantage has enabled the Arabs to finally occupy the old City by crushing the last remnants of the heroic Jewish resistance groups.

The British have failed to take any action to insure that Haifa should remain an open city, even though they were fully aware of the desire of local Arabs to achieve this end and that the Jews wanted to be only safe from attack.

Their prejudice against the Jews has been clearly indicated in their refusal to allow the Jews to arm for defence against Arab attack and in their blowing up of Jewish defence posts; in their turning over to the Arabs—and to certain death—members of the Haganah; in their confiscation of Haganah arms; in their treatment of Jewish defence personnel as criminals. The British have connived at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem by their failure to keep the highways open. They have refused armed escorts to the Jews.

British attitude to the Arab community is however entirely different. By British admission, the Arab Community has been armed by the British. Arab train robberies, which have been frequent, have been met with shooting over the heads of the robbers. Arab desertions from the police, for the purpose of joining the attackers, accompanied by the stealing of arms, have never been prevented, and Arab violators of the peace go unpunished.

To this record can be added the detailed facts concerning the fashion in which the British have destroyed Central authority, and under the guise of establishing greater local authority turned over in the largest part to the Arabs the various services of the Palestine government created and maintained chiefly by taxation of the Jewish community. Simultaneously assets have been dissipated and vital communications disposed of to foreign agencies. The effect of this has been to seal the Jewish Community in a limited area, cut off its access to the outside world by land and sea, and surround it by Arabs in order to create such a

state of seige as would cause the Jews to send up a white flag.

By arrangement with the Arab League, if partition is shelved through any one of several schemes to assure Arab dominance in Palestine, the British are to receive base rights in Haifa, the Negev and Galilee. But the British are not depending on Arab promises alone. They have already taken the necessary steps to assure their permanent rights in Palestine to air bases and land and sea communications. To be able to carry out this programme, Britain had required a free hand, that is why it has kept the United Nations Commission out of Palestine and refused its co-operation. The facts contained in the Memorandum come for the most part from the confidential reports of British Intelligence Service.

Britain Behind the Arab

the intention of The Memorandum explains British policy in Palestine. On December 29, 1947, exactly one month after the United Nations' decision on partition with economic union, the Lebanese envoy in London, reporting to the Foreign Minister of Lebanon on a meeting between himself and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, quoted Mr. Bevin as having made the following statement: "Now that the question has reached this stage, we are determined to withdraw from Palestine so that Arabs and Jews shall remain alone to face each other and the hard facts." On February 11, 1948 the U.S. Minister at Beirut, Mr. Lowell C. Pinkerton, informed the U.S. Department of the plans being discussed in Lebanon for substituting the partition plan with a new scheme either in the form of a Federal State or in the form of a Jewish State within a Greater Palestine. In his communication Mr. Pinkerton wrote:

"Many Lebanese feel that they have already shown an carnest of thin intention to prevent partition at all costs and that Jews now doubt their own ability to defend the territory allotted to them by the partition plan.

"Two proposals, at least, have been discussed, either of which might be acceptable to a sizeable number of the Arabs. If adopted, the first might only be prelude to the second:

"1. Revival of the cleventh hour Arab compromise suggestion at Lake Success—cantonisation of a Federal State.

"2. An autonomous Jewish State within a Greater Palestine, under King Abdullah, which would have all its own machinery of government. It has even been suggested that such a State might take all of the Jews now in displacement camps in Europe, since the question of a majority would not arise. This proposal would certainly meet wide-spread opposition in Syria, Saudi Arabia and possibly Egypt."

The Federal Plan having failed to take any concrete shape, invasion of Palestine by Abdullah was decided upon. The British had previous knowledge of the Abdullah plan to occupy Palestine. On April 12. And after the Security Council had adopted a

resolution calling for truce between the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency, and upon the neighbouring States to refrain from activity which would upset the truce, King Abdullah of Transjordan let it be known that he would send the Arab Legion into Palestine to defend the Arabs allegedly against the Jews. On January 31, the Nation had reported a plan whereby King Abdullah would be permitted to overrun Palestine in exchange for giving up his ambition to establish the Greater Syria Federation through the annexation of Syria and Lebanon.

British representatives were present in the meeting when the Arab League projected a revolt of Arabs from within in order to facilitate Arab attack from outside. The decision to launch the revolt was made at a meeting of the Council of the Arab League in Sofar, Lebanon. This meeting was attended not only by the heads of the Arab Governments constituting the League, the Mufti and Fawzi Kawkji, later of the Arab Liberation Army in Palestine, but by Brigadier P. A. Clayton, the British representative in Egypt, and a number of his associates from Cairo, and Jerusalem. It was at this meeting that the formation of a so-called volunteer force for the liberation of Palestine was decided upon, as against the use of regular troops of the Arab Governments. The decision to substitute so-called volunteer forces for the regular armies was adopted under the influence of Brigadier Clayton and his associates.

The British know every detail of the Arab invasion plan. They are fully aware of every incursion of the invaders and their exact deployment. This is indicated in the reports of British Military Intelligence in Palestine and the Middle East. A few typical excerpts from these reports, included in the Memorandum, indicate that as early as last January British Military Intelligence, and therefore the Palestine administrations, the British Colonial Office and the British Foreign Office were fully aware of the facts. On March 19, British Intelligence put out a document on the Arab Liberation Army detailing its location in every area of Palestine, its numbers and its commands. The document has been included in the Memorandum.

The British knew that German officers and Jugoslav Moslems had joined the Arab Army. On January 19, C. T. Evans, the District Commissioner for the Galilee District, wrote to the Chief Secretary of Palestine, Sir Henry Guerney, that the training of the Arab Liberation Army is by European volunteers and that in fact one of the incursions was led by a German Officer. Mr. Evans wrote, "It is reported that European volunteers are being brought to Syria and the Lebanon as instructors, and one of the parties who have crossed the frontier is stated to have been led by a German Officer." On March 13, the Fortnightly Newsletter No. 63, issued by the H. Q. British Troops in Palestine, revealed the presence in Palestine of non-Arab volunteers as

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inembers of the Arab Liberation Army, including German Officers and Yugoslav Moslems. The report 88.Y8:

An observer of the Arab scene in Palestine has given an appreciation of the non-Arab volunteers who have been working with Arabs in Palestine owing their allegiance to the Musti. Firstly, there are the Yugoslav Moslems, estimated less than a dozen in number who are attached to Abdul Qadir Al Husseini in the Jerusalem area. They have had experience in warfare and have expert knowledge of underground activities. Their number is almost certain to be increased later. Then there are three or four German officers attached to Sheikh Hassain Salameh in areas round Jaffa and Sydda. One popular rumour has it that they are survivors of the Germans who parachuted down during the last war in the Jericho region to contact Salameh, with whom they have kept in touch ever since.

The reason why the Arab Legion cannot move without British signals is not also far to seek. The first partition of Palestine took place in 1922 when the British separated Transjordan from it. In January, 1946, Great Britain, without the consent of the United Nations, announced the independence of Transjordan which, since 1922, had been governed under the Palestine mandate. On March 22, 1946, the British Government announced the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance with Transjordan, which recognised Transjordan as an independent kingdom, and the Emir Abdullah as its sovereign. In an annex to the Treaty, provision was made for British bases in Transjordan and the training of the armed forces of that country by British military personnel. On March 15, 1948, a new Treaty of Alliance was signed between Transjordan and Great Britain under which Britain undertook to continue its annual grant for the maintenance Transjordan's armed forces. Brigadier John Bagot Glubb, Commander of the Transjordan Arab Legion, retains his post under King Abdullah. The British are responsible as well for equipping the Legion, and supply, in addition to Brigadier Glubb, more than 40 British senior officers. Under the March Treaty, the British receive the right to maintain units of the R. A. F. in Transjordan. Britain finances the maintenance and development of air-fields, ports, roads and other lines of communications. The British undertake to train Transjordan forces in the United Kingdom or in any British colony. In Transjordan, joint training operations are to be maintained with the British providing training personnel. The British undertake to provide arms, ammunition, equipment, aircraft and other war materials; all Transjordan war materials to be standardised with that of the British. The British receive port rights. To carry out the military alliance a permanent Joint Defence Board has been set up.

Britain has not played fair even in regard to the protection of Jerusaless On December 11, 1947, Arthur

the House of Commons, "Up to the date of the relinquishment of the Mandate the Palestine Government remains responsible for the security of Jerusalem and its Holy places." But not even the special position of Jerusalem has deterred the British from sacrificing it. to its own plans for an Arab alliance. Under the guise of a spurious neutrality it made possible a series of events initiated by the Arabs which have splattered the sanctity of the Holy City with blood. These events have been narrated in the Memorandum. Though the Mufti's Organisation, the Arab Higher Committee, with its Head Quarters in Jerusalem was directing its whole operation, not one of its leaders had been arrested. On the contrary, the British refused permission to the Jewish population to organise their own defence. They had blown up the Jewish defence posts. They had advised the Jews to evacuate the commercial section of Jerusalem. The British authorities connived at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem. They had failed to protect the highways and refused to allow armed escorts and arming of the Jews for self-protection.

In contrast with the attitude of the British towards the Arabs and the Arab incursionists is the stringent measures undertaken to prevent the Jews from getting arms. A series of communications between the Superintendent of Police, Haifa, and the Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, have been included in the Memorandum. The communications are illuminating. This correspondence indicates that the British were attempting to prevent any possibility of the Jews receiving arms at a time when no obstacles were being placed in the way of armed Arab incursions and attacks on Jewish Palestine. The following letter is typical:

To S. P., Haifa,

Your attention is invited to the Defence (Emergency) Regulations published in Palestine Gazette 164 Supplement No. 2 providing powers for the Port Authority to control ships in the territorial waters of Palestine. The purpose of these Regulations is to deal with the possibilities of arms smuggling to Tel-Aviv Port where there are only Jewish Customs Staff. There is reason to believe that the importation of arms and explosives through Tel-Aviv Port will be attempted from U. S. and Yugoslav. ports. It will therefore be desirable that ships from these ports should be required to discharge all cargo at Haifa only. If no approach has yet been made on the subject I feel that you should see the General Manager Pal. Rly., and perhaps the Port Manager to consider what steps will be necessary to implement the new legislation.

(Sd.) Fforde. A.I.G., C.I.D

It should be remembered that Haifa is an Arab port. The British apparently have no objection to the discharge of the arms cargo at that port. When the U. K. was asked to identify Arab personnel who have invaded Palestine and to say whether the incursions Arean Secretary of State for the Opionies, told were privately organised or were supported or encouraged by Governments outside Palestine, the U. K.'s answer was an attempted exoneration of the Arabs. In fact the British were finding praise for the Arab invaders as a stabilising element.

Having been convinced that their withdrawal from Palestine was a certainty, the British took great care to effect a dissipation of Palestine's assets and to see that whatever was left did not fall in Jewish hands. On Becember 11, 1947 Arthur Creech Jones told the House of Commons, "We certainly did not wish to leave Palestine in disorder after the tremendous and costly contribution Britain has made in developing Palestine and discharging our responsibilities under the Mandate. I can assure the House that we shall wind up our affairs in Palestine in a fair and reasonable manner, and I hope with little suspicion and ill feeling about the arrangemets we make." This was a promise which had been honoured only in the breach. The refusal of Britain to permit the Palestine Commission to reach the country until May 1, two weeks before the scheduled termination of the Mandate, was predicated on the intention, as the facts substantiate, to dismember the Palestine administration so as to have little or nothing to turn over to the Palestine Commission, and to take such action as would safeguard British interests after the end of the Mandate. In April 1948, the month previous to the termination of the Mandate, virtually all departments in the Palestine Government had ceased to function. The exceptions were those like the Palestine Broadcasting Service, the Attorney General's Office, and Chief Secretariat, which served the British primarily. Typical examples of the collapsing public services were the railways and the postal department. This did not come as a sudden development. The Chief Secretary had received a number of warnings concerning such an eventuality as early as December 17, 1947 from the manager of the railways. Britain was willing to allow this breakdown on the assumption that Jewish need for supplies would force the Jews to keep roads open for them-, selves as well as the British. If the Jews failed, they could starve and for military purposes the British could make other arrangements. As early as April 1, six weeks before the termination of the Mandate, the Land Settlement Department closed down its offices. This was done after the head of the Department, a Briton, sold out lands in the State domain to private persons, mostly Arabs. Parcels of land in the Haifa Harbour Estate were sold by him. All plans and documents relating to irrigation projects in Palestine were shipped by him to the U. K. Water installations were handed over to the Arab town and village councils. Having closed his offices he secured release from his post and has now been named by the Iraqi Government as its irrigation expert. The disruption of postal services has ensued as a result of instructions to create a vacuum. The Palestine Commission has charged the British Government with deliberately inducing a deficit where a surplus existed and thus preating ensuing financial and economic difficulties.

Four specific charges in this connection are made by the Commission in its reports submitted both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. As one of the means of creating a deficit, the British paid out £300,000 recently to the Supreme Moslem Council, knowing full well that the treasury of this Organisation represents the war chest of the Mufti.

In February 1948, a Special law, to amend the Municipal Corporation Ordinance 1937, was enacted. As a result of this special legislation the three regions heavily populated by Jews have been placed under Jewish control. All the remaining regions have been left to the Arabs. The exceptions are Jerusalem, Haifa, the Valley of Ezdraelon and Eastern Galilee. Ceded to the Arabs were such important installations as the water plants at Ras-el-Ain and Safad. In addition, the Arabs have received most of the Government services including Health, Education, Social Welfare, Agriculture and Broadcasting Departments-services which are paid for by the taxes imposed on the population to which the Arabs, constituting two-thirds of the population of Palestine, contribute 26 per cent, and the Jews 74 per cent. In dividing the assets of the country the British allocated for themselves the Haifa enclave with all its services and installations.

While liquidating the mandate, the British have concentrated on safeguarding in perpetuity the British hold in Palestine in key areas, including Haifa and the Negev, in order to insure uninterrupted lines of communication by air, sea and land. Early in 1948, the Hejaz Railway linking Palestine, Transjordan and Syria was transferred by the Palestine Government to the Government of Transjordan. The explanation given was that actually the British Government was the Mandatory Power, initially for Transjordan as well as Palestine and therefore was trustee for Transjordan. On April 1, 1948, the El Kantara-Rafa Railway line was turned over to the Egyptian State Railways by the Palestine Government. The Egyptian Railways system is partially controlled by British capital. Moreover, the El Kantara-Rafa Line links with Rafa in the Southern Negev which has now been transformed into a military base by the British. By thus disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa Railway and the Hejaz Railway, the British Government has attempted to seal off Jewish Palestine from access to the outside world. In disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa Line to the Egyptian Railways, the British have assured themselves a continuous railway connection from the port of Haifa to Egypt where their soldiers are still stationed. They have also assured a railway link between their new military encampment at Rafa and their military encampment in Egypt. At the same time, by placing this railway link in the hands of . the Arabs, they have placed the railway access of the Jews to the outside world at the mercy of the Arabs. The effect of the transactions is to assure British rail connections from Haifa to Transjorden and uninterrupted military links between the military emelave in Haifa and the British military base in Transjorden

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which continues to exist under the new British Military Treaty with Transjordan. A main military base has been established by the British at Rafa at the southern border of Palestine.

Tripura State and East Bengal Hindus

Almost submerged under the avalanche of Hindus and Sikhs driven out of West Punjab, N.W. Frontier Province, Sind, Beluchistan and the State of Bhawalpur, the Central Government of the Indian Union had no time to apply their mind, their collective mind, to the problem created by the exodus of East Bengal Hindus from their ancestral homes. Their agent, the Government of West Bengal, have been generally indifferent to the various issues implicit in this vast movement of population, lacking as they did the imagination to understand their various factors. In this matter, the Ministry under Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh had been notoriously insensitive. This has generated a bitterness, wide and deep, that will in the not distant future exact its price. For, it will take time to erase the idea that but for the votes of the Hindu members from East Bengal of the Legislative Assembly of undivided Bengal, the chances of a West Bengal Province taking shape as part of the Indian Union were somewhat remote.

The East Bengal Hindu must, therefore, fend for himself. He must not depend on others to find him safety and salvation. The strength that had enabled him to live and work through the terrorism of the British regime during the last 42 years and more, the spirit of adventure that had enabled him to establish himself in dignity in every sphere of modern Iudia's life cannot be a lost virtue to him. He may not rest on his oars like many others in India. Fate has decreed that he has to take up the burden and the song of a strenuous life in tune with his past, to create and build anew avenues of usefulness for himself and for the country whose storied life he has inherited. This nobody can take away from him. For, during the last hundred years he has helped to build up the traditions of better life by which the Indian of today swears by and takes pride in. This is the inspiration that will uphold him in the immediate future as it did in the past. And it may be that in the inscrutable dispensation of providence the dangers and difficulties that encompass him today will open a new path before him for selffulfilment, for the assertion of his right to live in dignity and assurance. The clouds of today will float away in the sunshine of his faith in himself and in the destiny of his people. In this faith he has to labour and work.

And we are glad to come upon this spirit infusing the Memorandum submitted to Shri Kshitish Chandra Neogy, Minister in Charge of Relief and Rehabilitation at the Centre, on behalf of the Tripura State Congress Relief and Rehabilitation Committee. The royal family of Tripura has during the last hundred years been in close touch with reform movements in Bengal. The letters of Rabindranath Tagore published in the Prabasitand Visva-Bharati monthly to members of this family have borne testimony to their sensitiveness to influences emanating from Bengal. Ten years ago when Muslim hooliganism devastated the Raipura area in the Narayangani Subdivision of Dacca, during the period of Janab Fazlul Hug's Ministry, when the present Premier of East Bengal was in charge of Law and Order in the Province, the then Raja of Tripura had nobly responded to the cry of the distress of the Hindus affected by the depredations, affording them asylum and shelter in his State. This kingly act has built up a tradition which the present Maharani, the Regent of the State on behalf of the minor king, should be following with prescience of the possibilities of the future. It is in this assurance that the Memorandum was drawn up giving details of the planning of the State's resources so that a million and half of East Bengal Hindus may build up a more assured life for themselves and a better life for the State.

Already there are a lakh and twenty thousand of them in the State, some of whom had been there since October, 1946, when fanaticism and greed, whipped up by the Muslim League had disrupted Hindu life in Noakhali and Tipperah. From that time, the more farsighted amongst them had decided to start a new life in the State. And the Memorandum is a blue-print of what is possible and desirable under the circumstances. Of the State's 4116 square miles only about 16 per cent, about 635.7 square miles, are under "settlement," the "reserved forests" cover 1160-3 square miles, producing timber, bamboo and thatching grass; under ten are about 18 square miles. Thus only about 43 per cent of the total area of the State is "productive and revenueyielding." Not even the whole area under "settlement" is under cultivation. It has been found that the soil of Tripura is very fertile, the 16 per cent of assessed land yielding an annual paddy crop of 65,00,000 maunds, about three times the food requirements of the State whose population of 6,35,77 occupy only about 125 per square mile. The net area sown at present is only about 15 per cent of the total area; it can be immediately raised to another 25 per cent. And if this 40 per cent are connected by good roads with other areas in the State, prosperity unimagined today can be reached, and the pioneers who work this transformation will be justifying their capacity for organization and their citizenship of the State. The Memorandum indicated the other possibilities of industrial development; the "Tipperah cotton is good enough" for ordinary cloth, and cotton mills and khadi production point to a new source of income to the people, both indigenous and those who have been flocking into the State; fish culture can be organized on a larger scale in Rudhyala. Ompichhera, Baluchhera, and the adjoining marshy lands of the valleys of the Goomti, Khowai, Manoo. Dholai and Deo rivers; sugar and oil production can be extended, and the State, rich in kaolin, can be the centre of a pottery industry. The Adibasis given to

"Jhum" cultivation have to be organized into habits of plough cultivation; their custom of "collective farming" can be transformed into co-operative agriculture, raising their standard of life and adding to the revenues of the State.

These are the possibilities indicated in the Memorandum. The State of Tripura lies cut off from the Indian Union by East Bengal. It represents a problem in defence of the integrity of the Union. The Central Government can transform it into a bastion of its eastern marches, into a rampart standing guard over regions that have remained unknown to us. The East Bengal Hindu can help in this transformation. He is prepared to share in shouldering this responsibility. He fought the challenge of British imperialism. Today a new prospect of a bitterer fight is ahead of him. He cannot avoid meeting it half-way; the traditions of the immediate past built on courage and enterprise will enable him to create a new Bengal in the Indian Union's eastern frontier. This is the hope that sustains those who have played their part and look to the younger generation to fulfil the rich promise of the past.

Territorial Force in West Bengal

We have seen reports about the West Bengal Government taking in hand the raising and training of "several units of Junior and Senior Division Cadets under the National Cadet Corps Scheme" of the Indian Union. We have heard of the training at Kanchrapara of village defenders of the eastern frontier of West Bengal. We are sure that much of value is being attempted to be done by these arrangements. But we witness a lack of enthusiasm in the general public who have not been roused to the necessity of making a supreme effort to get over the handicap created by British policy in keeping Bengal as a "non-martial" area in India's scheme of defence. A Government and a Ministry in Bengal fully conscious of their special responsibility in the matter would have been more enthusiastic in making leeway in this matter. And it was with some concern that we noticed the indifference of Shri Rajagopalachari and of the Ghose Ministry to this matter. The present Ministry under Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy have been more active; but none amougst its members has the tradition in public life that would inspire him to throw himself heart and soul to the task of "militarizing" his own people. The organizers of "revolutionary patriotism," of "terrorism" if you must have it so, who could have done wonders in this line of activity are hardly to be found in the picture; their lack of aptitude in "power politics" appears to be standing in the way of their playing a significant part in shaping a new manhood in their province. Regrettable as this development is, we think, there is yet time to make up for the neglect of the last nine months. We are emboldened to entertain this hope by the news sent out of Calcutta to the Press outside on May 24 last that:

West Bengal will have her own infantry, armoured car regiment, heavy anti-aircraft, and field artillery regiment as also other technical port territorial units. In addition, the railways, port authorities and the Posts and Telegraphs Department will have their own technical units.

This was decided at a conference held today

at the West Bengal Secretariat in pursuance of the Government of India's decision to reorganise Indian Territorial Forces.

The conference was attended by the Premier, the Home Minister, the Sub-Area Commander and

prominent military officers.

The training of these civilian units, which will begin next winter, will extend from two to three months. Subsequently they will have to undergo one month's refresher training every year.—A.P.I. This cryptic announcement leaves the impression in the mind that the "new departure" is moving only

in the official groove. It is a pity that popular

enthusiasm is not being harnessed to it.

New Regime in South Africa

The defeat of Field-Marshal Jan Smuts in the election, with the result of Dr. Malan stepping into his shoes as Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, throws the Indians resident there from the frying pan into the fire. We have our doubts whether the elder statesman of the British Empire was kindlier than his successor-to-be. The former was bound by the words in the Charter of the Transvaal Church that "in Church and State there cannot be any equality between white and non-white." Since those words were written about 75 years ago, white-humanity has fought two World Wars in the name of democracy and equality, in the name of the brotherhood of man. But its heart has been denying what the lips uttered. The latest exhibition of such colour conceit comes from the Land of the Free, the United States of America. From Columbia (South Carolina) a news item, dated May 12, flashed it for all the world to take heed of and profit by. Delegates of six Southern States to the General Council of the Methodist Church adopted the following resolution, comment on which is needless:

We are ever mindful of our obligations to all races of people, and in particular to the Negro race for its spiritual betterment and for our leadership of these people towards Christ within their own race

The Almighty God saw fit, in His infinite wisdom, to segregate the races in the beginning, and we earnestly believe that the Will of God will be best served by continuation of the total segragation of the black and white races.

Indonesian Imbroglio

During 1947 Indonesia was prominent in the world's news, her fight against Dutch imperialism drawing to her Asia's sympathy. But since the United Nations Organization's "Good Offices Committee" came to the islands, being sent thereto to mediate between the Republic Government of Indonesia and the Dutch Government and to arrange for a "cease fire" order between these two, there has ensured a stalemate which the "Good Offices Committee" has act been

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able to remove. The negotiations initiated by this body appears to have reached an impasse due to the peculiar ideas of the Dutch. The Mardeka, organ of the Indonesian Information Service, New Delhi, published in its May 5 issue the differences that preclude an agreement. The Dutch are reported to have demanded that "the plebiscite should be held not only in the Dutch-occupied Republican territory but also in the territory entirely controlled by the Republic"; the reason for this demand appears to be that "the Dutch Government have recognized de facto only the Republic Government, not its territory." This paradox still holds the ground. The 15th May issue of the paper says that U.S.A. member. Mr. Coert Dubois, is said to be supporting the Dutch stand-point; his proposal considers "the Republican Government as a political organ only without any definite territory." This move in effect would "split up Java, Madura and Sumatra into seven or eight States", it would effect the "abolition of the Republic of Indonesia." We know that the Dutch empire is a satellite to British and U. S. A. Big Business. The former is weak today, and the latter has stepped into its shoes. We have been hearing of late of the "leadership" of the United States in the modern world, of the 20th century being American in a special sense. If the Indonesian negotiations be a sample of this "leadership," then God help the modern world! Japan's Future

Though an Indian citizen has had the privilege of captaining the Commission that supervixed the elections in the U.S.A. Zone of Korea, we cannot say that we in India are fully cognisant of the many developments in the Far East that sooner or later will touch our country and influence its policies. In this matter, Japan lying so low and silent today, may be expected to make herself felt as soon as the American occupying forces are being progressively removed from her shores. At present General Mac-Arthur appears to be having his own way; administrative circles of his own homeland trying to oversce his activities and their consequences by sending special missions to Japan. One such, a joint Governmental and Industrial Mission, headed by Army Under-Secretary William Draper (Junior), formed certain appreciations of the situation which have been summarised for the world as below :

1. Japan has been completely de-militarized and has made great progress toward representative government. It is not handicapped by separate occupation somes as are Germany and Korse.

occupation zones, as are Germany and Korea,....

2. Although food and coal production has been rising, industrial output is only 40 per cent of that 15 years ago. Uncertainty over which plants will be taken as war reparations has retarded reconstruction. Only excess plants should be removed and the Advisory Group found this excess "not great."

3. Japanese exports have grown to 200 million dollars last year, but must increase six or seven times to sustain tolerable living standards and lealance imports.

4. The United States, in its own interest, should assist in Japan's industrial recovery. Japan's industrial products are needed throughout the Far East, which also needs Japan as a market for potential surpluses of raw materials. Japanese imports should be shifted gradually from dollar traders to sterling traders and the Far Eastern areas.

5. Reduction of the Japanese merchant fleet to 20 per cent of the pre-war tonnage is a serious

factor in the foreign trade deficit......

6. Drastic domestic economic and fiscal reforms involving great sacrifices will be required of the Japanese themselves. But the U. S. Government in the national interest should support a reasonable recovery program for Japan.

From this summary it appears that the Japanese are having a better deal than their "Axis" partners in Europe, the Germans. It remains yet to see how they react to this considerate treatment.

Germany's Recovery

The war-time camaraderic of the victorious powers lies shattered today. And this is one of the reasons why defeated Germany cannot recover from her fall. The Big Four-the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France-have each a plan of their own by which Germany can be pulled out of economic doldrums. All of them agree that she should consent to remain weak; all of them expect her to pay reparations. But as they cannot agree with regard to the means to this end, there is the loud controversy. The Worldover Press of U.S.A. has brought out an instance how even the "democratic" powers who are supposed to be acting in concert against the Soviet Union have been playing havor with German economy. The Soviet Union has been following her own plan behind the "iron curtain." But the Western powers have been pulling in different ways. The Rhine is the most important river in Western Europe serving Holland, Belgium, Germany, France and Switzerland; it is the principal means of transport of the coal of Rurh out into the world outside. But Allied jealousy or short-sightedness have been "blocking the rational use" of the river. Belgian and Dutch ports have been cut off from their natural hinter-land. Traffic goes by rail through Bremen for the U.S.A. sone; for the British zone through Emden and Hamburg. German Rhine shipping is denied access to Belgian and Dutch territory; as a result, the occupying authorities, belonging to these two countries, have to use non-German chipping and pay all expenses in foreign currency. This sample of administration high-lights the contradictory policies of the Western powers. And it is no wonder that they should be fighting with so little success against the single-pointed Soviet strategy. The Marshal Plan, heralded with so much hope will, we hope, be able to put at end to these confused methods of the Western Powers, and enable the German people to know where they stand. At present they appear to be waiting on events, watching with intent attention the wranglings of her victors, and thinking of exploiting their differences. For, in the ultimate result, the German people, eight crores strong with traditions of discipline and scientific equipment, will decide whether "democracy" or "communism" will win the day in Europe.

Qaid-e-Azam as a Historian

The Indian public did not know that the Muslim League's Qaid-e-Azam was a researcher into history. But we live to learn; the Pakistani leader appears to have undergone a sea-change by his elevation to the headship of a new State cut out of India; he has developed unsuspected qualities as a historian. This new quality in him was displayed on the occasion of the visit of a Iranian Press Delegation to Karachi. To the admiring members of this Delegation, the Qaid-e-Azam is reported to have thus unburdened himself, according to the editor of the influential Persian paper—Kaihan.

A new State of 6,00,000,000 has come into being in India. This nation of Persian race and religion, was plucked from the motherland from the foreigners' hand. It is time for us to come together.

The historians of the Aligarh and the Osmania Universities should be able to throw light on this conundrum. They are bound in loyalty to extricate their Qaid-c-Azam from this depth of ignorance. The dictum has been issued from Karachi, and it is up to Pakistani historians to sustain with arguments. Prof. Habib of Aligarh is no good in this research business; he has shown himself to be more a Kufr than a Muslim. About Iran and Pakistan coming together, a difficulty may be created by Afghanistan which does not happen to claim descent from "Persian race."

"State of the Union" Message

On the 7th of January every year, the President of the United States delivers a message to the Congressthe Senate and the House of Representatives-putting before them a picture of the "State of the Union" as it is affected by world developments and as it affects world developments. This year at the session of the 80th Congress of the U.S.A., Mr. Truman told his people: "We can go forward with confidence that we are following sound policies", he indicated the "goals" that his people have been striving to reach-"one of which is world peace based upon the principles of freedom and justice, and the equality of all nations." About domestic anxieties he indicated "inflation", the rising prices of all commodities, as the "major problem." The "goal" of securing to her citizens "essential human rights" has yet to be reached. In view of the present world developments his statement carries a special significance and as such we quote from it. He referred to Negro disabilities, the disabilities suffered by about one-seventh of the 14 crores population of the country, when he said:

Today, however, some of our citizens are still denied equal opportunity for education, for jobs and economic advancement, and for the expression of their views at the polis. Most serious of all, some are denied equal protection under our laws. Whether discrimination is based on race, or creed, or color, or land of origin, it

is utterly contrary to American ideals of democracy. The next "goal" is to "protect and develop" U.S.A.'s "human resources," by affording them "equal" opportunities for development of their fullest personalities, by protecting them from "economic insecurity." During the last fifteen years "we have erected a sound framework of social security legislation", many millions "are now protected against the loss of income which can come from unemployment, old age or the death of the wage-earners." There are "gaps and inconsistencies" in it, it is "only half-finished," the State has thus a duty to do.

"Extend unemployment compensation, old-age benefits and survivors' benefits" to many more millions.

The conservation and proper use of "the bounty of our fields, the wealth of our mines and forests, and the energy of our waters" is the third "goal" of the U.S.A. people and Administration. More comprehensive knowledge of mineral resources, development of new supplies and collection of stock-piles of scarce materials is one part of the duty, combating erosion, building up soil fertility, and reclamation of arid lands is another, the third is the erection of multiple-purpose dams on great rivers in order "to reclaim lands, prevent floods, to extend inland waterways and provide hydro-electric power. This public power must not be most policed for private gain." All these measures will lead to the fourth "goal"—lifting the standard of living for all the people by "sharing more broadly among our people the goods we produce."

The President in his message took pride in what his people had been able to achieve during the past ten year-pointing "the way for the next ten."

Today 14 million more people have jobs than in 1938.

Our yearly output of goods and services has increased by two-thirds.

The average income of our people, measured in dollars of equal purchasing power, has increased—after taxes—by more than 50 per cent.

In no other ten years have farmers, businessmen and wage-carners made such great gains.

To maintain and improve upon the "amazing" progress already made would require that "agriculture, industry and labour must move forward together."

The fifth "goal" is to achieve "world peace" in which the United States, has been called by destiny to give a lead. The National Security Act passed by the Congress at its lest session maintains the country's strength. In order to stabilise it, secure "a balanced national security programme", the Administration has proposed "universal training." But, the United States cannot stand by itself It is, therefore, "engaged today, in many international activities directed toward the creation of lasting peaceful relations between nations." The "substantial aid" given to Greece and Turkey in preserving their "integrity under foreign pressure" is having had "a powerful effect upon other nations in the Middle East and Europe." The 6.8 billion dollars aid to the "European Recovery Plan" to be continued for 15 months is motivated by the same

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

By KAMALESH DAS GUPTA

Ir was reported that when India was competing for a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations, some countries refused to vote in her favour apprehending that the inclusion of India will mean one more vote in favour of the Anglo-American Bloc in the Council. Again, in high Anglo-American official quarters there is an impression that Pandit Nehru belongs to the group of the Reds, and this certainly does not earn for him any favour in their eyes.

These two sides of the picture are enough to show the general confusion in the international field regarding India's role in foreign affairs. There are doubts and misgivings within our own country also. Some have been eloquent over India's status as the Cultural Ambassador of the spiritual East to the material Western world; some have upheld the lofty ideal of peace and freedom in the war-torn world, and climination of imperialism as the goal of India. But these beautifully-coined phrases only make the confusion worse-confounded.

TWO CAMPS

The Western world today is divided into two clear camps: on the one side there is the United States of America trying to increase her sphere of influence and check the growth of Communist influence, and on the other side there is Soviet Russia attempting to strengthen her satellites in Eastern Europe and other areas; and a battle of nerves between these two rival blocs is already afoot. Britain, in her domestic economy trying to make a practical adjustment of private enterprise and state control of key industries, is closely allied with America in matters of world policy.

Now some leaders of our country have suggested that India should join the Anglo-American bloc in international power alignments. The core of the present world politics, they say, is the conflict between the U.S.A., and Russia-between Democracy and Dictatorship. . . . There is no doubt about it. But, they continue, ideologically U. S. A. stands for freedom, Soviet Russia for complete regimentation. And of any policy India formulates, the necessary elements are strength and international alignment. Strength implies military power sufficient for her defence, i.e., the modernisation of her armed forces required which involves almost double the expenditure which we incur under this head at present. More military expenditure means greater industrialisation which is impossible without U. S. or U. K. help, they conclude the state of the first

But admitting the necessity of help from U. K. and U. S. A. in building India's industrial structure, one fails to see why that will necessitate India to become their satellite in the international political set-up. We can secure the help of foreign capital and technicians on equal terms without allowing them to have any say in the matter of our economic structure.

BRITISH STRATEGY

On the other hand, in view of the developing tension among the Big Powers, attempts are being made by U. K. authorities to tie the Dominions to the British Defence Policy within the Commonwealth of Nations. As India is still a Dominion, it has been pointed out in some quarters that though the sovereign rights of the Dominions are given a legal shape by the negative clauses of the Statute of Westminster, they derive their substance from the practical co-operation of all members of the Commonwealth, under England's leadership, for mutual defence. The Round Table writes in a recent issue:

"The constitutional right of each Dominion to have its own foreign policy, only reflects the evident fact that each has its different interest in European affairs and in world affairs to maintain. On the other hand, their power to act . . . is bound up with their participation in the Defence system of the whole Commonwealth. In the event of a third war, it is not strategically conceivable that the Dominions will play any part except as the associates of United Kingdom. The Commonwealth may be a plurality in peace; if it is not a strategic unity in the war it perishes and each of its components perishes individually But defence policy cannot be dissociated from the foreign policy it supports."

The recent news of a probable pentagonal military alliance between India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Britain is significant in this context. Moreover, the recent recruitment of Gurkha troops for British Army is another disconcerting fact because this is tantamount to the establishment of British extra-territoriality which must necessarily detract from our sovereignty to that extent.

It is evident that some of us support this view of the status of Dominions. It was also discussed in certain quarters that the objective resolution accepted by the Indian Consembly declaring India as a Sovereign Republic did not, from the legal point of view, clash with her status as a British Dominion. These discussions reveal a particular trend of thought among certain sections who are willing to see India's destiny still tied down to British interests, and in the case of a third world war, would like India to take the side of Uncle Sam to crush Soviet Russia and to ensure peace and democracy.

India's Stand

Now let us examine the situation. India must always take the step best suited to her own interests. It has been rightly pointed out by Pandit Nehru during the Foreign Affairs debate in Dominion Parliament, that the principle followed by all nations, no matter whether their politics have got a Red, Pink or true Blue tint, is one of pure self-interest. In case of any war. India also will not hesitate to take sides as her self-interest dictates. And in the immediate future. India would do well to keep an independent, neutral policy, as emphasised by Pandit Nehru, for her own sake. To take an example, the French or Italian Cabinet (backed by U. S. dollars) may be suppressing the Communist elements in their respective countries, for the safety and security of the state or for anything else, but it is not the interest of India either to lend her support for the French and Italian policy, or side with the Communists who may be trying to capture the State authority by fomenting labour trouble. That's simply not our concern.

Reading news and despatches of interested powers continuously, we are easily prone to accept their analysis of any particular question as our own. India in her present status must devote all her energy to make herself strong and resourceful which alone can ensure her an honourable place in the comity of nations, and an all-round effort must be made to increase the military strength which under modern conditions depend on the economic development.

Formal independence is not enough for creating sanctions for a truly independent policy, and in view of the increasing rivalry among the Big Powers, it is all the more difficult to maintain such a stand in international power alignments, without strong internal resources. So the first thing, that is required, is to make India strong industrially which alone would enable her to maintain her independent policy in external affairs.

MAINTENANCE OF NEUTRALITY

Hence the question is not so much the desirability of such an independent policy as the possibility of creating suitable conditions for maintaining such a policy against continued pressure or wooing from the Big Powers. Here, the policy announced by Foreign Minister Pandit Nehru does not help much to remove

the misgivings in the public mind. "We shall be friends with Britain," he said, "we intend co-operating with the United States and we intend co-operating fully with Soviet Union . . . India is not going to join a war if she could help it but if the choice came she was going to join the side which was to her interests." The Round Table, as quoted above, has shown that there is no choice before the Dominions, as regards Defence Policy, which must be wedded to the policy of the Commonwealth. Mr. De Valera of Ireland successfully resisted this view throughout the last Great War. The Defence Policy of a country cannot be dissociated from its foreign policy and the foreign policy on the other hand moulds and reacts on home policy. Without freedom in respect of Defence and Foreign Policy which is but an extension of a country's domestic policy, the sovereignty of Dominions is a misnomer. The recent news that Pakistan is offering the Indian Dominion terms of a military alliance under Field Marshall Montgomery is also significant in this context and it is also learnt that Lord Mountbatten is striving his best to persuade the Government of India to consider this proposal. The British air and naval bases in and around the Indian Ocean make the situation worse. Much will also depend on our future relations with the countries of the Middle East and with Pakistan, which is attempting religious regionalism in the Middle East. But ethnic, geographic and nationalistic sentiments are, I think, too strong now in this region to permit of a purely religious regionalism.

A 'MONROE DOCTRINE' FOR INDIA

There is a certain section, no doubt, in our country which is eager to see our policy tied to the policy of the Commonwealth, in which case India's Dominion Status, miscalled 'Independence,' becomes a smokescreen. We must guard ourselves against any such antinational policy. Between the two groups of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., there is nothing to choose; while the former wields the big stick of Dollar and Atom Bomb, the latter flourishes the spectacle of an absolute totalitarian regime. One crushes you with finance, the other with aggressive dictatorship. India, with closer diplomatic alliance with the South-East Asian countries, must enunciate a Montoe Doctrine of her own for the coming ten years, and during this period rapid industrialisation of the country must be made which is vital for our defence, maintenance of independence and enforcement of neutrality in world politics. India must not be made to bleed for the cause of others.



COMMON MAN IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND GANDHIAN REORIENTATION

By Prof. BHAKAT PRASAD MAJUMDAR.

No political doctrine is final and true for all the ages. A new political philosophy is necessary for a new social order. The perspective of social thought presented by Machiavelli, Bentham and Hegel was appropriate to the age in which they respectively lived. The theory of sovereignty, which dates from the sixteenth century, was novel for that age and fitted for nearly three centuries. But the moorings of sovereignty of nations were strained with the recognition of economic interdependence of states, the unity of the working classes, territorial limits, racial or national minorities, public health, international migration, aviation and prevention of war. In this century the struggle is not so much between one state and another, as between Unitary states and Federal states, federalism and internationalism. We will have to wait for the solution, In the modern world Mahatma Gandhi favours decentralisation along with internationalism. Like others he advocates internationalism. But, unlike others, he thinks of the withering away of the state for the sake of humanity.

"My love, therefore, of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die, so that the human races may live. There is no room for race hatred there. Let that be our nationalism."—(Gandhiji in *Indian Villages*, 1921, p. 170).

The existence of a State for humanity's cause has never been thought of by any political philosopher, not even by Plato who also could trace 'inward light' guiding the actions of individuals.

Unlike other philosophers, Gandhiji seems to have not explicitly stated his view of the philosophy of history. But we can glean it from his writings and speeches. In an age when a World State is not merely an idea, he believes that the evolution of human history follows the dictations of God. No other political philosopher probably has relied more on God's hand in fashioning the process of history. He made a public confession of the mistakes committed by the mob at Chauri Chaura and Bombay. He saw in those atrocities a 'Himalayan miscalculation's But that turn of event was a warning from God.

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me for the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which, and which alone, can justify mass disobedience, which can be at all described as 'civil'. God spoke clearly through Chaura."—(Young India, Feb. 16, 1922).

God re-incarnated Himself in the Gospel of Swadeshi.

It is God, Mahatma Gandhi believes firmly, who has provided, in all eternity, for the happiness of the World. This God has placed each human being in the environment best suited for

the fulfilment of his task. We must accept what God has given us."—Kalelkar, D. B., Gospel of Swadeshi, Madras, 1922).

But God is leading us to one particular object. That object is the realisation of human unity by all living organism in the world. "Human history is really a store of unfoldment in terms of spirituality." Man, in each successive stage of progress, works better for humanity. He gradually disowns his own immediate circle of parents and relatives, tribe, citystate, national state, state whose population belongs to the so-called one race. Karl Marx was born with more love and sympathy and more with a vision of human unity than his predecessors. William James unceasingly emphasised with a greater stress the spirit of human brotherhood. He wanted to train the human character in such a way that each would work for others' welfare, and thence, like Rousseau's general will, welfare of mankind would become the guiding principle for each of us. Romain Rolland had to court imprisonment for his incessant preaching of the principle of 'love thy neighbour', of universal co-operation and struggling to lead mankind to a land where love reigns supreme and all work for humanity.

In the performance of this Herculean task of establishing universal brotherhood, Gandhiji believes that the common man will co-operate. The Gandhian man is not the wicked and selfish man of the days of Aristotle and Machiavelli. He is not the Hebbesian man searching for security and self-preservation. "I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth enly in death" (Leviathan, Ch. II). He is almost similar to the man observed by Locke, in whom God implanted a spark of the divine nature by which he was able to discover the law of nature, and the principles of right conduct and establish a State. It is about this type of man that Tagore wrote on April 10th, 1921:

"We are grateful to Gandhi for giving India a chance to prove that her faith in the divine spirit of man is still living."

Man will rely on each other if not at once, but gradually. He will try to convince others in the love of fellow-citizens.

"The man who has faith in him and the strength which follows from faith, does not care if he is looked down upon by others. He is therefore courteous to all, and thus cultivates and enlists world opinion in favour of his own cause."—
(History of Salyagraha in South Africa, p. 442).

"Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the Satyagrahi is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed."—(Ibid, p. 246).

The reference to Satyagrahi, one might argue, is

almost similar to Plato's Guardian Class. But a Satyagrahi remains so when he follows the code, and he retires when his duty is over.

Such men are guided in their actions by will and not habit, as the Socialists believe. Man will develop their will which would reduce exploitation of one by another, would achieve independence, and keep the flame of human love burning.

"While admitting that man actually lives by habit, I hold that it is better for him to live by the exercise of will. I also believe that men are capable of developing their will to an extent that will reduce exploitation to a minimum".—(The Modern Review, Oct. 1935).

So, the will of a good-door would never submit to the will of the evil-doer.

The indomitable will of one good-doer is so strong that "working under this law of our being it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration."

Gandhiji's doctrine of will is like Kant's good will which is the source of moral action, and not opposed to reason. The aim of that will is to make life happy and dignified for all people and it is sovereign in the sense of Green's general will. But Gandhiji seems to have prescribed will not so much for the community within a nationality, as for the world-wide community and never believes as Green does, that, fear is rather an exception than the rule among the motives that lead men to behave sociably. "A Satyagraha bids good-bye to fear."—(History of Satyagraha, South Africa, p. 246).

It is the faith in human nature that hopes for the education of the masses, introduction of dignity and division of labour. When the fervour of Non-Cooperation Movement declined, Gandhiji said in 1925:

"Individuals must cultivate the spirit of service, renunciation, truth, non-violence, self-restraint, patience etc. They must engage in constructive work in order to develop those qualities".— (Young India, 8. 1. 25).

But the masses would have to be educated for the fulfilment of these qualities.

Just as Plato thought it essential to reorganise education and educational system for the Platonic State, so Gandhiji feels that the maladies of this age would be cured by a proper system of education. With Plato education culminated in the Idea of the Good, which must permeate the structure of the State. In the case of Gandhi:

"As an effect of giving an industrial education to the genteel folks and a literary education to the industrial classes, the unequal distribution of wealth and social discontent will be considerably checked."

As in Plato so in Gandhiji's proposals one should be educated from his very childhood. A student can enter the Ashrama at the age of four. He will have to remain there for about ten years in order to complete the whole course of study. The courses of study include tompulsory learning of Hindi, Urdu, English languages, and the mother tongue and lessons in history, geography, mathematics, economics and Sanskrit. Study of these languages and knowledge of the above-mentioned subjects would develop the brain. But in order to inculcate spiritual training and training of the body, which European education neglects absolutely, they are to be taught agriculture, spinning and weaving. He believes that

"To develop the spirit is to build character and to enable one to work towards a knowledge of God and self-realization. And I held that this was an essential part of the training of the young, and that all training without culture of the spirit was of no use, and might be even harmful."—

(My Experiments with Truth, p. 270).

But the exercise of the spirit entirely depends on the life and character of the teacher.

The teacher is as much responsible for the shaping of the destiny of man as it was in Plato's educational proposals. The Platonic teacher regulated the reaction of the soul on spiritual and physical life by adjusting the environment and turned the 'inward eye' of the student towards light. Unlike Plato, Gandhiji prescribes the following vows for the teacher: (a) truth, (b) ahimsa, (c) celibacy, (d) control of the palate, (e) non-stealing, (f) non-possession, (g) fearlessness, and (h) use of Swadeshi articles. The teacher is the keystone of the new educational arch. Though "the pilgrimage to Swaraj is a painful climb," yet through the teacher's effort and that type of education, Swaraj would be attained. Of course, it would take time to educate the masses. So it would, but this type of education would conquer the soul and territory, which the Western education or any other political philosophy divorced from spiritual education, would not be able to perform.

"It will not spring like the magician's mango. It will grow almost unperceived like the banyan tree. A bloody revolution will never perform the trick. Haste here is most certainly waste."—(Young India, 21.5.25).

Swaraj can be attained not through warfare but by following those proposals on education. Gandhiji has clarified the concept of political independence:

"By Swaraj I mean the Government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population, male and female, native born or domiciled, who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State and also have taken the trouble of having their names registered as voters. I hope to demonstrate that real Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."—(Young India, 29. 1, 25).

The masses would be working not for profit, but for the benefit of humanity, love taking the place of greed as the motive.' (Young India, 13:11.24). Being inspired by humanitarian motives, none will exploit the other. As there is not the sense of exploitation, every one would be labouring according to his capacity, and thus, the necessaries of life will remain in the control of the masses.

Though Gandhiji believes in the equality of all men and in their latent divine spirit, yet he has explicitly stated that all men do not have the same capacity. Those who are more intelligent will earn more. But when the accumulation of wealth from earning goes beyond the limit, he orders confiscation.

"I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talent. But the bulk of his greater earnings must be used for the good of the State, just as the income of all earning sons of the father goes to the common family fund."— (Young India, 26.11.31).

He also goes deeper into the problem of capitalism, i.e., accumulation of greater wealth in a few hands. But is he not right in saying that this accumulation is possible because, "no person can amass wealth without the co-operation, willing or forced, of the people concerned?"—(Ibid). So non-co-operation is another method of check on the growth of capitalism which can be followed by the masses, other than that of the coercive authority followed by the State.

But though all men are not equally capable yet everyone should serve the cause of humanity in the best possible way by exercising the talents endowed by nature. The realisation of this ideal would not only offer each an equality of opportunity but also consequently would bring equitable distribution of income. Everyone can adhere to each vocation by the acceptance of the Varna-dharma. It is not the Varna-dharma of the tenth or eleventh century India, but the ancient classification of society, which bears some resemblance to the Platonic classification of the subjects of a State. Gandhiji's 'caste system' is based therefore on "abnegation and not on privileges." But none of the classes is free from bodily labour, not even the Brahmins, the intellectual and spiritual class. Like Tolstoy and Ruskin he believes that no man should live upon the manual labour of others.

"May not men earn their bread by intellectual labour? No. The needs of the body must be supplied by the body. Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's perhaps applies here well."

"If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leasure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease, and no such misery as we see around."

we see around. . . ."

"Obedience to the law of bread-labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society. Man's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by the struggle for mutual service."

"This may be an unattainable ideal. But we need not, therefore, cease to strive for it. Even if without fulfilling the whole law of sacrifice, that is, the law of our being, we performed physical labour enough for our daily bread, we should go a long way towards the ideal."—(Harijan, 29.6.35).

Thus social equality and economic equitability would be achieved. Here one finds a close resemblance with

the Marxian doctrine, and an advancement on Plato's Communism. Plato's Communism applied only to the Guardian Class. Moreover, he was not the least concerned to do away with the inequalities of wealth, nor meant to use Government to equalise wealth. Further, when modern Communism takes the help of the State to bring about the equal division of material goods at least in the transitional stage between the overthrow of capitalism and withering away of the State, Gandhian economy takes the help of the traditional system.

As Burke, a loyal Whig, based his views on the actual settlement of 1688, so Gandhiji primarily an ancient Indian Rishi believes that India must revive the sources of her ancient culture. He is able to see that it was due to the steadfast clinging to a social tradition that ancient civilisations of India and China were able to withstand the waves of depredation, ruthless exploitation and massacre. That tradition was and is of village economy, family inter-dependence and village self-government. "To use the homely metaphor, he warns us against the danger of throwing out the baby with the dirty bath-water." In this explanation for respect of tradition we find in Gandhiji an Utilitarian who was convinced that what was old was valuable by the mere fact of its arrival at maturity. Whereas Burke held that a nation was not an idea only of local extent and individual momentary aggressions and Hegel held that a nation was an idea of continuity, Gandhiji holds that tradition and consequently the life of Man and State emanates from God.

"We must accept what God has given us; we must accept tradition as coming from God and regard it as a strict duty to live up to it. To renounce tradition would be sinful."

His deep faith in tradition as well as in the common man naturally leads him to the early stages of Indian history when villages were self-supporting and when there was little of central control. He hopes that enlightened men would not need State-made laws to keep them on the right path. The richer classes would not exploit the poor in that ideal condition, because,

"Theoretically when there is perfect love there must be perfect non-possession. Those who own money now, are asked to behave like trustees holding their riches on behalf of the poor."

But Gandhiji is fully alive to the fact that trusteeship is a legal fiction.

"Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point and is equally unattainable."

If the rich do not act accordingly, Gandhiji would seek the intervention of the State. The State may even go to the extent of confiscating their property and if necessary, may control the means of production on behalf of the masses.

But Gandhiji would not seek the intervention of the State unless all other means failed, because the State is a machine without soul, and represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. "The State will, as a matter of fact, take away those things, and I believe it will be justified if it uses the minimum of violence. But the fear is always that the State may use too much violence against those who differ from it. . . . What I would personally prefer would be not a centralisation of power in the hands of the State but an extension of the sense of trusteeship, as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State."— (The Modern Review, Oct. 1935).

Following Thoreau Gandhiji prefers minimum State interference and believes "that government is best which governs the least."—(Young India, 2.7.31). He does not favour Plato's Ideal State, not the good, bad, nobler and best states of Aristotle, not Hegel's and Bradley's State with a personality, spirit and soul assigning to each citizen his field of accomplishment, nor the absolute State of Mussolini and Hitler. He clearly states that an omnicompetent or centralised State would undoubtedly destroy individuality which lies at the root of the progress of humanity. As Prof. Bose rightly observes:

"Gandhiji's conception of the State is neither completely like that of the Anarchists, nor of the Communists. It approaches the former with regard to the aim on political and economic decentralization and the latter in that the interest of the toiling millions will have dictatorial position within the State."—(Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Vol. VI, Part II, p. 172).

The toiling millions will be sending their representative for their governance in the State. They will be regulating national life. It means that political power rests with the masses, of course, not on the ground of a contract between the government and society as described by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

Man is ever ready to serve mankind beyond his immediate surroundings. Gandhiji's nationalism is not narrow nationalism.

"There is no limit to extending our service to our neighbours across State-made frontiers. God never made those frontiers."—(Young India, 31.12.31).

"We want freedom for our country but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries. I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilised for the benefit of mankind. Just as the cult of patriotism teaches us to-day that the individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, and the province for the country, even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world."—(Gandhiji in Indian Villages, p. 170).

The Gandhian man does not exalt private interest over public well-being. He does not want the rational desire for self-government and self-preservation within his own State—the factors which are responsible for so much of war and the drawing of anachronistic national frontiers. He is desirous simply of one's private success in the sphere of economic equitability, and hence believes that one would not encroach on other people's affairs. Even if he encroaches, he does so for the welfare of the masses not of the sovereign state but citizens of the World State. Such a change in the policy of the multitude would not bring about a clash between one state and another, one race crossing swords with another, but a World State. It increases the possibility of the success of the Utopian dreamers, like Posel, Penn, the Abbe Saint-Pierre and Leonard Woolf. The poison of Machiavelli has been pumped out from the blood of the enlightened Gandhian man. For intellect, as Carlyle said, is like light; from a chaos it makes a world.

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ALCOHOL AND INTELLECTUAL EFFICIENCY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-President, Constituent Assembly of India

Those who drink usually fall into three classes. We have first, people who drink regularly but limit the amount of liquor consumed to such quantities that they never show any of the well-known signs of inchriety. Among these come fairly large numbers of drinkers among the educated and well-to-do as well as the steadier among the working classes in the progressive countries of the West. In the second group may be placed what may be called the heavy drinkers who usually consume large amounts of alcohol regularly. Lastly, we have the class of men who whenever they drink, deliberately take liquor in such quantities as to become drunk. In fact they drink with the one and only purpose of getting drunk. Such people, not generally in prosperous circumstances,

cannot afford to indulge very frequently but they get drunk whenever they are able to secure money for the purpose.

An attempt will be made to show that moderation in drinking is detrimental to the intellectual efficiency of even those coming under the first group and, after that, to ascertain what effect the consumption of alcoholic beverages has on the mental faculties of the other two classes of drinkers, viz., regular heavy drinkers and incorrigible drunkards.

ALCOHOL AND IMPAIRMENT OF INTELLECTUAL EFFICIENCY

Impairment of intellectual efficiency due to the use of alcohol even in small quantities is a matter of everyday experience. It is well-known that, under such

conditions, people are incapable of making any mental effort requiring close attention, concentration of thought and execution of decisions arrived at after weighing probabilities. The correctness of this view has been established by a number of experiments of a highly technical nature which need not be described here. For the general reader, the experience of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley described below should be enough proof.

This eminent American medical man who, after completing his studies in his country, spent some years in Germany for post-graduate work, has told us that he used to drink beer with his fellow students in the students' club where he spent his leisure heurs largely because of the facilities available there for playing chess. After some time, he found that, when playing with an equally skilful opponent when ordinarily the results would be 50 to 50 over a series of games, they became 75 to 25 in favour of his antagonist if he drank only one glass of beer. It cannot be denied that the only explanation of the bad show he made when he had taken the very small amount of alcohol contained in the single glass of beer was impairment of mental efficiency.

ALCOHOL AND ARITHMETIC

The two elements which have to be considered in all mental work are first, quantity and second, speed. Experiments have shown that work of a more or less mechanical nature, such as reading aloud is quickened by small doses of alcohol but that it is rendered "less rustworthy and accurate." All observers are, however, igneed that, under the influence of liquor, the quality of mental work is undoubtedly affected even more than speed. This is proved by the following summary of an experiment conducted by a German scientist in the eighties of the last century:

"Half an hour daily for six days was utilised in adding figures without any alcohol having been taken. The ability to add increased, of course, every day. On the seventh day, the experiments were begun under the influence of alcohol, which was given for twelve days. In spite of the influence of the deftness acquired through the previous day's practice, the capability of adding did not increase; but instead it began to decrease very rapidly. On the nineteenth day the use of alcohol was stopped, and immediately an improvement manifested itself; but on the twenty-sixth day when the use of alcohol was resumed, a decided decrease in the power of adding figures again manifested itself."

Sir William Bayliss, the famous authority, had his in his mind when, in his Physiology of Food, a said:

"After even small quantities, the ability to add figures is decreased, although the subject believes that he is doing it unusually well. Moreover, the effect lasts for as long as twelve hours or more."

The correctness of the above view was further sublished by the results of a test reported on page

243 of Alcohol and Man by the well-known American medical man, Dr. Haven Emerson,

Twenty students each aged 17 years were divided into two batches, the first consisting of more and the second of less efficient people as regards the correctness of the results of sums in mental arithmetic worked out by them. Normally, the first "had an advantage in achievement of 2.5 per cent" over the second batch.

The first batch was given alcohol in doses varying from 10 to 40 grams roughly one-third to one and one-third ounces per dose, in the course of the different tests to which they were subjected to arrive at data on which to base the findings.

Without entering into details which probably will not interest most readers, it may be said that these tests established the fact that in one, two and three hours after the administration of alcohol, the formerly superior first batch did "12 per cent" less satisfactory work than "the previously inferior but abstinent" second batch.

Apart from the feet that alcohol diminishes the capacity of doing mental arithmetic, the following incident reported on the 28th March, 1940, in the Evening News of London shows how, under its influence, even the power of counting correctly is lost. Before proceeding further, it has to be added that though the driver in question was intoxicated, he was not drunk in the ordinary sense of the word.

"A policeman said at Croydon Court on March 28th, that he tested a driver under the influence of drink by giving him 15s. 1½d. in leose coins to count. "At first the driver said it came to 20s. 1½d. On trying again he made it 19s. 6d."

ALCOHOL AND MEMORY

As regards memory, the use of alcohol even in small doses was found by Kraepelin to be "distinctly hampering." This German scientist conducted a series of tests to ascertain the effect of alcohol on the capacity for remembering words and numbers to only one of which reference is made below.

A number of individuals were asked to memorise numbers which were written in columns and to repeat them again and again till they could be repeated correctly once. According to this gentleman:

"It was found that, without alcohol, 100 figures could be remembered correctly after 40 repetitions, while, under the influence of alcohol, only 60 figures could be remembered even after 60 repetitions."

Professor Vogt of the University of Christiana, Norway, made tests on himself to find out the effects of alcohol upon memory. Stripped of scientific technicalities, the results arrived at by him may be summarised as follows. He committed to memory lines of poetry on days when he had not taken liquor and on days when he had taken as much alcohol as one would get from one and a half to

three glasses of beer which, as most will admit, is a small amount. It was found that

"On days when he took alcohol, he was not able to learn as many lines as he did on the days when he had taken no alcohol. He found that he forgot the lines learned on alcohol days much sooner than he did the lines learned on the other days. One month after the experiment, he again studied the same lines which he had almost forgotten and found it took much longer to re-learn the lines memorized on the alcohol days."

These tests prove that the mind does not learn as quickly, even with small quantities of alcohol, as it does when no alcohol is taken, secondly, that it does not remember what has been learned under the influence of alcohol for as long a period as what has been learned when it is not under its influence.

One reason for the above undoubtedly is that, under the influence of alcohol, there is less ability to pay close attention. This was proved by an experiment carried out by another scientist who found that a particular group of people could pay what may be called less careful and close attention after they had been given small quantities of liquor than when they were sober. It was also proved that

"They were not able to remember so well the things they heard as they were before (alcohol was administered to them)."

ALCOHOL AND SCHOLARSHIP

From what has been said above in regard to the evil effects of alcohol on some only of our intellectual powers, it follows that it must have injurious results on the intellectual faculties of school-going people indulging in drink as also that a fair idea of the damage suffered may be gathered from the marks received by them in their examinations.

Such investigations can be carried on best in countries where wine and beer are easily available and where school-children are permitted and even encouraged by ignorant parents and guardians to indulge in them. Formerly, this was quite common in Austria and Italy with such unfortunate results that they attracted the attention of competent men who carried on extensive research work in this direction. Lack of space permits a bare-reference and nothing more to two such investigations.

E. Bayer, a school director in Vienna, made careful inquiries to find out the effect of drinking on scholarship among abstaining and drinking children. In the language of the report submitted by him as translated into English by an American prohibitionist,

"Almost half of the 134 abstaining children had 'good' marks. Only 12 of them had poor marks. With the drinking children, the more frequently they used wine or beer, the more the good marks fell off and the poor marks increased."

The next investigation was conducted at Brescia, Italy, where the records of 4,000 school-children were carefully examined to gather data bearing on the above

problem. These when consolidated yielded the results noted below:

| | Abstainers Per cent. | Occasionally drinking per cent. | Daily drinking per cent. |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Good Marks Fair | 42·66 53·49 | 30·5 41·8 | 29·8 39·7 |
| Poor | 3.85 | 27 ·0 | 3 0·3 |

There cannot be more convincing proof that, whether in the case of adults or of young people, alcohol is positively detrimental to intellectual efficiency.

ALCOHOL FOR ARTISTS, WRITERS, ETC.

There is a generally prevalent notion that because a few artists, writers, etc., have done universally acknowledged good work in spite of being consumers of excessive amounts of alcohol, therefore it must be helpful to people of this class if they are desirous of producing their best work.

As regards the effects of alcohol in stimulating good work among artists, Dr. E. H. Starling has the following things to say on page 189 of his book *The Action of Alcohol on Man*:

"It is sometimes brought forward as an argument in favour of the use of alcohol that some of the greatest artistic geniuses have used it to excess, and it has been assumed that it stimulated their emotions and imaginative faculties, even if it weakened their will-power, and having made them indifferent to social customs and anxieties, their aesthetic feelings and passions were enabled to have full play. But 'poets are born not made,' and their imagination persists in spite of the effects of alcoholism."

As for great writers like Addison, Edgar Allan Poe, etc., turning out good work under the influence or with the help of liquor, and the assumption that it is conducive to the production of writings of high literary merit, the best answer was given by Sir Victor Horsley in his contribution entitled: "The Effect of Alcohol on the Human Brain," published in the British Journal of Inchricty for October, 1905, from which the following lines are extracted:

"There is no foundation whatever for the view that alcohol by its action on the brain enables the mind to work more quickly. . . .

"Alcohol even in small quantities interferes with the highest functions of the brain . . . in large quantities it abrogates the controlling power of the brain and cerebellum."

Here Sir Victor Horsley was supplying scientific proof of the correctness of the opinion expressed by Schiller nearly a century before he penned the above lines. This great German poet had said, "Wine invents nothing; it only blabs it (foolishness) out." Goethe also repeatedly declared that the so-called stimulation of poetic ideas through the use of alcohol "could produce only a forced inferior creation of ideas."

ALCOHOL AND INTELLECTUAL PROFUNDITY

It is not often that ordinary people realise the extent to which the powers of conception and judgment

are affected adversely by alcohol. Here and there, however, there are exceptions as for instance when we find Herbert Spencer saying in his own peculiarly pedantic way that

"Incipient intoxication, the feeling of being jolly (due to moderate use of alcohol), shows itself in a failure to form involved and abstract relations of ideas."

As a matter of fact, in the highest and most purely intellectual type of thinking where scientific conclusions or considered judgments are called for, alcohol appears to be unfavourable to creative work. Thus we find Dr. E. H. Starling saying in his Action of Alcohol on Man:

"I do not think . . . that alcohol would facilitate the solution of the more complex intellectual problems, or the formulation of great generalisations of science."

This was said because Dr. Starling was aware that the value of intellectual judgment in the spheres referred to by him depends upon our power of recalling experiences, comparing possibilities and using what has been called "the associative links of the brain" in their entirety. This is not possible because the use of alcohol cuts off, either wholly or partially, some of the more important of these links, thus limiting the scope of mental vision.

This limitation of the range of thought is a matter constantly observed in daily life. While any mental effort demanding the immediate recalling of an event or of an abstract idea or thought becomes somewhat difficult, conversation on commonplace topics can be carried on in spite of the slightly fuddled condition of the brain due to the moderate use of liquor. This happens as the powers of mental observation of persons in this condition are not fully available on account of the partial inactivity of some of the higher centres.

The distinguished mathematician Helmholtz, regarded as one of the greatest observers and thinkers of the last century, noted in himself and described for our benefit the effect of the smallest quantity of alcohol in impairing the highest powers of thought and conception. While describing in the course of a speech made by him at the celebration of his seventieth birthday, the conditions under which his most abstruse scientific thoughts had matured, he said:

"They were especially inclined to appear to me while indulging in a quiet walk in the sunshine or over the forest-clad mountains, but the smallest quantity of alcohol seemed to scare them away."

The views of this nineteenth century savant were confirmed by Professor Huxley who was not a tectotaller. On one occasion when he was asked whether he found alcohol helpful when engaged in intensive intellectual work, he said:

"When I have to do good or original brain work, I always decline it (alcohol); I become a total abstainer for the time being."

In the previous pages, reference has been made to only a few of the investigations carried on by scientists

interested in ascertaining the effects of using small amounts of alcohol on mental efficiency. While they have approached the problem from different angles, it cannot be denied that the results arrived at have, in every instance, shown beyond any doubt that intellectual impairment invariably follows the consumption of liquor even where extreme moderation is observed.

DRINKING AND BUSINESS EFFICIENCY

The British Alcohol Investigation Committee has stated that even moderate drinking is responsible for a change, naturally temporary, in man's mental attitude without any indication of signs of drunkenness "in the full ordinary sense of the term." Under such circumstances, the Committee pointed out, those who do business with him have to deal with one "whose mind lacks temporarily its normal factor of judgment and conspicuous elements of self-control." It is a self-evident truth that if the other party to some transaction in which such a man is taking part is unscrupulous enough to exploit the situation which develops under this contingency, he can always do so with absolute impunity and much profit.

Apart from the serious disadvantage which the businessman invites by his drinking, it is also a fact that, at least occasionally, such a man being dimly aware of his inability to think effectively and to arrive at correct decisions quickly, is inclined to procrastinate and, in fact, to be averse to deal with matters requiring immediate attention through fear of making mistakes. When he fails to correctly realise his mental fogginess, he makes erroneous decisions often to the detriment of his financial interests. Such a person in the language of the Committee mentioned above, diminishes his powers of

"accuracy (in the transaction of business), tactful handling of colleagues and subordinates, punctuality, reticence in matters of confidence and an additional source of friction is brought to complicate the relations between employer and employed."

Manufacturers and distributors of beer, all very clever men, are aware that drinking is a bar to business efficiency. It is therefore that they recommend that those who sell liquor should not drink. The author of Educate for Total Abstinence quotes a writer in a liquor trade journal who said:

"It is your business to sell beer, but if you know as much as you ought to know, you will never drink it."

The above advice was given because these men have come to recognise the fact that, with intensification of competition, the demand for all-round efficiency in an ever-increasing measure is being made on those engaged in the production and sale of goods and services and that even moderation in drinking seriously reduces the businessman's power to handle his problems promptly and correctly.

EFFECTS ON REGULAR HEAVY DRINKERS

From what has been stated above about the injurious effects of even moderation in drinking, it hardly seems necessary to say much in regard to the evils incidental to the habitual consumption of large quantities of liquor. Reference must, however, be made to the investigations of two eminent German scientists. The first of these, Dr. Bonhoeffer reported in 1905, that he had noticed "stupidity in perception" among habitual drinkers of large quantities of Germany's national liquor, beer. Such people, he further observed.

"comprehend everything badly; they are unable to concentrate on any special object; their memory becomes bad."

The second German scientist, Kraepelin, who submitted his first report in 1906, in *Der Alcohol in Munchen* in which he had stated that people consuming regualry large quantities of beer slowly developed mental stupidity, went on with his investigations which reached their culmination carly in 1909. The results were communicated to *Psychiatric*. The two outstanding facts which he dealt with in his paper were that he had noticed "a considerable reduction in their mental faculties" and that

"After giving up the use of alcohol entirely, even when previously only small quantities had been taken, a marked increase of mentality takes place."

THE INCORRIGIBLE DRUNKARD

With reference to the third and last class of men consisting of those who get drunk whenever they can afford to do so, it has been held that as these people indulge in excessive quantities of liquor from time to time, the alcohol-free intervals between drinking bouts enable them to recoup their physical and mental health. While this may be accepted as true within certain limits, it is far from correct to assume that complete and perfect recovery from all the evil effects of indulgence in drink takes place in every case.

Apart from the physical damage which may be suffered from imperfect recovery from past excesses and with which we are not concerned here, Kraepelin found in the case of a particular individual that even after total abstinence lasting for a fortnight immediately following a drinking bout, there was "considerable reduction in conceptive power."

There thus seems some justification for the view that repeated bouts of drunkenness ultimately lead to intellectual slowness if not to deterioration because recovery from their effects is never perfect or complete.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

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By Dr. C. SIVARAMA SASTRY

Some time back Mr. Creech Jones, the British colonial secretary, unfurled a plan for the development of colonial defence at a cost of over ten crores of pounds.

Mr. Arthur Graeson, A. P. A. staff correspondent, from London reported on July 23rd last year a deviation in the British line of defence along its Empire communications.

At a Far Eastern Conference held in Australia the British delegate announced his Government's deteranimation to maintain her position in the Far East.

This evidently shows that Britain is intent upon continuing her imperial policy in the Far East particularly in Malaya and Borneo. She will stick up to her plantations, mines and other economic resources in the Singapore zone.

Singapore is the pivot of Asian communications and defence. Malaya to its north is full of deep rivers, fine harbours, and military bases which will be most suitable for any foreign power to use as bases against India or as a matter of fact against any other Asiah power.

In modern warfare the co-operation of local population is absolutely needed and if it were hostile no power on earth can withstand enemy aggression.

The British have hitherto been playing one com-

munity against the other in Malaya. Their present scheme of a federation is betrayal of democracy and continuation of economic exploitation under the regime of the Sultan stooges.

Egypt is demanding the British to quit its soil. Palestine too is hostile. The hostile attitude of the Muslim nations in the Middle East coupled with their own economic helplessness at home forced Britain to withdraw from the Middle East in order to allow the great power of the U.S.A. to have a direct trial of strength with Russia. The recently disclosed Russo-German wartime document clearly points out Russia's lustful ambitions too in the Middle East,

At a future date the destruction or at least the blocking up of the Suez canal may save Asia from the spreading up of flames of the Western conflagration. During the first Great War such a plan of action was thought of by the British but it was never executed.

Britain has to keep up its communications up to Australia for her own purposes, Consequently, she is developing a new defence chain of aerodromes, ports, and railroad communications along the South African coast. In South Africa, the ruling population is of British origin. The industrial concerns and commercial companies are joint enterprisers. Britain can always

bank on the economic and military co-operation of the South African Government.

Under the circumstances, what is India to do. Is she to remain disinterested?

If she wishes to sink or float with the destiny of Britain, the safest course is to be within the Empire.

But Britain is till sticking up to its old policy of colonial exploitation in the Far East.

Britain's hand in the division of India is an open secret to any student of politics in India. The British policy of paralysing the administration in order to promote communal riots, which in turn led to the bifurcation of India is still fresh in the Indian mind It was only through the patronage of the British that the Dutch could land back and get established in Indonesia. Therefore, what guarantee is there that at a future date by taking sides in Indo-Pakistan disputes the British may not make a stage back as an Anglo-American ruling power. The recent international power politics are indicating the possibility of an Anglo-American amalgamation of power.

India has still to build up its economic and military power. Any immature jumping into power politics will lead to her ruination.

It is urgently needed in India's own interest to throw off the British yoke and formulate an alternate way of defence.

Britain has placed India in a very peculiar position. Leaving the Empire defence ring, we find ourselves stripped of all the farther and natural points of defence, viz., Aden, Colombo, Singapore, and last but not the least, the Khyber Pass. These points are hereafter to be viewed with caution since they are no more our defence points but weak points.

The creation of Pakistan on extremely communal grounds has come to be the deepest stab wound to the heart of India.

The Indian line of defence receded from the natural point of defence in the Khyber Pass to a vast line of 200 miles in the Puniab.

The extremely communal regime in Pakistan will have violent repercussions in the Indian Union.

Economic co-operation will, in equipment of time, be impossible with Pakistan in spite of the fact that India will be a secular State.

Pakistan without having any industry or coal can not count on its wheat and jute to balance its budget for more than five years.

Eliminating the possibility of getting any capital from India, the only other source on which Pakistan can court is the American capital. American capital precedes American military bases. Pakistan may be

made a Mase against U.S.S.R. by America. This will be a danger to India since Pakistan is our next neighbour.

The British are in the diplomatic field doing their best to get Pakistan align herself with the other Middle Eastern Muslim powers that are tending to be anti-Russian. Further, Pakistan is the result of a nefarious theory that Muslims all over the world form a nation irrespective of the geographic units wherein they are living. Rail-road communications are being developed from the Middle East to Karachi via Kalat.

While danger is lurking in every sphere we the Indians will have to chalk out a cautious but well-planned system of defence for our existence. A strong India will also be a sure protection to any weak Asiatio nation.

By remaining a secular state India can hope to win over the goodwill and co-operation of the Far Eastern nations of Malaya and Indonesia which have a Muslim population with the ancient Aryan culture intact.

Co-ordination with Burma, Siam, China and other Asian nations in defence and the development of rail-road communications throughout the length and breadth of Asia will save Asia from the present tragedy of encirclement by the imperial powers on all sides. Co-ordinated research in the manufacture of specialised implements of war is also desirable.

Ccylon's goodwill should be won over by assuring protection, independence, and even economic aid if she would merge her defence with that of India for external purposes.

Nagpur should be the military capital of India. A chain of communications, air bases, and military units must extend from there to all outer points of India. In modern warfare it is only the depth of defence that will save rather than a single line of defences like the Maginot or the Siegfried lines.

A road along the Western boundary with regular patrols should be established. A similar one around Eastern Pakistan is essential for our safety.

Special stress must be laid on secular education to children to subduc communal passions. Peace at home is essential for defence outside.

Goodwill of the erstwhile colonial countries can be had only by sacrfficing some of our capital interests therein, where they go counter to the interests of those countries.

Military education to every kisan, worker and student shall be our aim to deserve the hard-earned freedom we have had after so much of sacrifice and turmoil.



GANDHIAN ECONOMICS

By PROF. G. K. BHATT, M.A., B.T., LL.B.

MAHATMA GANDHI, a great teacher of India and of welfare-economics of Gandhiji with the guiding mankind, preached and practised great ideals of life and living. His teachings are known as Gandhism or the Gandhian way. His economic ideals are a unique contribution to the economic thought of our age and show the real way to peace, happiness and freedom to war-weary miserable mankind.

Gandhiji was not an economist. He was a moralist or a saint or a great teacher and so he looked upon economics from the moral and spiritual ideas of life which mattered him most. He, therefore, questioned the justness of the modern economic theory and practice. The end of all economic activities under capitalist competitive economics is accumulation of wealth and abundance of material goods because wealth and material welfare are said to be the main end of life. Man has become a wealth-seeking individual; wealth is his supreme good and real God. It is still said in Capitalist U.S. A. that the dollar is a fact and God is a superstition. Thus modern economics is non-moral. Its goal is not real human welfare and real happiness of all. It lacks a moral principle and so has brought economic chaos and even self-destruction. Prof. R. H. Tawney in his book The Acquisitive Society emphasises the need of a moral purpose. Prof. E. H. Carr in his book Conditions of Peace describes the modern world-critics as fundamentally moral. Divorce of morality or ethics from modern economics has produced great cvils like poverty in the midst of plenty, callous exploitation, greed for markets, imperialism and wars, liquidation of democracy and even destruction of civilization. Gandhi rightly diagnosed the real disease of the modern world and prescribed a sovereign remedy. He emphasised most vigorously that ethics and economics could never be divorced and that man was the supreme consideration with him. Man was more than money. Respect for human personality was his central theme and hence he pleaded for human welfare or real happiness of all as the goal of economic science and the criterian of economic progress. Gandhiji said:

"Economics that hurts the moral well-being of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore, sinful. Thus economics that permits one country to prey upon another is immoral," and added, "the values of an industry should be gauged less by the dividends it pays to its sleeping partners than by its effects on the bodies, souls and spirits of the people employed in it."

Such a moralisation or revolution of our economic standards is a vital necessity of our times for all seem to recognise that the major world crisis is not merely military, political nor economic but fundamentally moral. Sir Radhakrishnan also says the same thing and wants spiritualisation to save the world heading for a disaster. It is necessary then to emphasise

principle of respect for every human personality.

The second principle of Gandhian economics is economic simplicity or limitation of wants. Gandhiji told us that real happiness did not consist in the abundance of material goods nor in the multiplication of wants and their satisfaction. The ideal of the Western people is bodily welfare and so they believe in multiplying wants and in satisfying them at all costs. The Indian ideal is different. It is plain living and high thinking. It is also the real Christian ideal. Gandhiji pleaded for this ancient ideal of economic simplicity or simple life in order to secure for us real happiness, self-development, economic and political freedom and social welfare. The crase for material welfare and money led to capitalist greed, exploitation and wars. Economic simplicity will cut at the root of capitalism, the enemy of mankind. It will guarantee economic independence, self-sufficiency and will pave the way for the healthier and sancr ideal of cottage industrialism. Was not Gandhiji himself the very embodiment of this ideal?

The third idea was emphasis on production for use, for consumption and not for profit. This is also the socialist ideal. Capitalist production is based on profit-motive. Profit is its central guiding force. No profit, no production. Millions will starve but producers will not produce or sell without profit. Fire, earthquakes and wars are welcomed by the profit-seeking capitalist system though they ruin humanity. Goods will be destroyed to maintain price. Production will be restricted to maintain profits by creating artificial scarcity of supply. This is anti-human, non-moral economics, and Gandhiji spared no pains to denounce it. He, therefore, advocated decentralised industrialism based on human values and climination of profitmotive and greed. The socialists rightly value production for consumption but Gandhiji went much further and championed the cause of humanisation of economic science. Socialist philosophy is material, the Gandhian economic and social philosophy is moral and human. The socialist ideal is economic plenty and maximum material welfare and production rather than human welfare, nappiness, freedom and development of personality. The socialist ideal is based on force or violence which is inconsistent with true freedom and happiness.

The fourth important Gandhian concept is nonviolence. This is an ethical idea but it is the basis of economic independence and economic justice. Without non-violence there can be no peace, happiness, freedom and development of human personality. Violence breeds violence. The suppression of Hitler may give rise to a super-Hitler. Socialism, therefore, cannot solve the problems of peace, democracy and happiness as it is based on violence. Russian socialism

or communism is the striking proof of this. It is turning anti-democratic and imperialist. Well-known friends of Russia like M. R. Masani and Louis Fisher pronounce this statement. According to Gandhiji, the failure of Western democracy was due to its non-acceptance of non-violence as the basic social value. Appeal to force must be given up. Non-violence will eliminate greed, develop fellow-feeling and respect for human personality, and will ensure freedom and peace, the requisites of real happiness. Socialists maintain that democracy is not possible without socialism. Gandhiji went further and said that both socialism and democracy were impossible without non-violence.

The fifth economic idea of Gandhiji is sanctity and dignity of labour. He looked upon work as the law of nature, praised all work as sacred and noble and glorified manual labour. He condemned idleness as the greatest enemy of mankind. He disliked the lure of leisure. He called it a dangerous moral trap. He taught people to respect manual labour, to live by honest labour by his own example; Khadi was the symbol of the dignity of human labour and fellow-feeling.

The sixth important idea is his attitude towards machinery. The place of machinery, the monster and master of our mechanical age, is subordinate in Gandhian economy. As man's happiness, freedom and personality were points of supreme importance with Gandhiji, he strongly disliked the mad craze for machinery and vehemently pleaded for its limited use. Machinery was exploited by capitalists to exploit labour and consumers. It brought unemployment, moral degradation, wars and so on, which still plague mankind. Socialists would nationalise the use of machinery to end capitalistic exploitation and yet Gandhiji detested them and their indiscriminate use as they reduced men to machines, killed their finer feelings, deadened their souls, brought new slavery, dictatorship of experts and managers and encouraged violence and greed. But Gandhiji was not a mad idealist. He always would welcome simple machines which saved unnecessary human labour and helped crores of people. He welcomed sewing machines, electricity and called the spinning wheel a piece of machinery. He never tolerated the use of machinery to replace human labour which was available in plenty and which remained unemployed. Machines should never replace and degrade matchless human machines. In a country like India where there are seventy million unemployed persons, the large use of machinery is, according to him, anti-social and anti-human. So Gandhiji emphasised cottage industries with simple machines and yet he was wise and practical enough to allow the use of heavy machinery for hig key industries of India, Prof. Agarwal of Wardha has published a plan known as the Gandhian plan on the basis of Gandhiji's economic ideals and ideas. Gandhiji accepted it. It received a great support of many economists and thinkness

Lastly, Gandhiji's ideas on distribution and private property are noteworthy. We have seen that his economic ideal is simple decentralised industrialism. With decentralised production and ideal of local self-sufficiency, there will be automatically decentralization of property and problem of distribution will be quite easy. There will be no inequitable distribution, and glaring inequalities, because capital will be dethroned from its dictatorial position in production and honest labour will rule the economic activities along with the principle of economic equality to which Gandhiji attached greatest importance. He said:

"Economic equality is the master-key to non-violent independence . . . It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other . . . The contrast between the palaces of New Delbi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last a day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land."

But a moralist like him will not kill the capitalist but will give him a chance to improve and serve society. He would reduce all the evils of private property, eliminate the influence of property and capitalists in production and in society but he would not vote for the total abolition of private property like the socialists. So he made a gift of the idea of the 'trusteeship' of the capitalist. The capitalist or a man of property must reduce himself to the position of a trustee of a certain property and accept all the limitations implied in the idea. Yet the capitalist must have no chance of exploitation and so he allowed him to keep twelve times the minimum only, much less than the Russian margin of even 1 to 80 in incomes, as Mr. R. Masani points out in Socialism Reconsidered. Wages naturally then with the ideal of economic equality will be just, fair and human. The Labour Minister at the centre under these influences has introduced the Minimum Wages Bill for certain industrialists with the principle that no minimum wages, no industry.

Thus Mahatma Gandhi tried to revolutionise our economic ideals and standards of values for the central human ideal of the development of personality in the atmosphere of freedom. The national government must slowly but surely plan for Gandhism. Then and then alone the challenge of socialism in India can be effectively met and the danger of capitalist domination eliminated. 'Freedom or Plenty' is to be chosen by us as the author of Gandhism Reconsidered well puts it. Gandhiji chose the former. We in India cannot forget his lessons and humanity too must follow him if it wants to survive. Let us remember his immortal words:

"India's desting lies not along with the bloody way of the West, of which she shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple godly life."

SWITZERLAND FACES AN ISSUE

By MARIE H. ALLEN

"From Military Service to Civilian Service" was the title of a challenging article published in September, 1945, by Suisse Contemporaine, a leading intellectual monthly of Lausanne. The time had come, the author believed, for Switzerland to effect an arrangement, already established in several countries, whereby conscientious objectors could fulfill their duty to the national community without war work of any kind.

Rene Bovard, the writer of the article and also editor of the paper, has now served a sentence of three months in prison because he felt he must "sign the article" with his acts. A first lieutenant in Division I of the Swiss army, former instructor of recruits, and former adjutant of a frontier battalion, he had refused last summer to present himself for a six-day officers' training course.

In a letter to the regimental commander, M. Bovard had asked to be allowed to give "a service conforming to my convictions," in some humanitarian work for a longer period than that required for military studies. The army authorities made a surprising response, one which implied the possibility of a change; they could not grant the request "in the present state of legislation." When M. Bovard failed to appear for the training, he was prosecuted, according to the military code, for refusal to serve.

The case was of more than ordinary significance. M. Boyard represented in a striking manner both loyalty in military service and leadership in high devotion to humanity. Since the end of the war, he had been conspicuously active in the work of the International Red Cross and director of information for "Don Suisse," the unselfish movement for mercy and restoration through which his country, neutral in arms, is aiding sufferers from the conflict. In his magazine, which is dedicated to the "spiritual defense of the nation," he has tried to arouse intellectual circles to greater responsibility towards the questions which agitate the world. His attitude towards his military service was expressed in his statement that "I do not know what our courage might have been in the supreme test, but I know that our fidelity was unquestionable, that we were determined to do everything in our power to preserve our country from the horrors of war."

The trial was dramatic. The hall where the military tribunal was held was packed with people who, while not unanimous in agreement with M. Bovard's point of view, had come to show their sympathy. None of the lieutenant's comrades of the First Division would conduct the prosecution, so a major from the Second Division was appointed.

The witnesses were men who held important posts: the President of the Geneva Council of State, along with university professors, testified to M. Bovard's patriotism, leyalty and idealism; a former superior in the army declared that though Lieut. Bovard "was not a military man and did not try to become one, as an officer he was disciplined and devoted."

When Rene Boyard himself took the stand, he reviewed his military career. He had become an instructor in the armed forces in 1927 to manifest his attachment to the national community. It was not until the world was at war that, through intense internal struggle, he had come to the grave decision that he should refuse further military service. It did not seem the time to take this extreme stand when the country was in such a critical situation. Therefore, he kept his post until after the war was over, though more and more as he saw the ravages of the conflict and the evolution of events, he came to feel that only the refusal of the individual conscience could put an end to wars. To the questioning of Colonel Paschoud, who presided over the tribunal, he asserted that henceforth he would refuse to fulfil all military obligations.

Major Duruz, the prosecutor, was extraordinarily moderate in presenting his case. He mentioned the contradiction between the defendant's military record and his declaration of refusal, not undertaking to attack the theories M. Bovard and his attorney advanced, whose weaknesses, he said, were apparent. He dealt simply with the specific act of refusel, which in time of active service would have constituted a crime. The penalty he recommended was imprisonment, as the law demanded, and the duration four months. He asked the tribunal not to impose additional punishment. The custom, he explained, was not to expel objectors from the army, since this would, in a way, yield to their wishes. The degrading of an officer would entail expulsion; nothing justified such an ignominious sentence.

LARGER MEANING OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Moreover, the prosecutor refused to demand the forfeiting of civil rights. He asserted that M. Bovard had not manifested "a spirit of hostility toward the national defense," had not issued propaganda against the army, nor tried to dissuade others from performing military service. Then Major Durus expressed an opinion which marked an important advance in the attitude of a military officer. He declared that one could give to national defense a larger meaning than

that of military service. All the acts of the accused, he said, showed that he was ready to defend his country in the manner that his conscience dictated. Finally, the prosecutor emphasized that in asking for a mild sentence he wanted to show that, contrary to legend, the military tribunals go to the extreme limit of indulgence in handling defaulters for reasons of conscience.

M. Bolle, who has often served as lawyer for conscientious objectors, gave a moving plea for non-violent resistance and for civil service. Elequently he sought respect for humane convictions, and denounced the inequity of a system which is obliged to inflict infamous penalties on citizens even when the tribunal, seeing the loyalty of their services, could not help recognizing them as perfectly honorable. He requested that the duration of the sentence should be only a lattle longer than that of the course in military training.

The tribunal reduced the time of imprisonment to three months, but would not give the defendant the benefit of "honorable motives;" the wish to escape from an obligation imposed by the federal constitution on every citizen, by disobeying the law, said the court, could not be so considered. Yet the court did not, as customary in such cases, deprive Rene Bovard of his civil rights.

Very significantly the tribunal suggested that the condenned man could have used all legal means to obtain the introduction of alternative civil service, since "the question is pending before the federal authorities."

This conspicuous case has forced attention on the difficult status of the conscientious objector in a land whose position of neutrality, and whose absence of aggressive designs, have seemed superficially to take the sting out of its compulsory military training.

Every boy by the time he is 20 must take a course of military instruction for about three months, and in subsequent years a repeat course of 13 days. There is a complicated system of grading in the army involving various degrees of training, with special courses for officers. The duration and intervals of all these training periods are subject to change by the Swiss Federal Council, an executive body of seven members, corresponding to a cabinet in other countries; one member is chosen as President of the Confederation. Basic military affairs are in the hands of the two-house Federal Assembly.

Compulsion is all-inclusive. Certain exemptions, such as those for physical reasons, are allowed; but even when one is thus exempted, he must pay instead a special military tax. The law provides for a maximum penalty of three years' imprisonment for refusal of army service, but except in wartime the sentence has usually been three or four months. Recently, however, a "C.O." of less prominence than M. Bovard received six menths. Ten days is the maximum for refusal to pay the tax. The worst hardship of all is deprivation of civil rights, which acceptimes means not merely loss of such and possibly of employment, especially in

cantonal or communal positions, but tight restrictions on free movement about the country.

"TAX OBJECTOR" SUFFERS MOST

A "tax objector" as well as a resister to military service may be expelled, along with the members of his family, from the canton where he lives. He may have to search for another canton that will take him in. One of Switzerland's idealistic C.O.'s, practising a highly skilled profession, who has been consistent all his life in unwillingness either to serve or pay the tax, has suffered 30 years' loss of civil rights. Barred from his home canton, he could spend time with his mother, who lived there, only when both could go to France in order to be together. When she was dying, he sought and obtained a permit to enter his cauton and remain there 10 days, on the last of which his mother was buried.

The C. O. must come up for trial each time he is called to service, and the sentence gets progressively tougher. Ordinarily, after three or four condemnations, he is dismissed from the army, but the tax requirement still continues.

The number of C.O.'s in Switzerland has not been determined. The Defense Minister has stated that during the war there were only 76, but this figure appears to include only those brought to trial for religious convictions. There has been little contact among objectors; one reason may be the independence of the separate cantons. There have been no organizational activities of C. O.'s, though various peace groups have long existed in different parts of the country.

About two years ago the Swiss Council of Peace Associations was formed, composed of 22 societies with differing peace emphases, and numbering in total membership more than 10,000 Swiss citizens. This movement has grown, and has been progressively active; it has had among its officers men prominent in public life. It appointed a commission to study alternative service in other countries, and to make recommendations for Switzerland.

In March, 1947, the late Professor Andre Oltramare, revered head of the Swiss Peace Council, presented in the federal parliament, as a member, a motion for the introduction of alternative civil service. "The creation of a Swiss civil service," he said, "would constitute a moral advance and would bear witness to the respect of our country for the sincere convictions of individuals; it would permit the organization of adequate relief aid in time of peace, and would furnish abroad the proof that Switzerland is disposed to demonstrate in a manner even more effective than by material aid, its international solidarity."

His arguments were opposed by the Chief of the Federal Military Department, and an extensive debate followed. In spite of this opposition, however, Professor Oltramare made a seal gain, for the federal parliament voted by 53 to 40 to take up the study of the question.

This was not the first time attempts had been made

to inaugurate civil service for C.O.'s. As early as 1903, it was urged by a Swiss pastor; others tried in 1917 and 1918 to get a favourable motion passed; in 1921, an appeal came from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; in 1924, a general petition was presented; and the last previous effort was made in 1930. Throughout much of this period, the work of Pierre Veresole in founding the "International Civil Service" was influential. It was only in 1947, however, when Professor Oltramare so impressively pleaded the case, that official recognition came.

Even so, it seemed that the issue might be forgotten after the death of Professor Oltramare. But the trial of Rene Boyard brought renewed and widespread interest. It is the first time that a conscientious objector has had such sympathetic treatment in court, and the first time that favourable reports have been published in the conservative press. It is now stated on good authority that the Defense Chief has ordered the setting up of a commission composed of doctors, jurists, and military and political leaders to re-examine the whole C. O. problem. This gives hope to pacifists and non-pocifist friends of civil liberty that the years of effort may be approaching success. They believe a plan can be worked out through which not only may civil service be substituted for military service, but a tax for support of the civil service program be instituted in lieu of the present military assessment.

WHY NOT A "PEACE QUOTA"?

The achievement of civil service for C.O's, however, would not mean any relaxation in the military program. As shown by compulsory military training in Britain, and the constant pressure to get it adopted in the United States, the architects of military power appear to feel that when the block of conscientious objectors has been neatly fitted in, it is possible to build a bigger structure.

Hence it is not surprising that at this very time, plans are being prepared in Switzerland for a reform of the army with much longer periods of training, with the extension of the service age to 60, and obligation for women up to 40 to train for such auxiliary services as air protection, telephone, transport and nursing. More serious perhaps is a decree of January 7, 1947, introducing a gymnastics and sports training for young boys under the direction of the military department, though this was rejected by popular vote and interferes with sovereign rights possessed by all cantons over educational matters. Signatures of protest are being collected by peace and educational organisations.

It seems likely that Switzerland, of all countries perhaps best able to demilitarise its life, will wait for universal disarmament through the United Nations in the distant future. It appears like a caged bird with a far-away heritage of freedom, so long confined within protecting bars that when the door is opened, revealing exciting outside vistas, it remains moping in fear on the floor of the cage instead of stretching its wings and soaring into the free sky.

And what of Switzerland in the world picture? The original home of the Red Cross, the International Voluntary Service for Peace, and other notable humane movements, a generous haven for refugees in need of friendly rehabilitation, its leadership in many a progressive international cause has brought it warm regard. Yet Switzerland, possibly the most "peace-loving" nation, is outside the U. N. Though now included in UNESCO, it has not pressed United Nations' membership. Through the years, it has treasured its acknowledged right to neutrality, and has not used this boon for itself alone. To send a military force for a world army or police might jeopardize its neutral position. Yet to ask a special status would put Switzerland in the position of a conscientious objector before the Security Council. How could it plead for consideration there, until it has provided alternative service for C.O.'s within its borders?

Some Swiss have conceived a plan for offering to the U. N., instead of a military contingent, an equivalent for purely humanitarian work. It would go whereever the need might be, to help conquer disease, damages done by natural cataclysms, illiteracy, poverty, or social and economic degradation. Such a force would literally be "an army of men without hate." It is a startling proposal, for the Swiss government would have to take one or two per cent of the regular military budget and devote the money to this end. Thus far, the authorities have deemed it an impossible scheme, though officials have listened tolerantly to its advocates.

An international query is immediately raised. If Switserland were induced to make such an alternative offer, what reception would it get? Could a popular sentiment be aroused in other countries, strong enough to persuade their governments to permit this great experiment? At the moment, neither this little nation, nor the world as a whole, is ready for such a move. But some of the country's most public-spirited citisens hope soon to see a recognition of the individual conscience, as a step towards a possible wider leadership by Switserland in the international peace struggle.*

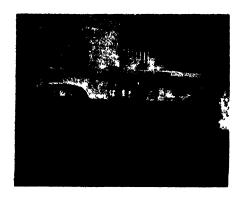
Coneva, March, 1948.

Marie H. Allen has been Associate Editor of Worldown Press since 1933, in collaboration with her husband and fellow-editor, Devere Allen.

THE ALL-INDIA EXHIBITION IN THE EYE OF AN INDUSTRIALIST

By K. P. THAKUR, C.A.I.I.B. (Bom.), C.A.I.B. (Lond.)

Among the few amenities that the city of Calcutta offers to her citizens to recline or recreate, Eden Gardens occupy a position second to none in importance. The numerous zigzag waterways, covered here and there by overhead bridges, a shady nook, away at a distance the row of tall trees—all these combine to make the gardens a paradise for lovers and poets, yet no less for the lay public who flock there to have their constitutionals.



The All-India Exhibition, Calcutta

I am not a dreamer of dreams. Living in a realistic world I am moved by no considerations other than materialistic. Yet when I visited the place after the closure of the Exhibition I was really taken by surprise to recall in my memory the grandeur and magnificence which the show brought in only a few days ago. With the setting of the sun, when all the flood-lights were switched on, the Exhibition ground looked, as if, like a boom town. Myriads of visitors poured into the seven gates to find a place of beauty within, where there was apparently no sign of poverty, want or misery which abounds outside.

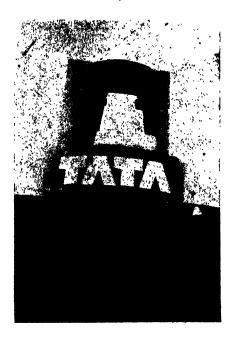
The organisers of the Exhibition held in Calcutta in February, 1948, may feel proud for taking in hand one of the pioneering constructive measures adopted by the nation for its regeneration, social, industrial and commercial, on the morrow. Fancy fairs or Tamashas on large or small scales are things with which we are so familiar. Many of us must have seen how traders cluster around the footpaths of Calcutta on the occasion of Rath, Rash or Moharrum festivals to sell toys, household utensils and miscellaneous fancy wares to housewives and juveniles.

Even in remote villages, fairs are not uncommon. On festive or ceremonious occasions there appear gatherings of village tradesmen to sell earthen wares and wooden toys to village folk. Folk dances or

"Jaree" songs are not complete without such fairs. All through the year the entire village anxiously awaits for the dawning of such days; the old aunty keeps aside a few pennies by trimming the family budget here and there, savings which are not usually touched upon but are kept reserved for distribution to boys of the family, girls not being excepted and what a joyous glow is visible in the eves of the kiddies! And in the refracted rays emanating from the happy faces of the children of the family, the aunty never fails to delight her ownself.

We are not also forgetful of the gypsy girls of our land. With a load of cheap ornaments and fancy wares on the head they usually move from door to door and waiting on gullible village women folk they make them (villagers) an easy prey of their (gypsies') voracity.

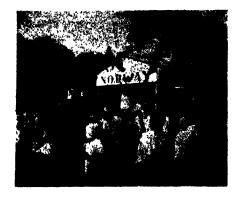
These are loose and unco-ordinated specimens of our industrial efforts which, though in individual cases displaying high skill and excellence of craftmanship, had not in general contributed towards the betterment of our art and industry.



The Tata pavilion

The industrial exhibition of an organised type found its footing first in European countries. Radiating from France and Britain, it made its headway in the contnental countries. In the initial stages such exhibitions were sponsored through private efforts. The beneficial effects produced by these exhibitions soon attracted the attention of the respective national governments.

In the beginning exhibitions were looked upon as convenient modes of advertisement and sale of products; but gradually people began to feel that though the chief aim of exhibitions might be to increase sales and profits they have an indirect educational value as well. To the practical businessmen, however, ideal objects sink into oblivion, such as the creation of new ideas, the exposition of the most efficient methods of production and the general educational effects.

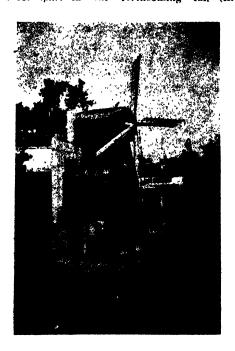


The Norway stall

As trade and commerce crossed national boundaries and entered the international sphere, national exhibitions changed their colour into international expositions. The first International Exhibition was held in London in 1851 and was known as "The Great Exhibition," although in magnitude it has been greatly surpassed by many others, notably those held in Paris, Chicago and St. Louis. The latest exhibition of first rate international reputation in the pre-war days was held in the Wembley Park, London in 1924-25. Strictly speaking the Wembley Exhibition cannot be called international out and out as its primary purpose was to exhibit goods of British Empire origin.

Thus far we have sung in unqualified praise of exhibitions. They have their dark spots as well. International exhibitions are the affairs of big industrialists -they have no place for small and medium scale businessmen. Exhibitions on foreign soil are expensive as such items as carriage, travelling expenses, ground rent. hotel expenses at the place of exposition, insurance, etc., are all to be borne by the exhibitors; yet the consequences may sometimes be quite different from what the exhibitors expected. They may not only expose their goods, but at the same time dispose of many trade secrets which are afterwards mitated and improved upon by foreign competitors. This happens more in the case of comparatively undeveloped countries, whose patents and designs are often purchased outright by highly developed countries either for use in their process or for giving them a watery grave. In such cases, exhibitions might be the means of assisting foreign competition without extending the sphere of sales of home products.

Notwithstanding such remote contingencies, chances of benefits are greater than their baneful effects.1 This is why International exhibitions are growing in numbers with the passage of time and a feverish activity is again being witnessed soon after the termination of hostilities, and first came Britain with her British Industries fairs held in England in May, 1947. A section of people in Great Britain raised their voices of protest that 1947 was too early for staging such an ambitious programme to show "what Britain can make." But despite all unfavourable considerations, such as fuel crisis, shortage of building materials, etc., Great Britain held the Exhibition in full confidence that it was going to provide a great impetus to British industries and help exports. By ingenious devices stall structures, decorations and general arrangements accommodating buyers in the fair were designed on such novel lines as to dispense with many essential materials which were in short supply. This Exhibition has been able to rouse so much enthusiasm that the demand for space in the forthcoming fair (British



The K.L.M. (Dutch) Airways exhibit

Industries Fair, 1948) exceeds by 35 per cent of the total area available. As numerous as 87 United Kingdom major industries representing more than 3000 firms are likely to be represented in the fair.

In India, exhibitions on western model were held in the past with indifferent success. We may recall in our

^{1.} Adapted from James Stephenson's Principles and Practics e. Commerce, 1936 Edition.

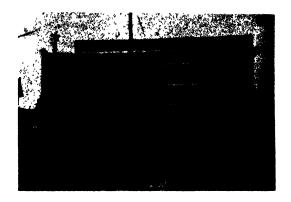
^{2.} Welcome Address by Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker.

memory the Congress Exhibition held in Calcutta in 1928; but the Eden Gardens Exhibition, backed by the patronage and co-operation of the Central and Provincial Governments may be acclaimed as the first organized effort in free India to make a comprehensive stock-taking of the country's harnessed and potential resources for the planned reconstruction of the economic and cultural life of her people. To comment on all the displays assembled in the Exhibition is an uphill task I shall, therefore, confine myself to the industrial and commercial aspects of the show.

Whether there was any necessity for opening an Amusement Park in such an Exhibition is a debatable quation; but there is no denying the fact that the organiser of the Exhibition have to be extelled for scattering the seeds of education through the displays of the Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, All-India Radio, Health and Industries Department of the Central and Provincial Governments, the Meteorological Survey, the Indian Museum, the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Don, etc. The most educative and instructive though no less interesting were perhaps the models of the Damodar Valley and the Mor Imgation projects of the Matla Piali dramage scheme near Diamond Harbour and the old and modern methods of field urigation from Archimedian wells to the latest type of power-driven pumps. I think there was -careely a visitor in the Exhibition ground who did not care to see these wonderful displays and did not express satisfaction imagining perhaps in his mind that at last something material and constructive could be done to stop recurring famines of Bengal and to help the cottage and small-scale industries in Bihar and Bengal with the help of cheap electric power generated by the Damodar Valley Corporation, Besides, there were for those with historical interest, the National Struggle and National Survey Court, for those with academical interest, the Fine Arts and Science Court, for those with social interest, the women and children section too. The growth and development of the Indian Press has been amply demonstrated in a separate Press Pavilion under the newspaper and periodical section.

As already narrated the Exhibition was represented by the Central and Provincial Governments as well, prominent among which are the U. P. and Assam Governments not to speak of the West Bengal Government. The majority of the non-government exhibitors belong to the Greater Calcutta industrial area. Exhibits from the Northern, Southern or Western India were not many and it is a matter of profound regret that exhibitors from the Bombay Presidency, which undoubtedly occupies the first rank in Indian industrial life, were few and far between. The scanty exhibits in silk sarees and tin cans clearly demonstrate the poor response received from that province. Opinions on the Exhibition

differ. In the cyes of a certain section of visitors, the Exhibition has served no useful purpose other than providing a profitable source of income to the contractors and organisers; while certain other sections have gone so far in their praise to call it bigger than the Wembley Exhibition. In estimating the excellence and short-comings of the Exhibition, I shall not be swayed by sentiments in my estimate of what I have been able to witness in the Exhibition ground. I shall try to depict a picture to my readers and that too primarily from the point of view of an industrialist. Occupying an area of nine hundred and ninety acres the Exhibition is no doubt bigger than that held at Wembley at least from the point of view of space if not in any other respect. However, it is not the



A house made of pre-cast concrete

dimension which matters but the distinction that counts. Exhibitions are like the lens of an industrial camera through which we can get a true and undetached picture of the industrial stage a country is in; like binoculars with the help of them we can see through the distant industrial possibilities. In order to judge the merits of the present Exhibition we shall, therefore, have to see how far it will be able to help us in the rebuilding of our industrial structure in the best way we can do in our peculiar environment.

"Exhibition is not purely a business proposition. Fundamentally it has an educative function. We must see what is required for our country. It will not do for men and women of India, who feel the glow of freedom, to go on buying all the goods, and more particularly buying food from foreign countries. It is very unwise for us to go on in this manner by living on another people's work and feel happy over it. Today, it is a fact that we are living on the balance that we built during the war. If we go on like this, we shall be bankrupt. So every one would have to work and make people work in well-planned ways. This is why this Exhibition is necessary."

^{3.} S. K. Manumder, Endie talk on 14.2, 48.
4, o The manust of the participating from are (b) Vitheldas Cheonilei Gertwale, (b) Model Press Works Ltd.

^{5.} The Wembley Exhibition covered an area of 220 acres.

^{6.} Adapted from the inaugural address of Chakravarty Shri Raja Gopalacharl on the opening day of the Exhibition.

Against such a background we shall have to evaluate the merits of the game. If by virtue of holding the same we are sufficiently aided in our endeavour to industrialise India under modern methods, if it helps us to stand and occupy a position at par with the other industrialised countries of the world we must consider the enterprise a success, otherwise it shall have to be thrown overboard as not being worth the mortar and stone with which its structure was built.



A house built by the process of roll-lathing stone chips, cement and bamboo

The majority of the displays in the Exhibition were by large and small scale manufacturers of consumer's goods, such as pharmaceutical products, paper and writing implements, stationery and cosmetics, paints and varnishes, oils and vegetable products, china, glass and enamel wares, cameras and photographic materials, tobacco and tobacco goods, electricals, linen and woollen fabrics, etc. There were also many exhibits of engineering machinery, e.g., printing press, spinning and weaving looms, pumps, machine tools and precision instruments, etc.

Of the Native States participating in the show, mention may be made of Indore, Jaipur, Mewar, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Manipur, Mayurbhanj and Hyderabad, each in her own pavilion showing specimens of her own arts and handicrafts. Among the State exhibits particular reference may be made of the Mysore Pavilion which showed in a miniature form the actual working of her famous Kolar goldfield. Thousands of visitors flocked into the Mysore Pavilion to have a glimpse of this artistic model. It is a stroke of misfortune that soon after the opening of the Exhibition, the Mysore Pavilion, along with a few other stalls, was badly damaged due to rain and hail storm and her pavilion gates had to be closed down. Visitors were thus deprived of having a look at this wonderful display till the end. Coal and gold-the market prices of these minerals are marked by a gulf of difference, yet what a pity it is to find that coal-miners and golddiggers work not in a much different environment.

The mineral resources of the Mayurbhanj Pavilion indicate a store of future possibilities within the borders

of the State. The Iron Ore Mines which feed the furnaces of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., were discovered in a region adjacent to the soil of the State and it is not unlikely that many more mineral resources may be unearthed if adequate survey and exploration are carried out. The display of the Indore Pavilion centred round a hand-made watch, a specimen of which was presented to Mahatma Gandhi in June 1947. The Mewar State showed the image of Maharana Pratap, his armour, sword, and the saddle of his famous riding horse, the "Chaitak"; but alas, in this atomic age can we revert to duels and rely on cavalry in our defence programme? If not, what practical service do these specimens render except showing some historical relics; if it be so, why not place them in our National Gallery instead of making a show out of these articles in an Exhibition which was primarily industrial in outlook?

It appears Gwalior produces excellent crockery and porcelain wares and Indore makes out high-grade ivory products, but unless prices of such commodities are substantially reduced to bring them in line with other bazaar goods, we are afraid, these articles will continue to decorate the four walls of an Exhibition stall and are not likely to be useful to the common folk.

An array of tools and machinery was displayed in the stalls of Heatly and Gresham, Kilburn & Co. Ltd; Marshalls Sons & Co., India Machinery, Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. In the opinion of many a high level of proficiency was attained in many of these display. But I have my doubts if such displays were of any utility to our industrial life. In the exhibitions held in Western countries, visitors from comparatively undeveloped countries muster strong to purchase machines and tools of latest type and they have, therefore, great effectiveness; but in our country the need seems to be more of exposing how these machines are driven. If there had been no ambition to exhibit the working methods of such machinery, a stroll in the neighbourhood of the Netaji Subhas Road would have given a visitor an equal if not a better idea of the very same tools placed in the above-quoted stalls. An exception must have to be made with regard to the pavilion run by the "Philips." A unique apparatus for mass photography through X'ray engaged the attention of more than one visiter. It is an addition to public knowledge that the aforesaid firm is putting out many things besides radios and electric bulbs. In another corner we found in a stall run by Messrs. G. C. Lew & Co., that 132 varieties of pencils and 70 kinds of nibs are manufactured by a firm of our land. Under the domination of foreign rule we have been taught to regard "Venus" and "Kohinoor" pencils and "Red Ink" or "Relief" nibs to be the vehicles of learning. It is high time that a re-orientation of outlook is generated in our midst and we begin to know things that are our own.

The design of the Tata Pavilion has an amount of ingenuity in it. As a flowing river fertilises soil by alluvion so will also the mould of The Tata Iron &

Steel Co. Ltd. turn out Iron and Steel ingots which will enable India to go ahead in her programme of industrial regeneration.

The representation of foreign firms in the exhibition was however negligible. Although there was a "Foreign Contact Section" representing foreign firms and exhibiting machines and services which India could avail herself of with a view to expediting her national reconstruction, a specific stall was opened by only one foreign country, i.e., Norway. Without ostentation the pavilion showed in a neat manner by photographic illustration the natural wealth that abounds in the country. It also showed by illustration how and in respect of what materials India and Norway are connected with each other in international trade.

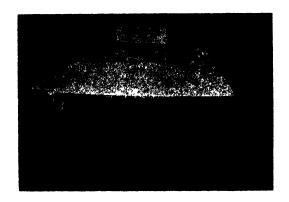
In the Exhibition, many of the products were displayed in a manner which maintained no harmony with the commodities exhibited. Illustrations may be cited galore but without making a catalogue of it, I may be allowed to quote the instances of "Lakshmibilas Oil" and "Jeewanlal (1929) Ltd." as cases in point. The stall of "Lakshmibilas Oil" looked more like an high-powered "Westing House" advertisement of electric daylights rather than toilet oil. Similarly, the construction of a chamber mounted with alluminium sheets does show more the craftsmanship of a housebuilder rather than that of an alluminium dealer. Do Messrs. Jeewanial (1929) Ltd. mean that we should dream of alluminium houses in a free and richer India instead of houses constructed with bricks, lime, stone or cement? To me it occurs that better service could be rendered to the country by showing with the help of a miniature model of the Kolar Gold Mining type the actual working in an alluminium factory, how our household utensils are turned out of bauxite. Such an action would have also done indirect service to the country by removing the residual blind superstition that still lingers among certain sections of people against the use of alluminium wares. .

If, on the other hand, advertisement would have been the sole and only object, these firms should have done better by banking on the imaginative faculty of human beings. What a contrast do we find in the exhibit of the KLM (Dutch) Airways? Without bringing in any air-plane they have succeeded in impressing on our mind the ease and effortless unceasing speed of a modern aircraft simply by the display of a typical windmill of the low countries. Any amount of praise will not be too much for the high artistic sense showed by this company.

In making the above remarks, I do not bear any animosity in my mind against some firms in preference to others. The sole purpose of my statement is to infuse better some in the mind of our exhibitors.

Among the hydra-headed socio-industrial problems that confront our social and industrial life today, pitigation of housing difficulties can claim high priority, his attacapt to find out a solution of this

problem has been made in the Exhibition. Four types of houses were placed on the ground, covering an area of one katha of land. The Concrete Association of India constructed a house built of pre-cast concrete which was also the centre of great interest. Without using brick or wood another house was constructed by assemblying stone chips, cement and bamboo which was technically called roll-lathing. Houses were also built simply with the help of venesta wood and bamboo.

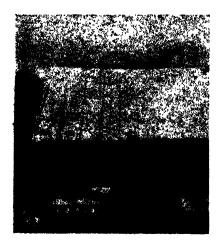


A cottage built with venesta wood

No doubt, all these efforts are honest; but how far, under the present state of our life and living, houses of these types will be useful for our purposes? In cases of houses under the third and fourth category no estimate for building expenses was given. In view of the fact that these houses were primarily built of wood and bamboo these could not create much interest in the minds of the public. Besides the constant danger of being caught in fire, it is doubtful if these houses will be able to stand the rainy and moist climate of Bengal. Houses built of bamboo-concrete may be slightly more durable but these cannot be made double or triple storeyed. Architectural engineers also opine that bamboo retains much moisture within for a long time. With the advance of time bamboo will begin to shrink, cracks will appear in walls but there will be no means of repairs except by demolition of the entire structure even then leaving no break-up value. If instead of bamboe, iron rods are used, the project will show no innovation and will thereby lose much of its charms. The dwelling house made out of precast concrete was found to be favourite with the middle class gentries—yet in this case the cost of construction is prohibitive. Besides the cost of the land it occupies a minimum expenditure of Rs. 4,848 is likely to be involved in building such a house, the total cost inclusive of the cost of the land will thus stand in the neighbourhood of Rs. 8,000 - to Rs. 10,000 -. To lay by such a huge amount of money is practically beyond the means of a middle-class gentleman after meeting all living expenses of self and members of his family. We are, therefore, left without any practical solution of the

housing problem. We may have only this much solace that out of these efforts, cheaper and better methods may be devised. A word in this connection may not be out of place. The management of the Exhibition should have located these specimens in a contiguous spot; this would have enabled the visitors to form a comparative idea of the merits and demorits of each scheme in a better way.

Thus perhaps we have in our foregoing analysis covered in brief the excellence and short-comings of various stalls from the industrial point of view. Let us trerefore stop. Taking a general view of the whole affair one must have expected to witness a new ray



A thatched cottage made of bamboo

of light with the dawning of our much-cherished freedom. We wished not to see wearisome repetition of the same kind of booths, the cloying excess of tea stalls and cating houses, the duplication of exhibits as we find in Sir Stuart Hogg Market or in the vicinity of Bara Bazar. Our expectation was to have a look into the affairs of our business procedure, how its wheels roll on, where they are obstructed, who bear the brunt by the sweat of their brows and who reap the benefit. We had in our mind to get a glimpse of the crux of the labour problem and a model solution of the trouble. There is no dearth of Jute and Cotton Mills in the Union of India. Was it not becoming on the parts of the numerous Jute Mills on the Hooghly and Cotton Mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad to show the entire process of working of these trades from the sowing of seeds on the soil to the final disposal of the finished goods in India and abroad? Another commodity which India produces with wide world market is Tea. For the sake of mass education the details of tea trade from start to finish could have been displayed. In like manner, the working and production of each and every commodity out of Indian soil having any commercial importance could have been displayed in the Exhibition ground. Perhaps some such motive was behind the move of the sponsors of the show. In the foreword of a phamplet published by the organisers of the show entitled "The Purpose of the Exhibition," the Scientific Publicity Syndicate Ltd. said:

"The task before industrial India is an uphill one. The time is opportune for producers, consumers, patriots and thinkers to plan the future of this country. It is conceded by all that before concrete blue-prints of our national future can be laid down, a scientific steck-taking of our resources, progress and potentialities is essential. It is in order to synchronise with the needs of the moments that this Exhibition is being organized.

"Our object in holding this Exhibition on a scale hitherto unprecedented, is mainly to present a complete picture of India- realistic yet detailed, instructive yet suggestive, and critical yet constitutive—of our national resources in respect of industry, agriculture, raw materials, minerals, production, health, education, art and culture. We believe that this Exhibition would bring into focus all the available data necessary for the various aspects of National Reconstruction."

In the fulfilment of the avowed object how far success has been attained must have to be left to the visitors to decide. To accomplish such a task is no doubt Herculean and incidental short-comings here and there are inevitable. In pointing out the defects therein my aim is not to decay the project; on the contrary, my object is to strike a note of caution that mistakes of omissions and commissions do not recur in our future attempts. In pursuance of the declared policy of the Government of India, Provincial Governments and Indian States for the speedy development of agriculture and industrial resources of India, the first International Trade Fair is likely to be held in Delhi in November, 1948. The Fair as the name suggests will perhaps be unique of its kind, as for the first time in the history of India, foreign visitors are being invited to participate. Foreign exhibits of raw materials, machinery and of industries, heavy, medium, small and also cottage industries will be displayed for the benefit of Indians proposing to start new industries. Let us be ready to represent on the occasion before the world a true and genuine picture of India as also what India can make.





Independence Day celebrations in Mauritius

MAURITIUS ONCE AGAIN

By PROF. PRIYA RANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

More than three years ago, I had written on Mauritius and its affiliation, cultural and otherwise, to India. Significant changes have occurred since in our country, and their echoes have been heard on that island. The celebrations in Mauritius in connection with the proclamation of Dominion Status or Independence (as you like to call it) in India were a success from all points of view. The powers that be, made it a point to accord all facilities only to obliterate the bitter memory of the past, of the shameful story of the persecution of peaceful Indians All those who could be made to side with the officials formed one group. The 15th August was proclaimed a public holiday even for the sugar estates; special trains ran on all lines; lorries carried passengers without permits and with the connivance of the authorities.

But this move on the part of the authoritieswas it sincere? The word 'connivance' has been used advisedly. On reaching Port Louis the people realised it was a mere show-this parade of good-will for the people in general. It was observed that the Governor did not stay for more than 25 to 35 minutes. A short speech was made by the Chairman of the Reception Committee; the name of Mahatma Gandhi was not even so much as mentioned. The Governor, addressing the Mayor and the "Leader of the Indo-Mauritian Communities" (by which he referred to the reactionaries), declared in a mood of exalted blessedness that Englishmen have kept their promises in regard to India; anyway, the advantages that accrued to them made it possible for some 20,000 (twenty thousand) Mauritians to assemble at the Champ-de-Mars, Port Louis on that day.

The yast majority of the population celebrated the occasion in a becoming manner. Huge processions were held in almost all the villages and towns of the island. More than 50,000 Indo-Mauritians rejoiced in an organised manner, Prof. Bissondoyal, a graduate from Lahore and Calcutta, had introduced the Indian national flag to almost every home so that there was no difficulty in holeting the flag when that memorable flay mans. Prof. Bissondoyal had already held a large

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meeting on the 10th August, 1947 in which he had instructed his audience that they should, on the 15th, explain the significance of that date to their people, and remind the whole population of Mauritius of the glorious reign of Emperer Asoka. This was done, and the celebrations took place in a suitable manner.

On the 17th August two important meetings were held. Let me give an account of one of them. The first one was attended by more than 20,000 Indians It was held in a town in South Mauritius. Villagercame in bullock carts. History repeated itself on that occasion: the forefathers of the Indians settled there used to drive in their earts when they attended horse races. The enthusiastic crowd was thrilled to hear that the 17th was the day which saw the beginning of the departure of British soldiers from India. The news that communal riots had plunged Bengal and the Punjab in grief brought sorrow. But as soon as it was announced that Hindus and Muslims were once more friends in the old city of Calcutta, thunders of applause were heard. Paraphrasing Rajaji's words Prof. Bissondoyal had said that the modern Christ too can work miracles, Mahatma Gandhi and his peac mission in Bengal, Bihar and Delhi were followed with entausiasm. In India's peaceful revolution, Mauritius received a new lease of life.

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Bissondoyal, the new leader, has suffered and woe. The Government has, in the beginning of this year, shown a change of attitude towards him. Justice Brouard, of the Supreme Court, had to appear in Court on the charge of having said to some petty clerks of the Civil Service that Guy Forget, Attorney-at-Law, "is Bissondoyal's follower."

The press gave great publicity to the case as it does when any case in which the Professor is involved, absorbs the attention of the whole country. The question at issue was: "Is Professor Bissondoyal a great Mauritian who can number an Attorney-atlaw among his followers even when the latter is not a Hindu?" Mr. Oshan, the Magistrate, was categorical. He said in his judgments.

"Was it defamatory to say, in October, 1944

(when Professor Bissondoyal went to jail for the third time) of a man holding the political views of the complainant (Guy Forget) that he shared the views and political opinions of Basdeo Bissondoyal?

"Bissondoyal had been sentenced on 3.11.44 under war-time legislation..... It might even be possible that Bissondoyal would protest that the complainant had misunderstood or misinterpreted his political principles."



Prof. Bissondoyal

The complainant (Forget) had submitted that it would be derogatory to call him a "Bissondoyalist" since Bissondoyal made "seditious speeches."

To-day the Magistrate's judgment is lending support to my findings. Did I not write in *The Modern Review* for April 1946, p. 276:

"The Magistrate's judgment was based largely on the words our missionary was supposed by witnesses having more brawn than brain) to have uttered..."?

The Magistrate had read all the documents relating to the historic cases. He was convinced that the Professor's words had been misinterpreted. He, for one, was not prepared to agree with the other Magistrates who believed in the words of Police witnesses. Mr. Oshan has been looking at the cases from a distance and has, accordingly, judged from the point of view

of someone detached enough to tell the truth. Four years after the trial he has found that when Prof. Bissondoyal offered his defence (as in the Bench case) three magistrates were convinced that Police witnesses were not up to the mark.

It was only when the prosecution insisted on producing evidence on what incompetent witnesses had reported that the Professor refused to defend himself and agreed to undergo a long term of imprisonment to the horror of the civilised section of the population.

Forget, then, does not, in the eye of the law, suffer on being called Bissoondoyal's follower. Why, it may be asked, does Forget believe that one who has hundreds of thousands of followers, does not deserve his admiration?

The answer to this question is both interesting and informative. It throws a flood of light on the award of the new constitution. Without Professor Bissondoyal's movement no new constitution would probably have come. The old constitution is as old as the Indian National Congress. It dates from 1885, the year that saw the birth of the Congress. By his struggle the Professor made it as clear as daylight that if there is to be harmony among the various elements in Mauritius all of them must be placed on the same footing; the old constitution that favours the rich, must go. His clarion call roused the masses from their indifference and apathy. Clever politicians began to disparage him to please the official circles. Thus it was that on the 5th of March, 1947, seven experienced "leaders" submitted to the Constitution Consultative Committee a memorandum in which they stated:

"The organised agitation which has been going on for several years now among the Hindu population, the resolutions—invariably unanimous—voted at political meetings attended almost exclusively by Hindus will have only served to give more prominence to the fact that the mass of this community is still politically immature."

The term "Hindu" is repeated in season and out of season to give those who are gullible to understand that Professor Bissondoyal who has put a stop to all wranglings between Hindus and Mahomedans or Hindus and the down-trodden coloured population, is no better than a full-blown communalist of the Jinnah type. Forgot's move is part of the manocuvre. Even Dr. E. Millien, Forget's intimate friend, has of late supported, in his own way, the reactionary leaders who signed the above-mentioned memorandum. The same doctor wrote on 17.6.47 that the seven leaders were only distorting facts when they averred that there was a danger of a tide of Hindu or Indian nationalism sweeping over the country. Embittered by the success achieved by one who has counted no sacrifice too great in order to bring his country abreast of the times, some "leaders" are fretting and furning; they are painting a worthy sen of Mauritius "as black as it is possible for any person المنافعة والمرادية والماري المواد الماري to be painted."

But much more interesting than the charge laid at the door of the Bissondoyals (Professor B. and his brother, S. Bissondoyal, who will be a candidate at the coming elections), is the contempt with which the argument of the reactionary "leaders" has been treated in London. The new constitution is the fruit of eight years' labours. The "organised agitation," the "resolutions," the "political meetings" referred to could not fail to have the desired effect. It has become impossible to forget Professor Bissondoyal's movement in any reference to modern Mauritius and its constitution. The seven leaders set their face against the demand made to the effect that all those who would be able to sign their names should become electors. It is depressing to say that even an Indian was of their opinion. But the Secretary of State for the Colonies turned a deaf ear to their empty threat. If the New Constitution functions, as it should in course of the next few months, the reactionaries will be exposed and rendered futile: the interest of the people will be properly served. All well-wishers of Mauritius will eagerly watch the results of the elections.

There is no communal question over there. Hindus and Mahomedans have all identified themselves as sons of Mauritius. The bogey of religions differences has been exploded, and Professor Bissondoyal, a true son of Mauritius, is guiding his people along the path of honour.

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Mr. K. V. Vaidya of the Times of India, addressing the members of the Indian and 'Eastern Newspaper Society at Madras, is reported to have said towards the beginning of the year, sometime in the first week of January, that India, exposed on three sides to any attack by sea, could be easily set upon by carrier-based planes coming from a long distance. India, once she decides upon her naval programme, would have first to establish three naval bases-one at the Andamans, another at Trincomali and a third at Mauritius. Professor Bissondoyal is emphatically of the opinion that Mauritius should move forward to help India and safeguard her defence for the sake of the peace of the world. If, he says, so little an island like Mauritius can play an important role and help much bigger countries to promote peace, it should do its duty without hesitation. If Mauritius can influence the future of Indo-British relations for good, why should it deny itself the honour of coming forwrad to contribute its mite?

Surely there will be found many other ways to cement the bond of union between India and Mauritius. What counts is not the provincial or communal or even racial aspect of the matter, though that counts so far as it goes, but the international aspect of the question. The houses both of India and Mauritius should be put in order for the purpose of serving larger interests.

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WEAVING IN ASSAM

By Dr. S. K. BHUYAN, M.B.E., Ph.D. (Lond.),

Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam

Our leaders have suggested spinning and weaving in every Indian home as a means of solving the cloth problem, and as a step towards the economic upliftment of the country. To the Assamese, however, it is a matter for gratification and pleasure that spinning and weaving were, and still now are, prevalent amongst them, irrespective of community and religion and social and economic status. All kinds of clothe, from cotton handkerchiefs to gorgeously brocaded and golden embroidered breast-pieces and skirts and chaddars, constitute the handiwork of Assamese ladies. The tribes on the Assam frontier were pacified by presents of Assamese cloths, and distant rulers and potentates were converted into friends by the same presents. There are many factors at the bottom of this unique custom, the principal ones being the patriotic seal of the old-time Assamese people and the measures adopted by the State.

The Assamese of yore abhorred the idea of using foreign apparels. King Naranarayan of Cooch Behar once, sent to the Ahom King Khora Raja several articles as presents including "five beautiful silk saris made in Barnagar." The four Koch envoys who brought the present were received by the Bargohain at the instance of the Ahom monarch. The Minister said to the arrow which you have brought

are worn by Kharchais or undesirable women of this place. They are not worn by men. How is this that you, being ambassadors, have brought apparels worn by women?" The Bargohain then dismissed the four envoys and gave them mekhelas or skirts, sewn in the middle.

The Raja of Mantara had once presented to his father-in-law, the Nara Raja, a suit of garments. The Raja of Nara, which was the original home of the Ahoms, consulted his ministers as to the propriety of wearing the presents. They in a body replied, "A foreign article, however good it may be, should not be worn by the monarch."

King Rudra Singha presented to his ministers sets of garments of the Mughal fashion consisting of cloaks, head-dresses and shoes. The three Dangarias returned the presents saying, "Why should we wear these presents imitating the fashions of foreigners in supersession of our own indigenous costumes?"

The measures adopted by Momai-tamuli Barbarua during the reign of Swargadeo Pratap Singh give an idea of the efforts made by the State. The Barbarua promulgated an order that every woman must spin during the course of the night two cops of yarn. The village headman while going round the locality next day would find out whether work in pursuance of this

order was done or not. It was also the custom of every household to contribute to the royal stores an allotted quantity of silk yarn annually.

But we feel specially gratified when we recollect a measure adopted by Queen Sarbeswari Devi, consort of King Siva Singha. Coins were struck in her name during 1739 to 1744 A.D., as was done in the case of the two earlier queen-regnants Phuleswari Devi and Ambika Devi. The apartments, the courtyard and the grounds of royal palaces remain in many cases practically empty, or they accommodate articles of luxury, or paraphernalias of pomp and grandeur, or attractive gardens. But Queen Sarbeswari Devi admitted the girls of her subjects within the palace enclosures and taught them to spin. The girls who were musically inclined

were taught music. About this we quote the following excerpts from a contemporary chronicle or Buranji:

"Anadari, the daughter of Solal Bargohain, became the Barkuanri or chief consort of the King, when she took the name Sarbeswari . . The Queen adopted a Bhutanese boy and kept him with her as a ligira or attendant . . As an innovation, she admitted inside numerous batches of girls belonging to all communities and castes and engaged them in spinning. She also taught music to girls who were musically inclined."

We now ask: In the year 1740, how many kings of the world laid open their palaces and gardens for the benefit of the subjects, and how many queens brought into the royal premises girls of all denominations for teaching them spinning and music?

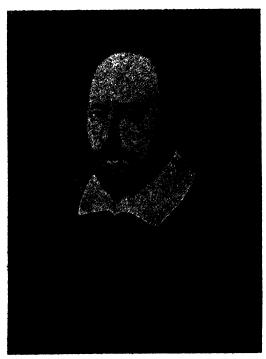
LONDON'S GALLERY OF THE GREAT

By JOHN STEEGMAN

LONDON contains a museum which was the first of its kind in the world and which even now has only two rivals, one in Edinburgh and one in Dublin, both very much smaller and of recent foundation. It is the

very few great men in our story whose authentic portraits are not in that collection.

A man, to qualify for this posthumous honour, must have made an outstanding contribution to whatever department of human endeavour he adorned:



William Shakespeare

National Portrait Gallery, whose name exactly defines its nature: a collection of portraits of men and women who have played a prominent part in the history of Great Britain and her Empire. One cannot say "from the earliest days of that history," because portrait-painting as a separate and distinct craft did not exist in England before the beginning of the sixteenth century. But from the days of Henry VIII, there are



Horatio Nelson

Letters, the Arts, Politics, Statecraft, Science, Exploration, the Profession of Arms, the Law, Religion, or, since he was an Englishman, Eccentricity. It is not enough that he should be merely "well-known" in the history of his profession; he must have had a profound and lasting effect on that history, and his fame must be such that his name is familiar to the average educated visitor.

As individualists the English, and even more the Scots, are proverbial all over the world—active, unpredictable creatures who act as they do because "they are damned if they will be dictated to by anyone!" It was not very comfortable to be in the company of Queen Elizabeth, or Florence Nightingale, or Shelley, or John Wesley, or Sir Thomas More, but each of



Florence Nightingale

these proceeded on his perilous, difficult path absolutely convinced that he was right, and that everyone else was wrong, and of course, they were right! You can see them in the National Portrait Gallery: Elisabeth, all brains and arrogance; Nightingale, inflexible purpose; Shelley, all revolutionary passion; Wesley, saintliness and inexhaustible energy; More, unshakable in the helief that his own conscience was right, and that his King was wrong.

The poets are quite unlike the poets of any other country. They many their romantic songs in their own

lyrical, unclassic language, and would have nothing to do with the rules observed everywhere else. They have made the English language the beautiful, rich, evocative tongue that it is (except when it is used in business correspondence). Their portraits are all to be seen: Shakespeare, Dryden, Gray of "The Elegy," Byron, Keats, Wordsworth, Tennyson. It would be very difficult to find someone in any country of the world who had never read a word by any of these in some translation, or in whom the sight of one of these portraits would not awaken the memory of a poem or a couplet.

In the Portrait Gallery are to be seen the faces of Wilberforce and Clarke, who have the imperishable bonour of having won for millions of men and women their physical and spiritual freedom. Rousseau preached the freedom of mankind, and England practised it when she set an example to the world by abolishing slavery throughout the Empire.



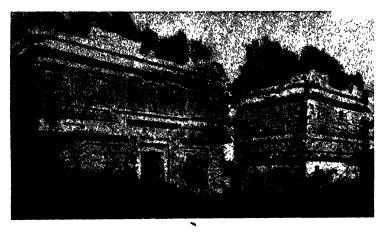
Lawrence of Arabia

There are no tyrants in the National Portrait Gallery. But there are the breakers of tyrants; Elizabeth and Sir Francis Drake, who destroyed the power of Philip II of Spain to dominate Europe; John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, who destroyed the might of the megalomaniac Louis XIV, and enabled Europe to breathe again freely for a while; William Pitt and Lord Nelson, and the Duke of Wellington, who together proved that Portsmouth and Whitehall were in the end too strong for the giant who terrorised Europe from Madrid to Moscow.

ARYAN RULERS OF AMERICA

By CHAMAN LAL

THE caste system of the Aryan Incas (rulers of Peru) was as rigid as and very similiar to that of the Aryan-Brahmins: and in the beginning was instituted for the same purpose,-namely, in a desperate effort to preserve the purity of the White race.



South Indian imprints on a Mexican palace

No one of the lower orders could marry a woman of Inca blood on pain of death.—The Ayar Incas, p. 258.

Many of Inca hymns and prayers were similar to our own. The traces of the common origin of both can be found in the Rig Veda and the Zend-Avesta. They had been preserved by oral traditions from their still older sources before the invention of writing.

No doubt they had taken form in the religious rituals of the great parent race before the development of separate cultures of the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans.-The Ayar-Incas

Races Aryans de Peru.

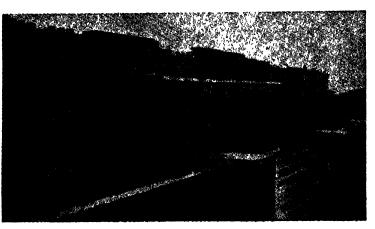
was the worship of the ancestors of the family.

a definite impression of their being Hindus.

Ambassador Miles Poindexter of the United States who spent several years in Peru and made personal investigations from the descendants of the Inca rulers, has now proved beyond doubt that the founders of the Inca dynasty were four "Ayar"

Brahmins: Ayar-Manco Topa, Ayar -Chaki Topa, Ayar-Aucca Topa, Ayar-Uyssu Topa.

The Incas observed the Hindu caste system and performed the sacred thread ritual more or less exactly as we perform today in India. The language of Peru (quichua) has more than a thousand Sanskrit roots and I have brought with me & vocabulary called the Aryo-Quichua vocabulary compiled by Lopez, author of The Aryan Races of Peru. The Spanish author who spent his life in Peru writes that one finds the imprints of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata on every page of Perucian poetry, and Peruvian music



A Mexican palace bears imprints of South Indian Architecture

The poetry of Peru bears • the imprint of the is based on the Hindu music. The Peruvian National Ramayana and the Mahabharata on each page. Le Museum at Lima has even today preserved all Hindu musical instruments.

Asia and America.-Mr. Miles Poindexter, former-As among the Aryans of India, the worship by ly United States Ambassador to Peru, has done signal the Incas of the omnipotent and invisible spirit, Vira- service to the sciences of Anthropology and Ethnococha, creator and preserver of the world, was logy by publishing two brilliant volumes on the confined to the higher castes. The intimate family Ayar Incas of Peru of which the second volume deals religion of the common people, as in China and India, with their Asiatic origins. It is, indeed, a fascinating subject. The author has endeavoured to show that the Seven years ago when I published my book I had Ayars of Peru are the proto-Aryan emigrants from stated that the customs, beliefs and religious care- Asia to South America, as the word "Ayar" itself monials of the Inca rulers of South America gave me expresses the phonological connection with the word "Arya." The similarity does not stop with the casual

resemblance of two isolated words. The arts and faiths, the rites and ceremonies, the customs and manners, and even the physical features and languages of these two races separated by wide distances of space and time show marked traces of close affinity; and hence the inevitable conclusion of a common origin. Of course, the author is aware of the existence



A Mexican woman prepares chapati (Hindu bread)

of a school which holds that two distinct races in distant places may develop similar tendencies under similar environments. But evidences as to a common origin are too weighty to be discarded in favour of such a debatable hypothesis. There is the tradition among various Polynesian tribes, such as the Maoris of the extensive voyages of their early ancestors, and there is the corroboration of the fact in the tradition of South American Indians, such as the Incas and Mayas, regarding the distant homelands from which they migrated. The sciences of Anthropology and Ethnology augmented by philological evidences

show that the Polynesians are Aryans. Mr. Poindexter rightly observes that

"America in race and culture was but an extension of Asia; and in pre-glacial times it was geographically so. Columbus was not mistaken when he called the people of the new world Indians'. They were of that and kindred mixed races and the unbroken line of blood and culture bound together the two shores of the Pacific Ocean."

Modern Hindus, who, for the most part, have become incorrigible stay-at-homes would be surprised to look back and behold the faint footprints of their pre-historic ancestors fading away in the sands of time. They were a race of giants fired with wander-lust; and their motto seems to have been in the words

of the Aitereya Brahmana, "Charaiveti charaiveti charaiveti tam abravit"—"Wander forth, wander forth, wander forth, wander forth." They might have migrated partly by land through the Behring Strait and the Aleutian Islands and partly by sea, their canoes carried to the Chilean coast by the South Pacific Current, known to navigators as the South Pacific Drift or the New

Zealand Current. "These early men," says Mr. Poindexter, "were among the greatest, perhaps very greatest navigators, considering their meagre equipment in the history of man's voyaging upon the sea" (p. 174-5).

Asia to America.—But what are the most prominent and notable similarities in the arts and sciences, customs and beliefs of these peoples, apart from their ancient traditions of origin? Mr. Poindexter asserts:

"There is a striking similarity between the Quichuas and Ayamras of the Peruvian and Bolivian Andres—in dress, colour, physique, and mode of



He looks like a Hindu goldsmith

life—and the people living in the high valley and river gorges of the huge mountain system along the border between Tibet, Nepal and the Chinese Provinces of Yunnan and Szechwan. Photographs of these people of the Asiatic Highlands, taken by recent travellers, might well pass for photographs of the mountaineers about Cuzco and La Paz."

And he goes on to enumerate the various common features.

Tibet and Peru.—Indian corn is the staple food of the Peruvians as well as of the Lutzu people in the remote gorges of the Selwin, and beer made from maise is the common drink. Even the reed flute these distant folk play is of the same type and shape. The Tibetans kept their records with knotted cords before

the 7th Century A.D., in the same manner as the Incas of Peru. The history of sovereigns who had governed the country, and the principal events that had taken place in the nation, was written in well-bound books of papyrus or parchment, covered with highly ornamented wooden boards. These books were exactly like the holy books now in use in Tibet. The latter are also written on parchment strips about eighteen inches long and four inches broad, bound with wooden boards, and wrapped up in curiously embroidered silk. Many



America's oldest temple

of the roots of the Tibeto-Burman family have been recognized in the Quichua and Yungu languages of Peru. In Tibet as well as in Peru, gold and copper were minted from early times.

Puranic Beliefs in Peru.—An idol from the north coast of Peru (p. 111) represents the Sun God seated upon a turtle and a serpent; and it remains one of the myth of the Satapatha Brammana where the primeval tortoise Adi Kurma is referred to as the source and support of all things, and the current Puranic conception of the earth being supported by the Serpent Ananta who in turn is supported by the turtle or tortoise.

One of the most interesting facts that go to prove the Indian origin of these ancient South Americans is the appearance of the elephant in Mayan sculptures, for the elephant was otherwise unknown to America. Says Mr. Poindexter:

"Among the ruins of the pre-historic Mayan City of Copan in Honduras, on a large monolith in one of the long-abandoned courtyards appear carved in high-relief two elephant-heads with typical trappings of Indian elephants. Characteristic Hindu or Cambodian mahouts wearing typical Hindu or Indo-Chinese turbans are mounted upon them."

Another interesting feature suggestive of common origin is the occurrence of the makara motif notably

in Mayan art. This composite "wonder-beast" assumes manifold forms in graphic art. It is one of the most frequent decorative forms sculptured in medieval Hindu temples. It was represented as a dragon, an elephant fish, and a crocodile snake. Smith, the learned author of the *Elephants and Ethnologists*, has traced the origin of this fabulous creature from its earliest form as the antelope-fish, which he regards as Babylonian. It may be noted in passing that the conception of makara as the antelope-fish is even now

prevalent in Indian lore, as in the Western concepts of Capricorn, with the head of a goat or deer and the body of a fish.

The division of the some of the ecliptic into equal parts and the use of animal names for each was admittedly Asiatic in origin. Seven of the twenty days constituting the Astecmenth bore names of the hoary signs which were evidently introduced from Asia. Though the Astec Calendar only dated from the seventh century A. D., the Zodiacal tradition embedded in it might have been very ancient. In the place of the sixty year cycle of the East in



Gate of the Sun

general and of Hindu in particular, the Mexicans have a fifty-two year cycle.

"The Mexicans shared", says Mr. Poindexter, "the tradition of the Hindus, and all peoples of Aryan origin, that the World had been several times destroyed and they looked for its destruction again at the end of a cycle."

The tradition of the destruction of the world by flood at the end of an age or Yuga, as we call it, was known to the Mexicans, as well as to various other races of the earth. The resemblance of the Mexican doctrine to that of the Hindus is more striking as they alike speak of four ages or Yugas at the end of which there is destruction.

Goddess Maya from India.—And now the similarity of religious beliefs. Referring to the Goddess Maya from whom the Mexican race derives its name, Mr. Poindexter says:

"This same Mother of the Gods was carried to America and appeared in the Maya theogony of Yucatan under the name—Maya—in the same functions she performed in India."



A Naga temple in America

In Mexico, Maya was also called the Mother of the Gods. She was characterised in Mexico by the same emblem of the lotus as in India. This, indeed, is an irrefutable proof of the common origin of the faiths.

Incas had Sacred Thread.—
There were many unmistakable resemblances in social customs and rites. The division of castes of the Incas was as precise as that which existed in Egypt or Hindustan, quotes Poindexter from Prescott's Conquest of Peru. An elaborate ceremony of initiation called "Huaracu"

analogous to the Upanayana of the Hindus was in vogue. The youths of the Ayar Inca nobility at about sixteen years of age were given a badge of manhood—the huamcu, after the performance of the sacrificial rite.

"This Huaracu was a cord made of aloe fibre and the sinews of sheep (llama), the aloe fibre being like flax."

We find even the counterpart of the mekhala and the kauping.

"The insignia was conferred upon the youth upon his arrival at the age of puberty, and consisted of a cord of the thickness of a finger, which was fastened around the boy's waist and tied back of his kidneys."

In front a small triangular piece of woollen cloth

cloth were extended lengthwise along the cord and sewed to it and the third point or corner of the cloth was passed between the thighs and fastened to the cord on the back. What an exact description of the wearing of a kaupina! The wearing of a huge golden ear plug (the same as the Indian kundala) was considered the insignia of aristocracy. The lobe of the

ear was pierced and gradually enlarged to receive the huge plug whereby the Inca nobles were called *Orejones* (*Big Ears*) by the Spaniards.

Sanskrit in Peru.—Mr. Poindexter has given a pretty long list of words of the Quichua languages and their analogous forms in Sanskrit. In the field of linguistic research, the author has his own limitations, but it must be borne in mind that he attempts only to suggest that the parents of both these languages might have had a common origin. Particularly interesting is the word kon, which designates one of the most ancient solar deities of the Peruvian Yungas. The



The stones speak

word is said to be of the same root and origin as the Japanese kon (Lord). It is a well-known fact that kon, or ko in Dravidian means at once lord, kind, and God.

INDIA-THE SOURCE

In India it is Deo, or Deota.

In Spanish it is dios, in Greek it is Theos, in Mexico it was Teot (according to Cortes the invader).

This clearly proves that the essentials of the primitive man and the primitive man himself, found their way, by expansion, contact, fusion, direct migration, war, trade and the chase from a common origin in the high lands of Asia, to Europe on the one hand and 'America on the other.

LOST THEIR LANGUAGE

The Ayar Inca rulers of Peru did possess a written language but they lost it during four hundred years

of struggle, according to U. S. Ambassador Miles Poindexter. He writes:

"As throughout Polynesia and elsewhere it was a war between kinsmen of Aryan against Aryan. . . The defeat of the Ayars in the Pass of Vilcanota was followed by governmental confusion, disintegration of the kingdom, social disorder, moral and racial decay, and invasion by a 'multitude of tribes which came from all directions.' . . . Thus was the government of the Peruvian monarchy lost and destroyed. It did not come to its own for 400 years and the knowledge of letters was lost. The Ayars maintained their superior discipline and the service of the religion of Viracocha in the romantic and picturesque fastness of the Vilcapampa (hills). In a subsequent generation, when it was sought to revive letters, the effort was suppressed by the Vilcapampa monarch, Tupac Cauri, on the advice of a priest, on penalty of death."

ARYAN TEACHER FROM INDIA

There was a universal Inca tradition according to Cieza de Leon, Sarmiento and Salacmayhua of a white teacher who had appeared in the highlands (of Peru) in the very earliest times and given the people their civilisation. He was called *Tonapa* or *Tarapaca*—the latter word meaning eagle (Garuda) the god-bird of the Indo-Aryans. He told them to do no evil or injury to one another and that they should be loving and charitable to all.

This teacher was white and dressed in a white robe like an Alb, secured round the waist (Dhoti?) and that he carried a staff and a book in his hands.

History of the Incas. (Hak. Soc.), p. 35.

Indra In America

"The worship of Inti (or Indu), the Sun, from the splendid temple, on the heights of the Andes, as well as the more spiritual esoteric worship of Viracocha, appears to have been derived from the same original source as that of the Aryan Mithras, from a time before Indo-Iranian division. The attributes of Inti, the Peruvian Sun-God, visibly appearing and worshipped as the Sun itself, are in large part identical with those of the Indo-Aryan Indra, 'God of the clear sky,' lord of the elements, of the rain and thunder, Varuna, in the Vedic mythology, makes the Sun shme, the wind is his breath; river valleys are hollowed out at his command."—The Ayar Incas, p. 201.

AMERICA-EXTENSION OF ASIA"

"America in race and culture was but an extansion of Asia; and it is said that in pre-glacial times it was geographically so.

"Columbus was not mistaken when he called the people of the new world Indians." They were of that and kindred mixed races and an unbroken lire of blood and culture bound together the two shot is of the Pacific ocean."—Ambassador Miles Poindexter.

VIRACOCHA' IS GANESHA

"Viracocha was a deity of the people of Peru. Vira (or Uira) and Varuna suggest an interesting comparison with the primitive Greek Uranus—the sky, husband and fructifier of the earth. Also compare the word Vira (in Viracocha) with the typically Aryan Virud (in Virudhaka) of the Chinese Buddhists,—the "Ruler of the South." The latter wore an elephanthead helmet; while inscribed upon the walls of the temple at Palenque (Mexico) is the figure of a man (God) wearing the skin of an elephant's head upon his own."—Smith.

This was no other God but our Ganesha.

PERU AND PURURAVA ABYAN RULER OF THE SEAS

The great Pururava (Aryan King) held sway over thirteen islands of the sea.

The Paurava line was descended from Pururava, and the founder was King Dushmanta, gifted with great energy. And he was the protector of the earth bounded by the four seas. And that king had sway over the four quarters of the world. And he was lord also of various regions in the midst of the sea.—Adi Parva of the Mahabharata, Section Ixviii.

ARYAN ROUTE TO PERU—"INDO-ARYA TO AMERICA"

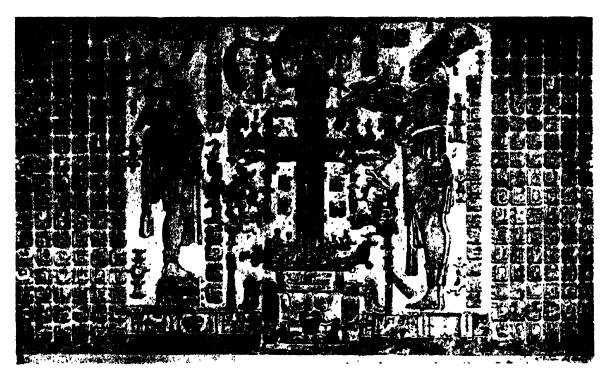
Ambassador Miles Poindexter writes:

Primitive Aryan words and people no doubt came to America in the way cited by Kimmich in archaic times before the Indo-Iranian separation and dispersion north and south of Hindukush. But they no doubt also came by other routes and from other fountain heads at later times—especially from Indo-Arya by the island chain of Polynesia.

Kimmich, the renowed research scholar and historian of South America, wrote thirty years

I believe they (the Aryans) arrived in boats like the junks which the Chinese people had in that epoch, and also the Catamarans (Tamil word for boat) of the Malayans which carried as much as one hundred tons. The Malayans and their relatives the Polynesians crossed in these boats the entire Pacific, populating it little by little, arriving in the fifth century A. D. in the Marquesas Islands and Hawaii, whence it is no more than thirty days journey to Peru. From the Marquesas to Lima (capital of Peru) which two are almost on the same parallel of latitude, is a distance some thousand leagues, the same from Hawaii to Guatemala, which latter two are approximately on the same parallel.





This slab from a Central American temple depicts the ecremony of slaying the year bird (Shyena), mentioned in Chapter IV of the Rig Veda

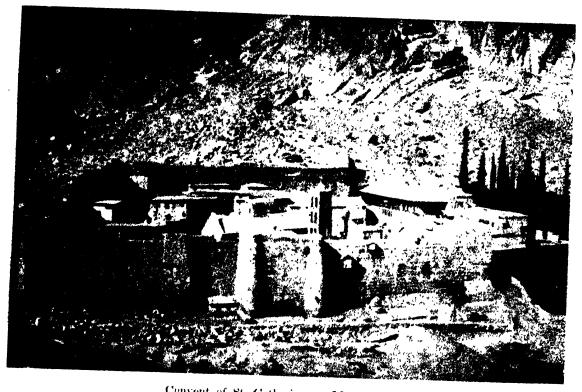


A Mexican woman with typical Hindu expression on her face



A Central American worean going to a commu-, nity bakery to get *chapati* prepared

PALESTINE



Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai It was founded by Emperor Justiman in A.D. 559



Along the desolate Wadi ed Deir, in which the Convent of St. Catherine with its fortified walls shines like a jewel, lies the path to Gebel Musa

NEW ROMANTICISM

By PROF. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

And what is romanticism? Like Jesting Pilate one might cynically ask without waiting for a reply. For romanticism has gathered during all this time only a nebulosity about it which gives a vague and faint incandescence but no clear light. This is because romantic experience itself is very often vague, vanishing and formless, tending sometimes to become almost anarchical. It is naturally difficult to fix upon, in concrete terms, the evanascent essence of this inconstant experience. Like Browning's thread it eternally tantalises. Critics, however, have analysed romanticism, focussed upon its inner depths from individual standpoints. A classification of the different approaches to romanticism will be illuminating here. Pater, Watts-Dunton and others would insist upon an element of wonder and strangeness being its essence. Another group of critics -- Herford, for example-would look upon romanticism as "an extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility." A third group of critics would represent romanticism as a spirit of revolt, Grierson, for example. The surrealists of whom Herbert Read seems to be an exponent-would go further than that and identify romanticism with the "principles of life, of creation, of liberation," and classicism with the "principle of order, control and repression." Classicism in their opinion is the intellectual counterpart of political tyranny, and romanticism, of liberation. Yet another group, represented by Wyndham Lewis, would view classicism as denoting something solid, permanent, built upon sound common sense, and romanticism as something, "dishevelled, ethereal, misty," and changeful. Again, another opinion insists that romanticism is allied to medievalism which is a collective name for so many shings.

These definitions or rather descriptions of romanticism—and such an abstraction as romanticism is more amenable to description than definition-are more or less satisfactory but do not reach any finality. To identify romanticism with medievalism is only to touch its fringes where it contains some elements which are probably accidental accretions rather than essential ingredients. Wonder is, of course, an element of it. But wonder, for the matter of that, is an element common to all poetry. When a modern poet writes eloquently on a sky-scraper or a pylon or a railway train, it is the same wonder that is radiated into his heart, Similarly, this ancient wonder was stirring behind the magnificent choruses of Prometheus Vinctust What Sophocles heard on the Aegean long ago was the eternal rhythm of the same mystery, and human destiny, sitting in Sphinx-like silence, moved

him with inscritable wonder to eloquent outbursts. Mere wonder therefore can not explain romanticism. Wonder only kindles emotion. But the aesthetic shape it assumes in the process of being expressed, depends upon the pattern of mind that moulds it and gives it either romantic or classic character.

Mr. Lewis approaches romanticism in a spirit which recognises the peculiar modes of romantic expression. Going deeper into the core of it, one comes across various factors, aesthetic and historical, which go to explain its peculiar character. From the foregoing accounts of romanticism, it will appear that it has got, broadly speaking, two aspects, an imagination-aspect and a revolt-aspect. Imagination, however, is not absent in the revolt. But the extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility, a total enfranchisement of imagination, lends it aesthetic value and helps in a newer co-ordination and synthesis. Imagination is a common element. But in some cases, imagination creates beauty for the sake of beauty, but in other cases, it encourages revolt and inspires a passion for the future.

In its revolt-aspect, it is more sociological than artistic. All values, as we know, originate from the individual and poetry is woven out of the individual's reaction to the world. Historically speaking, ages of romantic movements have also been ages of political and social upheavals. In such ages it is seen that time goes out of joint, the individual mind becomes disintegrated, revolts against accepted values and turns upon itself, and finally becomes an isolated point in society. It is here that romanticism begins. It begins in the individual artist's de-socialised solitary soul, stormy and seething with discontent, or at times, reaching out for a new social equilibrium. A value thus originating from the tempestuous seat of an individual's feeling and volition goes out new-born and alone, but charged with a new spiritual and intellectual electricity, to create out of the shattered present a new heaven and a new earth, which it often fails to do, and then to reach out into the glorious dawn of the unborn future for fulfilment, harmony and synthesis. Here do the poets become unacknowledged legislators of, the world. When these personal values bursting out of the shells of the individual's mind become de-personalised and socialised, when ashes and sparks have actually not only quickened but consolidated a new birth, the storm ceases, there is calm of belief and acceptance, and impersonal and tiniversal standards of judgment afford moorings to the wandering soul; romanticism ceases and emerges classicism which means pattern, order, normalcy and

standardisation. Romanticism and classicism are thus two stages in the socialisation of personal values, from their inception to their social acclimatisation.

Again, it will be seen that romanticism manifests itself in two aspects, each representing distinct social epochs or social trends. When the disintegration of the individuals from the world begins, it takes one particular form,-generally, a form of intense individualism, a desperate inward search, a feeding upon one's own inner mind. This is one aspect. Then us a result of this stagnated emotional existence within the limits of one's own brains and sensations, a healthy and natural outflow is irrigated out into the world, into the present and into the future, in search of normal living space, normal world-communion. It is here that attempts at synthesis begin. The Ivory Tower shakes. The magic mirror cracks. The morbid individualist dies and is resurrected into a prophetic vision of the future.

The English poetry of the war, post-war and between two-wars-period is intensely romantic. Romantic expression has changed, but romantic feeling stirs stubbornly at the centre of the creative impulse. Among the poets of the post-war generation, Eliot alone presents some difficulty. His apparently unromantic gesture, his dry, matter-of-fact manner of looking at things, the deep current of satire and irony that waters the course of his poetry, would naturally lead an unsuspecting critic into thinking that he is an un-romantic reaction against the decadent romanticism of Georgian poetry. But the post-war period was one of stark disillusionment and tragic indecision. Preparedness for a break-down of poetic tradition as this age witnessed, had already begun, the war only Lastening its consummation. Of this period Eliot was a typical poet, with his heritage of anarchy full upon his shoulders and he exposed the modern Waste Land peopled by its hollowmen in its nakedness. A chronicler of this sterile and decadent life in verse, Eliot remains, not an un-romantic poet, but a dissatisfied romanticist, a superb example of what may be called negative romanticism.

Pound before the war and after it, specially, for his Cantos are post-war products, and Eliot after the war, represent the strong discontent consequent upon dis-orientation and confusion of values. The discoveries of new scientific laws and new advances in philosophic thought which characterise the twentieth century had come into conflict with accepted creeds and cherished dogmas, and had immense possibility for creating a re-valuation of values and sending man on an inward errand into his own unfathomed soul. Then came war and a storm swept away the beliefs of the war-torn generation, involving the poets, the most sensitive points in the society, into a complete moral and spiritual cataclysm. With a bleak and sordid objective world to communicate with, they preferred to jump headlong into the unplumbed depths of their own soul and explored the twilight regions of their own sub-

conscious. This is what we find in Eliot and Pound. Eliot's poems are highly introspective, the result of an inward turning of the eye, revealing the inner process of consciousness. The same thing is found in Pound also, specially, in Cantos, where, as a result of too exclusive individualism, pursued with occult seclusion, a stagnation, and finally, an anarchy, rule over all sense of poetry and art (in spite of the eloquent title the Cantos earned as 'the divine comedy of the twentieth century'). But both Pound and Eliot are romantic. Pound's pre-war poems were fairly sane but not his Cantos. The pressure of the swelling, seething subconscious was already too great, and the war deepened and intensified it to the flood-level, until it engulfed him completely in the Cantos. Pound is romantic because in him there is an extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility which has helped him not only to adventure into the wide wide world which all poets do, but also to explore the depths of his own un-rational and instinctive mind. So also is Eliot. Changeful, clusive, allusive, Eliot appears at the first instance to be the very antithesis of romanticism. But all through his poems there is a deep undertone of sensibility, and elusive interplay of imagination, that would admit no convention of form and expression, but embody the emotional moods in highly intellectualised and unconventional patterns. "What the Thunder Says" in Waste Land may well illustrate his imaginative sensibility. Surrealism may also be said to represent this kind of romanticism, in which the solid material reality outside evaporates and the process of consciousness comes out naked.

But romanticism has taken another shape, a more reassuring one. Here also imagination which is the basis of all poetry has passed through a highly stimulating process, so that it is no longer content to remain confined within the charted limits of the previous ages, but passes daringly out into the known in search of new synthesis of life. Elements of modern life have passed into the chemistry of poetry making it very rich. To pluck poetry out of steel and stone, out of darkness and despair, out of wars and destruction, is no easy affair. But poetry is wedded to zeitgeist. Imagination flies freer than before and beauty takes a new, if rude and contorted, shape. The stone and steel have their poetry no less than pansies and pinks. How do the poets describe the pylons? They are the symbols of the future :

The statement of their steel Contradicts nature's softer architechture.

Yet they are the outposts of the trekking future. Into the thatch-hung consciousness of hamlets They blaze new thoughts, new habits.

Traditions

Are being trod down like flowers druppen by children. Already that farm boy striding and throwing seed

Looks grey with antiquity as his dead forebears, A half-familiar figure out of the Georgics,

Unheeded by these new-world, rational towers.
(Pylons, Stanley Sneith).

To Spender also pylons stand as similar symbols but their beauty stirs the poet's imagination to its depths:

Pylons, those pillars
Bare like nude, giant girls that have no secret.

But far above and far as sight endures
Like whips of anger
With lightning's danger
There runs the quick perspective of the future.

It is interesting to note how the poet describes the beauty of the machine with romantic fervour:

What nudity as beautiful as this
Obedient monster purring at its toil;
Those naked muscles dripping oil,
And the sure-fingered rods that never miss?

(Portrait of a Machine, L. Untermeyer).

In describing an aeroplane Spender's imagination gets inspired with a new conception of beauty:

More beautiful and soft than any moth. With burring furred antennae feeling its huge path Through dusk, the air-liner with shut-off engines. Glides over suburbs and the sleeves set trailing tall To point the wind. Gently, broadly, she falls Scarcely disturbing the charted currents of air.

C. Day Lewis, even when he does not glorify machine-age, can not get away from machine-image which has entered into the pith and marrow of his poetry, intensifying his romanticism. Poems 3 and 5 of his Magnetic Mountain are allegeries based upon machine-image:

Iron in the soul, Spirit steeled in fire, Needle trembling on the truth These shall draw me there.—(Poem 3).

Similarly his vision of the new world is clothed in machine-images:

Bore
Through the tough crust. Oh learn to feel
A way in darkness to good ore.
You are the magnet and the steel.
Out of the dark a new world flowers.
There in the womb, in the rich veins
Are tools, dynamos, bridges, towers,
Your tractors and your travelling-cranes.
(The Magnetic Mountain, 28)

This is one attitude. Another attitude is that of a prophetic longing for the future. Socio-political questions have been uppermost in the minds of the younger generation of poets of the post-war period, poets like Day Lewis, Auden and Spender. Auden pictures the inner disease of the society dramatically and poetically and then wants to cure it.

Send to us power and light, a sovereign touch The exhaustion of wearing, the liur's quinsy, etc.

(Poem 30)

Day Lewis and Spender dream of the future. The post-war age, with its disintegration and social evils, created a deep unrest in the minds of the above poets, but the impact of socialistic ideas saved them from sinking into pure individualism. What we find in these poets is an attempt at a social synthesis, what has already been termed a stage in the socialisation of personal values. In their passion for a reformed world, they utter, with the zeal and fervour of Shelley, prophetic words about a healthier world. They do not escape into the Ivory Tower. They stand on the solid earth, sow the seeds and look up to the brilliant harvest of the future. In short, they synthesise themselves with the world, the present with the future. When Day Lewis speaks of the regenerated world, his voice is like Shelley's asking West Wind to scatter his words among mankind:

Make us a wind

To shake the world out of this sleepy sickness

Where flesh has dwindled and brightness waned.

Make us the wind

From a new world that springs and guthers force,

Cleaning the air, cleaning the wound.

(The Magnetic Mountain, 31)

On his Magnetic Mountain there is a beacon signalling to a new age:

On our magnetic mountain a bracon burning Shall sign the peace we hoped for, soon or late, Clear over a clean earth, and all men turning Like infant's cycs like sunflowers to the light. (No. 36)

Similar prophetic passion is also evident in Spender's poems, c.g., "After They Have Tired."

Where lies romanticism? It lies in the imaginative venture into the unplumbed depths of the soul, in the almost idealistic disregard for external reality as such and concentration on the inner reality of the mind. It lies in the new imaginative mapping up and charting of the modern age of mechanism, with its tractors, dynamos and air-liners, throbbing with a new quivering intensity; in the holding of the mirror up to science, so to say; in the gathering of ever richer ingredients for poetry. It lies in the imaginative exploration of the fough and rugged mountain pass that will take us to the new world whose glowing outline looms alluringly in the perspective. In the overthrow of values, there is romanticism, because it involves a certain imaginative venture. In the recreation of values too there is romanticism, because there imagination is called upon to a more difficult task, a far richer and more complicated process of synthesis. In modern poetry, we witness both.



BACKGROUND OF THE SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1937-45)

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The catastrophe that has been again and again overtaking human culture and civilisation for many years past will in the long run involve our species and all that it has built up through centuries of tedious labour unless the existing social and political set-up are radically changed. And the sooner this change comes, the better.

In the year 1930, the Nanking National Government had just established its authority, albeit superficial, over China. The Second Chinese Revolution (1926-27) had ended and the Nanking National Government had just come into being. Northern China and Manchuria acknowledged the authority of Nanking. It should not be supposed however that China was out of the woods as yet. Nor she is today. Nor will she be unless her internal differences are composed the essential pre-condition of which is the cessation of foreign intervention in China.

In the opening years of the fourth decade of the 20th century, the Chinese Communists were building up their strength in Kiangsi on the southern bank of the Yangtse. In 1931, they established the Chinese Soviet Government and organised the Chinese Red Army. The expedition sent by the Nanking Government against the Communists ended in a failure which considerably undermined the prestige of the National Government.

The Communist-Kuomingtang conflict was in itself a stumbling-block in the path of the unification of China. To make confusion worse confounded, there were bitter rivalries amongst the Kuomingtang partybosses themselves. The prestige, popularity and power of Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Nationalist Government, were an eyesore to not a few. Of these Wang Ching-wei deserves special mention. It was Wang who in 1927 had set up the Wuhan Government in collaboration with the Communists and the Left-wing of the Knomintang. He subsequently went over to the Japanese in 1939 and after the fall of Nanking, capital of Nationalist China, became the head of the Japanesesponsored Government there. Wang set an agitation on foot against Chiang in 1931. Two of the principal Northern Chinese Generals made common cause with him and stirred up a violent revolution in the north. Chiang Kai-shek, however, crushed this revolt with comparative case. Differences between the Kwungs war-lords and the Kuomingtang created new complications in the south.

Japan had in the meanwhile kept a vigilant eye on the trend, tempo and temper of China's internal bickerings. She had long cherished the desire of swooping down upon China at the first opportunity. She was very eager to annex the three northern provinces, namely, Heilung-kiang, Liaoning and Chilin or Kirin, which together are better known to foreigners as Manchuria. It was with this end in view that she had been for many years past extending her influence and consolidating her position in this region. This forward

Japanese policy was one of the main causes of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Every student of history knows how the Russian Titan was brought to his knees by the Japanese pigmy. By the Treaty of Portsmouth, signed in 1905. Russia surrendered her railway rights in Manchuria to Japan and withdrew from Manchuria, reluctantly though, Japan at once set herself to the task of consoliditing her newly acquired gains, Under the provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth referred to above the South Manchurian Railway was strongly guarded by the Japanese army. A large number of Japanese were appointed to various Government services in Manchuria. Fortune-hunters in not inconsiderable members settled down in the country. It might be noted in passing that colonisation Manchuria was never a very popular proposition Japan.

Manchuria, rich in natural resources, has a very fertile soil. During years of famine and of failure of crops the Chinese in their thousands from Northern China in general and from Hopei, Shantung and Honan in particular would migrate to Manchuria beyond the Great Walls in quest of food and shelter. In this way the population of Manchuria had nearly doubled during the years 1905-31.

While Japan was tightening her stranglehold on Manchuria, "prostitutes, criminals, bandits, tramps, and general good-for-nothings, seum that the great Japanese Empire cast off from its stores, poured into Manchuria to make their fortunes."* Goods, the entry of which was banned, were amugged into the country. The sale of opium and other narcotics increased manifold. Venereal discusses became very common in the Japaneseoccupied areas. Some of the Japanese immigrants were appointed 'advisers' to the Japanese army of occupation in Manchuria. They could, by virtue of their office, go everywhere without any late or hindrance. They utilised this opportunity to collect data useful from the military point of view and despatched the same to Japan. As luck would have it, these informers, quite unconsciously, did more disservice than service to their motherland. By instigating Japan against China in various ways they stood in the way of a peaceful solution of the Sino-Japanese lifferences. The wrong information supplied by them led Tokyo to believe that China would collapse like a house of cards at the very first impact. These 'China experts' however failed to discern the new national awakening in China and to gauge its magnitude and intensity.

The verdict of history is that Japan committed a very grave and costly blunder by invading China. The offensive nevertheless was assumed at a very opportune moment. We have to go back to the opening years of the thirties. The Kuomintang army was pre-occupied with the Communists in Central China. The National Government had neither the time nor the inclination

to pay attention to anything else. The inundation of the Hoang Ho and the Yangtsekiang—the most destructive floods of these two rivers in recorded history—had devastated a vast area of the country. Hundreds of thousands of families were drowned while many times more than this were confronted with starvation in the following winter for the consequent failure of crops. The Japanese invasion, which began in autumn when distress was acute and discontent at its highest, was thus very well-timed.

An explosion blew off a railway bridge on the South Manchurian Railway in the immediate vicinity of Mukden, the capital of Liaoning, at 10 in the evening on September 18, 1931. Japan laid the responsibility at the door of the Chinese army under General Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria. The Japanese army attacked the sleeping Chinese army in the barracks and exterminated it. Mukden was at once occupied.

All these were pre-arranged. Ameletto Vespa, an Italian, says in his book Secret Agents of Japan:

"The Japanese troops stationed at Liaoyang, Yingkow and Fenghuangchen had, the day before the incident, received their orders to advance on Mukden at 3 p.m. on September 18th. Seven hours before the alleged explosion they had already started towards their destination. By 4 a.m. of the 19th, only six hours after the alleged explosion, thousands of printed posters had already been posted on the walls of Mukden and in these it was said that the Manchurian Government was discredited, since it had ordered an attack on the Japanese railway."

Simultaneously with the occupation of Mukden the Chinese air-base in its suburbs together with 500 acroplanes fell in the hands of Japan. China did not find time to offer any opposition at all. On the following day, that is, on September 19, Japan occupied 18 Manchurian towns. Within less than a fortnight more than half the towns of Liaoning and Chilin had passed into the hands of Japan.

This crisis in the Far East created confusion and uncertainties among the nations, which had coonomic. political and strategic interests in that theatre. The realisation was forced upon all concerned that something must be done. But there were wide divergences of opinion as to what was to be done and how it was to be done. For a century and more the Western powers had acted upon the theory that China lacked the intellect and ability to set her own house in order by solving her internal problems. They believed that "the things which really mattered were the things dore to China, or in China or about China by the great powers." This trend of thought influenced the China policy of the powers. They did not do what they ought to have done. The great powers held the view that any attempt to save China from the clutches of Japan was purely altruistic. None believed that in the sphere of international politics China might be helped against Japan with as much profit as Japan against Russia.

Two arguments were advanced by some of the Western matters in support of Japan's China policy.

For one thing, China fully freed from foreign control "would be an unruly country" and this would irrevocably disturb and finally destroy the international balance of power in the Far East. So, if Japan assumes responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in China, none should oppose or be alarmed. For the other, what really matters in Far Eastern politics is not the Sino-Japanese relations, "the real issue was not between Japan and China at all, but between Japan and Russia." The supporters of this view argued that the Japanese invasion of Manchuria was definitely a move against Russia, Japan, they believed, would surely utilise Manchuria as a base of operations against Russia. If Japan won an easy victory, then for many years to come she would be pre-occupied with the arrangements for the fullest exploitation of the undeveloped regions of Eastern Siberia. She would have to approach England and France with a beggar's bowl for the capital necessary for the industrialisation of these regions. Hence she would have to maintain cordial relations with these powers perforce. If, on the other hand, the conquest of Siberia proved a tough proposition, the Western Democracies had nothing to lose. On the pretext of helping Japan against Russia they would recover their lost prestige in the Far East.

The Chinese people and their Government, placed as they were between the strong Japanese determination to grab Manchuria on the one hand and the indifference of the powers on the other, were puzzled and confused. China realised that the new Japanese menace was not a mere 20th century version of the 19th century Japanese imperialism. She could not be prevailed upon to abandon her policy this time by the cession of new treaty ports, lease of some new province or greater economic concessions. It was clear that Japan aimed at annexing not merely the vast and immensely rich north-eastern regions of China. The realisation dawned upon China's countless millions that the future of the Celestial Kingdom hinged on the outcome of the struggle that had just begun. If China went down, her independence, nay, her very existence as a nation would be relegated to the limbo of the past.

To take up the thread again. The Chinese Government remained inactive in the face of Japanese aggression. The Chinese army in Manchuria was ordered to retreat. Directives were issued to avoid collisions with the Japanese at all costs. The Government placed the matter before the League of Nations which was then in session at Geneva. China as well as Japan were members of the League. The Japanese spokesman assured the assembled League delegates that Japan had no intention of annexing Manchuria. All the while the Japanese army was advancing in Manchuria, China sat scrupulously inactive in expectation of intervention by the League of Nations.

England and France, the two leaders of the League, were frankly reluctant to go to war with Japan over the Manchurian issue. The U.S.A., which, by the way, was not a member, proposed to send warships to the

Pacific. She insisted at the same time that England must do the same. On the latter's failure to agree nothing came out of this proposal. Talks of removing Japanese troops from the railway sone and of creating an international zone in Manchuria were also heard. While all these talks were going on, the Japanese army was steadily continuing its advance in Manchuria. At last a commission of enquiry was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton. The commission reached Harbin in May, 1932, more than six months after the Japanese war machine had been set in motion against Manchuria. Japan had fully exploited the time she had gained to subduc Manchuria and to set up puppet Governments in all its three provinces.

Japanese authorities did everything in their power to prevent the Lytton Commission from getting at the truth. Special detectives were engaged to keep watch over the hotels in which the members of the Commission were accommodated. Only such attendants were engaged in three hotels as would not accept bribes or divulge the truth even at the cost of their lives. Quite a large number of Chinese were clapped behind the prison bars on suspicion of being in correspondence with the members of the Commission. Unlawful correspondence with the Commission, that is, correspondence which had not received the imprimatur of the Japanese authorities, was declared a capital offence.

Needless to say, the report of the Commission could not but be one-sided. Japan resigned her membership of the League of Nations shortly afterwards. The Manchurian incident exposed the inherent weakness of the League and the utter hollowness of its tall talks which had roused high hopes among the disinherited humanity all the world over.

Japan, however, got frightened at the Chinese reaction to the rape of Manchuria and to the inactivity of the Nanking Government. An anti-Japanese boycott movement had already come into existence. The agitation was now intensified. Chinese shopkeepers refused to serve Japanese customers. Chinese banks refused to have any monetary transaction with Japanese commercial establishments. A bitter discontent pervaded the entire student community and student demonstrations were organised in various places. The anti-Japanese sentiment was at its strongest in Shanghai.

Following a minor skirmish between some Chinese and Japanese citizens in a street of Shanghai an infuriated Japanese mob raided and practically destroyed the Three Friends Industry Association, a well-known commercial establishment of Shanghai. This was followed by what was to all intents and purposes a Sino-Japanese war in Shanghai. Japanese navy in the harbour shelled the city and reduced the Commercial Press and the Fastern Library to ruins. The former was the largest book-selling organisation in China while in the latter was to be found the largest collection of ancient Chinese works. A large number of very valuable manuscripts of the 9th to the 13th centuries were

also preserved here. The Japanese Admiral made no secret of his resolve to save at all costs his nationals in Shanghai. The English and the U. S. A. legations were informed that the city would be captured within the following four hours.

In the face of all these grave provocations, the Nanking Government remained as inactive as ever. It fondly awaited the decision of the League of Nations over Manchuria. The Nineteenth Army of the Chinese Government posted in Shanghai at the time however refused to retreat before the onrushing Japanese army. The former was backed by progressive public opinion. Three Japanese Commanders were replaced in quick succession. Re-inforcements from Japan were rushed. The conflict assumed serious proportions in Chapei on the Nanking-Shanghai Railway. A detachment of the Japanese army disembarked at Liuho on the southern bank of the Yangtse to the north of Shanghai. The Nineteenth Army had to fall back. A Sino-Japanese peace-pact signed at this stage through the intervention of England put an end to the hostilities. Japanese troops were then withdrawn from Shanghai and its suburbs under the supervision of an impartial commission.

While the fight in Shanghai was in progress. Japan had captured Jehol to the west of Liaoning and just outside the Great Walls. The next step of Japan was to create a new state named Manchukuo, which included Jehol and the whole of Manchuria. Mr. Henry Pu Yi, the ci-devant Manchu Emperor, who had abdicated in 1912 and had since embraced Christianity, was declared the Emperor of Manchukuo. But he was only a puppet in the hands of Japan. It should be noted that the Nanking Government did not recognise Manchukuo as an independent state nor Mr. Pu Yi as its ruler.

In her attempt to capture Hopei to the east of Peiping in January, 1933, Japan encountered a tough resistance at the hands of the local Chinese garrison—the Twenty-ninth Army. Nanking still clung—piteously rather—to the view that the Sino-Japanese conflict could be resolved peacefully and a Sino-Japanese armistice was signed on May 13, 1933. Japan extended her power to Hopei after this.

The National Government seeks to justify its policy of appeasement on the following grounds. In the first place, General Chiang Kai-shek, who was and still is the Dictator of China, believed that the League of Nations was sincere in its desire of protecting the weaker nations from the tyranny and exploitation of the stronger ones and that it did not lack the necessary power. Secondly, for a long time even after the League bubble had burst Chiang was under the influence of the traitor Wang Shing-wai, an arch-protagonist of the pro-Japanese policy. Thirdly, the Communist-Kuomintang conflict in Central China had assumed such formidable proportions about this time that it was not possible for Chiang to send re-inforcements to North China to stem the tide of Japanese invasion. Not in

frequently would he be heard to say, "To resist foreign aggression, China must first be united." Not a few disagreed with him.

Disappointed and disgusted with the pro-Japanese Government policy a considerable proportion of the young intelligentsia rallied under the banner of the Chinese Communist Party. The number of such recruits was ever on the increase. The Government was in consequence confronted with a major crisis from within. There were other factors besides, which undermined the prestige and popularity of the Nanking Government.

It has been seen already how Japan had expanded herself to the east of Peiping. Annexation of large slices of China had only whetted her greed. She now hit upon the idea of creating another puppet state, namely, the North China Autonomous State, which was to comprise the five northern provinces of Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Chahar and Suiyuan. For the attainment of her object without war she offered the headship of the projected State to Sung Che-yuan, a North Chinese General. The offer, however, was conditional on Sung cutting off all connections with Nanking If he was agreeable, the Japanese army would defend his 'throne' against all attacks. Sung having rejected the offer with the contempt it merited, Japan's aims were frustrated for the time being.

The year 1935 afforded an admirable opportunity to Japan. The floods of the Hoang Ho and the Yangtse devastated a very wide area of China. The people were reduced to desperate straits. Food, clothes and shelter monopolised the time and energy of all. None had any ability nor the morale to fight the foreign foe. The Italo-Abyssinian war having broken out in the meanwhile, international attention diverted from the Far East was focussed in the Middle East. Japan did not let this opportunity slip. With little opposition from China she founded a so-called kingdom to the East of Peiping. East Hopei was the name given to this "State" and Yin Ju-keng, a Chinese fifth columnist, was placed at the helm of affairs.

East Hopei under Yin Ju-keng was declared a freetrading country. Japanese silk and cotton textiles, sugar, medicines and alcoholic preparations in huge quantities were dumped in Eastern Hopei. There being no regular and well-defined boundary line between Japanese-controlled East Hopei and the rest of the province, which owed allegiance to Nanking, Japanese goods made their way duty-free into the very heart of China. A colossal pecuniary loss was inflicted on the National Government. During the eleven months from February to December, 1936, Nanking's loss of customs duties totalled to £15,000,000. The European and American merchants too were subjected to a heavy loss. Anti-Japanese sentiments which were already very strong in China, now struck deeper roots than before and were intensified a hundredfold.

In 1926, Japan initiated a series of abortive talks with China to come to terms with her on condition of the

Communist bandits.' The conditions were unacceptable to Chiang Kai-shek and hence nothing came out of these talks. Japan now demanded the resignation of Chiang Kai-shek. This helped to restore the rapidly waning popularity of Chiang. In June two Kuomintang Generals—Chen Chih-tung and Li Tsung-jen—one posted in Kwantung and the other in Kwangsi unfurled the standard of revolt aganst Nanking at the instance of Japan and with her help. The revolution of the latter was however motivated by the desire of lashing the Nationalist Government into activity against the Japanese aggressor. Nanking put down the revolt with little difficulty.

Japan next directed her attention to the creation of a puppet Mongolian Empire in North-Western China. She hoped that if the project materialised, it would not be very difficult for her to advance towards the South and the West and to found a Japanese-controlled Muslim empire comprising Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu—all constituent units of the Chinese Republic. In this way Central China would be encircled, the north alone remaining open. This would facilitate Japanese penetration into the vast hinterland of Asia.

Japan approached Prince Teh, a Mongolian nobleman, who had some grievances against the Nationalist Government. So when Japan offered him the throne of the contemplated Mongol Empire, he readily agreed. In May, 1936, his tiny army was despatched to North China at Japan's ir stance. The army was made up of Teh's own followers and a large number of treacherous Chinese bandits. This army was equipped by Japan. The Mongol Military State was established in North China. Japan now made ready to annex Suiyuan and Ningsha.

While the Japanese army was forging ahead in Suiyuan, the Japanese Ambassador in Nanking was carrying on negotiations with the National Government. Lest the attempt at compromise should fail, the Government gave directions that even in the face of Japanese offensive, the Kuomintang army must not do anything more than defend itself and must by no means launch any counter-attack. Japan too wanted this. Towards the end of 1936 the Chinese army in Suiyuan disobeyed the orders of the Government, chased the vanquished Japanese army and recaptured two important military bases. Till the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japan made no further attempt to advance in Suiyuan.

In December, 1936, there was a rapprochement between the Communists and the Kuomintang following the capture of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian by the troops of General Chang Hsueh-liang and his subsequent release through the intervention of the Communists, among others. The reconciliation placed China in a stronger position than before. Japan took fright.

The Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) was by no means of China's seeking. It was on the contrary, thrust upon her. For two years or thereabouts before its outbreak

reports would appear from time to time in the Japanese press of the disappearance of one or more Japanese citizens in China. Such reports were followed by Sino-Japanese skirmishes on many occasions. Japan was on the look-out for an opportunity to use any one of these 'disappearances' as a casus belli. The story narrated below clearly proves that these reports of disappearance were sometimes, if not always, concocted. Mr. Muramoto, the Japanese Vice-Consul at Nanking was once missing. It was officially announced from Tokyo that Muramoto had been murdered by the Chinese and that the murder would be avenged. Muramoto was subsequently found on the Purple and Golden Hills in the suburbs of Nanking. Questioned by the police why he had thus concealed himself. Muramoto confessed that he had been secretly ordered by his Government to commit suicide. He had heard that the Purple and Golden Hills were infested with wild beasts and that he had been to the Hills to be devoured by the denizens thereof.

Japan had forcibly concentrated troops in Hopei in North China without any semblance of justice or legality. The Chinese 29th Army was encamped close to the Japanese barracks. The latter, by the way, was the same army, which in 1933 under General Sung Cheh-yuan had stoutly resisted the Japanese occupation of East Hopei. The close proximity of the enemy was galling and without doubt painful to the patriotic

29th Army. The Japanese army in Hopei treated the Chinese in a manner as if they were a defeated people. In consequence of the policy of Jap-appeasement pursued by Nanking the Chinese people and the 29th Army had to put up with the pin-pricks and indignities heaped upon them by Japan. Their discontent having been denied all outlets was driven underground.

On July 6, 1937, the Japanese army in Hoper organised a demonstration manoeuvre at Wanping near Peiping. The Japanese army returned to the barracks at sundown. It was discovered at the time of roll-call that a soldier had not come back The Japanese complained that the missing soldier had been kidnapped by the Chinese. The soldier in question however came back and reported himself to the appropriate authorities within a few hour. Japan nevertheless insisted that a joint Sino-Japanese committee must be formed "to settle the permanent disturbances between the two armies." China yielded and a joint committee was formed accordingly. The Japanese members of the committee demanded the withdrawal of the Chinese army from Wanping. China was perfectly within her rights to reject the definand. Japanese troops now fired on the Marco Polo Bridge on the road leading from Peiping to Wanping. Chinese troops promptly took up the challenge and replied fire with fire. The longapprehended Sino-Japanese war broke out with consequences that are now matter of history.

FEMINISM AS A SOCIAL FORCE

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Ours is an age of revolution. Its temper pervades the entire social atmosphere. One of the greatest factors in this rapidly changing milieu is the scientific technique which is daily undermining the bottom of the old social system. It has shaken man's faith in what age has sanctified. Under its pressure the old order is crumbling. Man is developing a new temper, a new psychology. This new mood has also invaded the psychology of our country. Even in the heart of the Indian women a spirit of revolution is throbbing today. Our Bengali women too have been profoundly moved by the passion peculiar to the age. Subjected so longoto the tyranny of man, the Bengali women are to-day rising to their feet and growing impatient to break off all social chains. Their faith in the traditional measures of values has been undermined and they are stoutly refusing to be bound by a code of conduct different from men's. Thus their psychology is rapidly changing. They have grown today impatient in their cry for emancipation and their once chaotic cry has been for years past increasingly assuming the status of a conscious, creative movement. This feature is growingly setting its stamp on the social rattern. The present paper is an attempt at an objective analysis of the socio-economic forces leading to the birth and growth of "Feminism" as a new cultural category.

Historically considered, Feminism as a type of socio-economic movement is startlingly modern, and more so in Bengal. Nowhere in the patriarchal world,—ancient, medieval and modern,—there was any ideology of Feminism before the nineteenth century. Feminism symbolises a cry for female emancipation— emancipation from masculine sway and from the tyranny of patriarchal culture. Its first and foremost item is her economic independence and along with it, her emancipation on other fronts of life. Such ideas and ideals as embodied in Feminism are strikingly modern from the historical point of view.

Many scholars and historians are used to believing that the Western women always enjoyed "social freedom," whereas their Indian sisters were ever subjected to masculine tyranny. Such an attitude is awfully defective and has hardly any basis in the world of reality. When we peep into the medieval history of Europe and study it critically, we are at once convinced of the degrading lot of Western women. Their condition was as pitiful as that of their Eastern sisters. Socially they lived a secluded life, far away "from the madding crowd." Everywhere they were treated as just toys of masculine pleasure and their economic dependence resulted in their subjection to the husband. The law did not recognise them as

separate units because of their economic subjection. With economic subjection came social and political subjection too. This deplorable plight persisted all through the Middle Ages (5th-14th century A.D.). Then came the age of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century. It was a period of strife and turmoil. It marked a transition in the Western life. Medieval ideas and forces collapsed; new theories and forces sprang up out of the ashes of the old. The feudal philosophy yielded place to a "Liberal Ideology." But even in that new ideology women were not accorded an independent status of their own. They were still fettered by manmade laws and conventions. Three centuries later came the French Revolution (1789-1799), shaking the very foundations of the "Ancien Regime." The revolutionary ideal was embodied in the historic doctrine of "liberty, equality and fraternity." In itself the doctrine sounds quite well, but in that particular context its social implications were exclusively meant for men. "The French Revolution apart from its stress on lofty abstractions, liberty and equality," rightly says Prof. Riker, "did nothing for the advancement of women."

Next we pass on to the 'dynamic era' of the Industrial Revolution. In its origin it was earlier than the "Ideas of 1789," but its revolutionary impact upon the old economic structure hardly began prior to the nineteenth century. It is since the dawn of the nineteenth century, especially after 1815, that the unconscious and chaotic forces released by the Industrial Revolution, became consciously organised and under that vigorous pressure the old order rapidly changed, yielding place to new.4 The new system of production opened up before women certain avenues of independent earning. More and more women workers were drawn away from domestic services to fields of gainful employment. Their economic independence and the resulting social intercourse led the remarking of their personality. The changed and changing conditions fostered in them a new consciousness which enabled them to visualise a stage where men and women would be equal and free. Out of that vision into the new life gradually sprang up their demand for equality with men. It would be not merely a legal and political equality, but also an equality in the economic and social spheres. These ideas and pious wishes were symbolised in the category of "Feminism." It was only the 'sixties of the last century that the ideology of Feminism was effectively drawn up so far as England was concerned. It received an authoritative recognition in John Stuart Mill's Subjection of Women. It was published in 1869 and it did plead with passion for the emancipation of women. It is well to remember in this connection that as yet

Feminism was hardly anything more than a pious wish. It was transformed into a concrete movement in the West only in the closing years of the nineteenth century. During the early decades of the twentieth century that movement rapidly gained mentionable dimensions in the West, bringing larger and larger doses of freedom to an increasing number of women. And today except in the Soviet Russia everywhere the Feministic movement is still far from the goal. Thus it is quite obvious that Feminism is an entirely novel experiment in history.* This is true as much of the East as of the West.

Let us now turn our attention to the history of our country, especially Bengal. It is from the termination of the World War I (1914-18) that we can reasonably trace the origin of Feminism in Bengal, nay, in India. Prior to the era of 1914-18 there was hardly any trace of Feminism in the Bengali social pattern.5 In the milieu of the glorious Bengali Revolution (1905-14), the voice of Feminism was entirely inaudible. The Swadeshi Revolution was an intense outburst of our nationalistic sentiments and its architects were males and males alone. It does not follow that women workers were wholly unknown to the annals of that Revolutionary Epoch (1905-14). Certainly there were active female workers, but their number was not very great. Besides, even those few female workers had no clear vision of Feminism." Its birth was registered only in the post-war era and it has assumed appreciable proportions only in recent years. Let us follow that process of development historically.

It has been already stated that Feminism as a type of social aspiration in Bengal is a post-war (1914-18) phenomenon. It was born not of individual yearning or revolutionary urge of a particular woman. Its emergence was inspired by the pressure of historical forces generated by a mal-adjusted economic pattern. The post-war life of Bengal, as elsewhere, was marked by utter economic mal-adjustment. Economic mal-adjustment and disharmony resulted in limitless restlessness and dissatisfaction in the minds of our women. Moved by discontent and pressed by poverty, the Bengali women began to abandon their old ways of living. So long they had been living in splendid isolation, fettered by domestic chains, but in the post-war era they began increasingly to break away from the icy chains and sought to be profitably employed in the diverse fields of social life. Economic dependence was in very many instances replaced by economic independence. Economic independence coupled with the revolutionary discontent resulting from their sex-repression caused by the maledominated social pattern, urged them to challenge the validity of the existing system. Traditional ideas and values that so long gave significance to their actions

^{1.} Harold Laski: The Rice of European Liberalism (London, 1936), p. 11.

^{2.} T. W. Riker: A Short History of Modern Europe (New York, 1965), p. 746.

^{5.} Frederic Harrison: The Mesning of History (London, 1996); p. 130. 4. G. M. Tsevelyan t Brisish History in the Hineteenth Contury and Man Bandon, 1960).

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B. K. Sarker : Villages and Towns as Social Patterns (Calcutts, 1941), pp. 196-140, and Gressies indis (Lahers, 1937), pp. 852-54.
 Haridas Mukharjes : Biplaser Pathe Bangali Nari (Calcutts, 1942)

increasingly lost their hold on female psychology. In them was born a passionate yearning for a better order of things and out of that mental yearning emerged their claim for equality with the males. This moral claim was fed and encouraged by the changed and changing economic pattern of Bengal. It also drew strength and vitality from the general forces of democracy of the age and from the feministic ideologies of the West. Besides, the spread of scientific knowledge and the general enlightenment of the century lent force to Feminism which soon bade fair to be translated into a permanent reality in the Bengali social pattern.

No sooner the World War I had ended (1919) than impatient India rose up against obstinate British imperialism under the leadership of Mahatma The Civil Disobedience Movement was Gandhi. launched on a country-wide scale. The entire nation responded to the clarion call of non-co-operation. Men and women alike stregnthened that movement by their quota of contribution. In the midst of this general awakening and response, the Bengali women too were not lacking in patriotic zeal and revolutionary ardour. They also made valuable contributions to the cause of Civil Disobedience Movement (1920-22). Along with men, women also endured sufferings and courted Numerically they were certainly imprisonments. smaller than men, but qualitatively speaking, they exhibited as brilliant specimens of joyful sacrifices for the chosen ideal as their masculine comrades. Their sufferings and sacrifices for the cause of political revolution did not go unrewarded. Morally, the women gained much in self-respect and social prestige and by that fact alone their claim for equality with men was strengthened. Besides, there came to their lot material gains too. In 1926, the Bengal Provincial Government, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, partially extended to the women of the province the right to vote. It was based on "property qualifications." The Government of India Act of 1935 changed that basis of franchise, replacing it by "wifehood qualification and a lower educational qualification." Consequently the number of female voters largely increased. The new Act was put in practice in 1937. It opened up before women prospects of holding important offices in the Government, even ministerial jobs.' This enactment marked a significant triumph from the standpoint of Indian Feminism. Since 1937 the activities of women workers increased in volume and value. Their thoughts and aspirations found expression in literary works and social philosophies of the time. This organised cry for Feminism in works of art and culture gave in its turn a new impetus to that movement."

Then came the World War II (1939-45). It gave a revolutionary push to the slowly growing Feminism in this country. With the outbreak of the war, the process of mobilisation started. There was sudden inflation of preduction and transportation and, consequently, there was inflation of employment too. The impact of this process was powerfully felt on the Indian life also. Prespects of earning were opened up in startlingly rapid manner. Women workers also were drawn away more and more from domestic services. Due to the war, there was, on the one hand, hard poverty at home and on the other, bright prospects of earning abroad. The Bengali women, placed in the same situation, felt more strongly ever than before the need for earning. They flocked in tens of thousands to factories, industries, offices and other civil and military departments. It was an unprecedented event in the history of Bengal. Innumerable women were gainfully employed in the war-situation. This organised economic independence and the resulting inter-human and intermental contacts developed in those women a new psychology consistent with the already growing Feminism in the country. In their soul was born a new restlessness and dissatisfaction with the old domestic pattern of living. They grew increasingly conscious of their social disabilities and were eager to break up the ancient basis of our patriarchal society. Even those who still remained in splendid domestic isolation were invaded by this new passion of the age. They also felt in their heart the throbbing of a new life. Thus in the "dynamic situation" caused by the war there was everywhere utter restlessness and discontent which began to transform the foundations of our society.

Today the war is over, but the new forces generated by it, are still struggling for self-assertion. There is at present everywhere an immense urge and drive for the post-war reconstruction. The Bengali women also are impatient to recreate the world they live in by their conscious endeavour and they are eager to crystallise their feministic demands into concrete realities. Though it is true that this novel surge of life is yet limited to the middle-class women, nevertheless the significance of its revolutionary impact is not to be lost sight of by social scientists and philosophers. Besides, it is also a fact that in very many instances the urge of dissatisfaction in modern women is only blind and chaotic, yet even this blind passion is not destitute of revolutionary significance. It is also in a negative manner challenging the basis of our old social system and thereby unconsciously paving the path for its reconstruction. Lastly, there are also in the movement certain conscious and creative elements. And because they are conscious and creative, they constitute the strongest factors in the rising tide of challenge to the old pattern. Their role also has got to be properly evaluated in any scientific analysis of Feministic movement in our country.

^{7.} Mrs. Lakshmi Menon : The Position of Women (India, Oxford Pamphlet, 1944).

^{8.} Prof. Santi Sudha Chose: Nari (Cal., 1940). It is a Benguli work dealing as it does with the revolutionary psychology of modern Benguli women. Another significant document to this effect is furnished by M. N. Roy: Ideal of Indian Fomenhood, (Cal., 1941).

FERTILISER MANUFACTURE FOR BENGAL

By T. R. DE, B.E., C.E., M.R.San.1. (Lond.)

BENGAL is the poorest of all the provinces in India. She has the maximum density of population but the fertility of her lands is fast declining with the net result that Bengal which was once a surplus province from the point of view of food production has become a deficit province all round. The position has become extremely alarming and only irrigation is not at all sufficient to meet the situation. The lands need fertilizers very badly. The cultivators have practically no knowledge and inclination to improve the condition and the production of their lands with the help of fertilisers. Not to speak of artificial fertilisersthey do not even care to use the little farmyard manure that they have ready at their disposal. So they must be trained to the use of fertilisers and if necessary their hands must be forced for applying fertilisers to their lands. But at the same time it must be remembered that these fertilisers must be sold to them at quite a low price and to keep the price low it should, if necessary, be subsidised.

Now the question of the kind of fertiliser suitable for the land and its procurement comes in. The compost or the farmyard manure does not come in the purview of the present article, of course. The ingredients that are required most by the soil are nitrogen, phosphate, potash and sometimes lime. The popular fertilisers are ammonium sulphate, ammonium phosphate, super-phosphate, etc., and in Bengal the most popular seems to be ammonium sulphate, mostly due to propaganda by the manufacturers of ammonium sulphate. It is also reported that a big plant is being installed with the help of the Government, in the coalfields of Bengal for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate.

But before taking up such a costly scheme into hand, I think, the Government would do better to see if ammonium sulphate is quite suitable for the soil of Bengal and if it will be proper to consume an imported material like sulphur for its manufacture (and thus be dependent on an uncertain factor like import) and if it will be proper to use gypsum when we have to rail it all the way from the Punjab and Rajputana and if such a good quality coal like the Bengal coal which is so badly needed for the industries should be consumed for the purpose, when there are sources of coal which might answer quite well for the manufacture of a fertiliser but is unsuitable for fuel purpose.

Now let the question of the use of ammonium sulphate be considered. The soil of Bengal, specially the less fertile part of it, is more or less goidic. And it would be more acidic with the use of ammonium sulphate. This is the general ead experience of the

cultivators of Bengal who after using this fertiliser for a few terms find the soil gradually dying in respect of crop-producing capacity. And to cope with it an extra heavy dose of lime is automatically needed, thus increasing the cost of production of crops.

Last but not the least of all is that the otherwise precious part of the fertiliser, the sulphur portion of it, is lost and lost for nothing.

So we must look for some other fertiliser which will in no case be detrimental to the soil and preferably be not wasteful as well (unlike ammonium sulphate which wastes the sulphur component of it for nothing) and must be cheap and whose raw mate: ials would be easily available.

With the above points in view calcium cyanamide (CaCN₂) deserves attention. This is a fertiliser the raw materials for the manufacture of which seem to be available in plenty in Bengal and round about. It needs no drawing of the precious fuel-coal of Raneeganj and Barakar fields. The installation of plants for the manufacture of calcium of cyanamide or nitrolime will also work as a starting point of a group of industries like the manufacture of nitric acid and explosives, which are all so very important for independent India.

The following is the group that is commanded by lime-carbon industry (Pring):

Now, at present let us deal only with CaCN₂. Both the components in CaCN₂, the calcium and the nitrogen, are useful for soil.

At Richhai (C. P.) experiments conducted for five years (1930-35) to compare ammonium sulphate and calcium cyanide as fertilisers for paddy applied at the rate of 100 lbs. per acre on light sandy loam indicated that calcium cyanide was better than ammonium sulphate irrespective of time of application. So definitely the manufacture of nitrolime deserves attention all the more.

The manufacture of nitrolime starts from the manufacture of calcium carbide (CaC₂), a thing which is not at present manufactured in India and which in itself is a very important item for industrial India, as the source of acetylene gas.

Manufacture of CaC₂ starts from coal (carbon) and lime (calcium). These two are fused in electric furnace giving calcium carbide popularly known as carbide only. According to some authority, coal should be of anthracite variety with the maximum of fixed carbon (in the region of 90 per cent) and minimum of ash (max. 5 per cent) and lime stone should also be of the purest variety containing nearly 97 per cent of CaCo₂.

Unfortunately anthracite is not available in India though the purest variety of lime stone is more or less available.

But it has been found that coal with a fixed carbon content of about 57 per cent and lime stone containing about 96 per cent CaCo₃ can give CaC₂ of 83 per cent purity and the market standard of CaC₃ is only 80 per cent pure.

We have in the Himalayas coal with about 60 per cent fixed carbon and lime stone of the purest variety (95 per cent). Even if the existence of such a pure quality lime stone is not found to be in plenty—the less pure variety can be depended upon, as it is mainly calcium cyanamide we are after, and not calcium carbide. The purest variety of lime can be consumed only for the manufacture of calcium carbide to be used as calcium carbide. (As the TVA have done, we have to make the best use of the existing resources).

The coal stock of Himalayas deserves special attention because though it is from the point of view of fixed carbon content, comparable with the best coal from Raneeguni or Jharia a good portion of it is very difficult to transport and use as fuel as it has in many places become friable on account of metamorphosis. So the best way of utilising this stock is

to use it as raw material in chemical manufactures, thus utilising the carbon content. This will also relieve the coal fields of Raneegunj and Jharia from being drawn for purposes other than fuel. The Himalayan coal is also low in phosphorus content which is important in the manufacture of CaC₂.

Next comes nitrogen. Calcium after being produced in the electric furnace is to be heated in an atmosphere of nitrogen at about 1100 deg. to produce CaCN₂.

This nitrogen can, as it seems, be had most cheaply by way of producer gas. The plant should not be very costly and the raw materials are available in plenty in the hills of the Himalayas.

The production of electrical power is one of the most important items in the scheme. Whether hydroelectric power or thermal power is to be used will depend on the cost of production from each source. The cost of power should be in the region of Rs. 54 per K. W. year or nearly one anna per K.W.H. (on the basis of pre-war figures).

This power question is a matter of thorough investigation, as hydro-electric power, popularly thought as cheap power, can not usually compete with thermal power if the power station for the latter is situated on coal-bed and if hydro-electric is installed for this industry alone. But if some of the big rivers of Himalayas are harnessed by the Government for power for industries in general and if on account of very high load factor and utilisation of seasonal or secondary power the cyanamide industry is given a special concession rate hydro-electricity may be used with profit.

It should be remembered that it is cheap hydroelectric power that has made Norway the pioneer in carbide and cyanamide industries.

The problem of procuring carbon electrodes for the furnace is also an important one. There is another industry—the aluminium industry—which consumes plenty of these electrodes and in collaboration with this industry arrangements may be made to manufacture these electrodes in India instead of their being imported as is mostly done now. This will naturally reduce cost.

It is, I think, worthwhile taking this matter up for investigation to see if these manufactures would prove to be beneficial for Bengal and for other provinces as well, from the point of view of conserving good coal and manufacturing a good fertiliser at the same time.



COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Gandhian Constitution" By Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal

I have read with interest Mr. Khagendra Chandra Pal's article on "Principles of a Gandhian Constitution for Free India" in the April issue of The Modern Review. It is indeed gratifying to note that Mr. Pal is in general agreement with the fundamental principles underlying the "Gandhian Constitution."* I have no manner of doubt that Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of decentralised democracy is not a 'fad'; it is based on sound principles of modern political science. No constitution based on democracy could succeed unless political power is devolved on more or less self-sufficient and self-This type of constitutional governing republics. structure was in vogue in ancient India. It was not a relic of tribalism and medievalism. On the contrary the ancient rural republics were the product of mature political thought of our ancestors. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that the Draft Constitution for Free India does not incorporate these basic principles of ancient Indian polity. The Constituent Assembly has framed a Constitution which is a mere imitation and a mixture of British and American models; it is not founded on our past culture and traditions. Constitutions are in the nature of organic developments. They can not be transplanted from one country to another.

As regards the point raised in the above-mentioned article. I have no desire to be dogmetic relating to the details of what may be called Gandhian Democracy. I can realise that it will be difficult for one person to be the President or member of the lower and higher Panchayats or the higher Panchayats. The principle may be devised for securing representation of the lower Panchayats on the higher Panchayats. The principle that need be emphasised is that the system of election in a Gandhian type of Constitution should be direct only for the village-panchayats and indirect for all the higher taluqua, district, provincial and all-India panchayats. I had discussed this point in detail with Gandhiji and he was very keen on having indirect system of elections in the future Constitution of India. If the elections are indirect, the highest constitutional leader of the land will have his feet firm on the soil of his own small constituency. The system of indirect elections would also eschew the evils of electioneering campaigns in vast constituencies.

I would also take the opportunity of drawing the attention of the readers to another special feature of the Gandhian Constitution. Gandhiji favoured the idea of introducing the elections by lot in as many spheres as possible. Given a panel of three or four names of persons almost equally competent for a position of responsibility, the din and dust of elections can be conveniently avoided by asking an innocent child to draw a lot in front of the Panchayat representatives as

Janthim Constitution for Free India by Principal S. N. Agarnal (Ricabintan, Allahabed), with Foreward by Mahatma Gendhi.

was done in ancient times in India. This feature of elections, even in a limited sphere, would remove tone of bitterness and life-long jealousy.

The Draft Constitution contains hardly anything that is Swadeshi. To my mind it is a great insult to the ancient Indian nation which had experimented with almost all types of constitutions, thousands of years ago. India should have evolved a constitution of her own, based on her past culture and genius. A certain amount of centralisation may be necessary during the period of transition. But the ultimate goal must be clear and definite. This ultimate goal must be the creation of more or less self-governing Panchayats throughout the land, co-ordinated with one another into a Federal Co-operative Commonwealth. The Constitution must be built up from the bottom to the top and not vice versa. There seems to be hardly any chance of incorporating these Gandhian ideals in the present Draft Constitution of our country. Yet 1 earnestly hope that the ideals for which Gandhiji lived and died would not be forgotten by India and the world, and a time would come when the Constitutions of not only India but of all other countries would be based mainly on the sound principles of decentralised democracy.

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Our Constitution in Indian Languages

The Constitution of India, which has been drafted in English and which may be passed by the Constituent Assembly in this English form, must be made available in all the Indian languages. If a translation is made from English, there is no possibility of any uniformity in the renderings into the various languages, in the matter of terminology and presentation. If such translations are to be made from a Hindi version, the difficulty will be that at present the writers and other literary men in the various languages may not have the needed command of Hindi. The most practicable plan would be to make an authorised version into Sanskrit, from which renderings can be made into all the languages. All Sanskrit scholars are also highly proficient in their respective languages; and there are no writers or other literary men in any Indian language who are not also proficient in Sanskrit. On account of the vast literature available in Sanskrit in jurisprudence, law and politics, there is a wealth of vocabulary in Sanskrit, even in the matter of the necessary technical terms. Further, the terms in Sanskrit have been properly defined and there is complete precision and freedom from ambiguity in the case of such Sanskrit terms. So it is suggested that an authorised version be first made into Sanskrit from which authentic renderings can be made into the various languages of India, in a uniform way. In all the Indian languages the vocabulary is essentially, at least predominantly Sanskritic, which makes such uniformity quite possible.

PROF. C. KUNHAN RASA, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)

BRAHMOISM AND HINDUISM

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

It is most surprising that even today, even at this late hour when the general tendency is to strive for the gradual obliteration of even all communal differences and thereby pave the way for the ultimate emergence of One Indian Nation, there should still lurk in the minds of some Brahmos a deplorable tendency to rake up old quarrels among the different sections of the very same community by insisting that the "Brahmos" as a community are quite distinct from, nay, even opposed to the "Hindus". A few years ago, in a Brahmo-Palli-Sabha, we were astounded to find it quite openly and vehemently declared by a prominent Brahmo that the Brahmos should in future do well to associate both socially and politically, more with the monotheist Muslims and Christians than with the polytheist Hindus. Not a few Brahmos shudder, even today, at such supposedly idolatrous words, as Vidya-Mandira, Paurohitya and so on. Even very recently, after the deplorable "Great Calcutta Killing." the Secretary of the Calcutta Congregation of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj thought it fit to plead publicly in the newspapers that the Brahmos in the Park Circus area should have been spared by the Muslim "hooligans," as the Brahmos were the direct descendants of the "Zabardast Moulavi" (Raja Ram Mohun Roy), as "they hold the most advanced theistic religious ideas resembling Islam in many particulars," and as "the Brahmo Samaj in India was trying best to obliterate all artificial communal divisions." The implication is quite clear here, viz., that the Brahmos are not Hindus, but are akin to the Moslems alone, and that it is the Brahmos alone, as distinct from the Hindus, who are striving for communal peace and goodwill,-that is why, they should have been left in peace in a Hindu-Muslim communal riot. Examples may be indefinitely multiplied to show this deep-rooted bias that most unfortunately still persists in vitiating the mental outlook of many Brahmos, in the face of all reasoning and good sense. But do not these overenthusiastic protagonists of a purely monotheistic, non-idolatrous religion, realise that such unwise views and irresponsible utterances are only harming the cause of Brahmoism itself, and reducing the Brahmos to the laughable position of "neither fish, flesh nor good red herring"? Has not the time come as yet to consider the question dispassionately and rationally, and give up the century-old prejudice that brings no good to any one?

The question here is: Are the Brahmos Hindus, or do they form a separate community of their own, quite distinct from the Hindu Community? This, again, calls forth an answer to the vital question: What exactly is the ground of a communal difference? What really justifies the division of people into separate communities? Now, differences may be of many kinds-philosophical, religious (i.e., spiritual -it stratistic corresponding to the inner and outer

sides of religion), cultural, legal, political. Of these main kinds of differences, religious differences alone are ordinarily taken to be the ground of communal differences. Now let us see, whether the Brahmos can claim any real differences from the Hindus and & greater affinity with the Muslims.

First and foremost, every great religion possesses a separate Scripture of its own, especially revealed to or discovered by its inspired founder or founders, and revealed by him or them to the world at large. When we use the word "separate" here, we do not mean that all these great scriptures or theological treatises of the world are absolutely different from and fundamentally antagonistic to one another. On the contrary, we firmly believe that all real religions are essentially and fundamentally the same. But still as the same truth is revealed to and by different individuals at different times in different manners we are fortunate to possess different Scriptures which are but so many different ways of looking at the very same Truth, as illuminating and as fascinating as the variegated colours emanating from the same sun. And, from the worldly point of view, these different Scriptures are taken to be the foundations of different religions, and religions, generally, of different communities. But what is the foundation of the Brahmo Religion? Is it not based on the Hindu Scriptures, the Upanishads, pure and simple? Right from the very Vija-Mantra, the very essence, the very core of Brahmoism, viz., Ekamevadvitiyam (Chandogya-Upanishad 6. 2. 1) "One only, without a second", down to all the mantras used in Brahmo prayers, vis., Satyam Jnanam Anantam Brahma (Taittiriya Upanishad 2.1.1.) "Brahman is Truth, Knowledge, Infinite," Anandarupam Amritam Yad Vibhati (Mundaka Upanishad 2.2.7) "He who shines as blissful and immortal," Santam Sivam Advaitam (Mandukya Upanishad) "Calm, auspicious, non-dual," Suddham-Apapa-Vidham (Isa Upanishad 8), "Pure, untouched by sins," and Asato Ma Sad Gamaya (Brihadaranyaka Upanishad 1. 3. 28) "From untruth lead me unto Truth"-have been culled from those incomparable Hindu Scriptures, viz., the Upanishads. The so-called founders of Brahmoism never themselves claimed to have revealed a separate Scripture of their own. So far as we know, they never claimed to be "founders" of anything, but were content to call themselves mere re-propounders of an ancient Truth, lost sight of, according to them, temporarily in the haze of ignorance and superstition. That the Upanishads form the Scripture of Brahmoism is too well-known a fact to need further labouring. But it is surprising that even in the face of these facts, a single Brahmo should have any inclination to call himself a non-Hindu. So, though seemingly unnecessary, it is well to go on reminding such Brahmos that for the very life-blood of their religion, they owe an eternal debt to the Hindu Scriptures.

It may be urged that Brahmolem is a Synthetic

Religion, i.e., it is the only religion in the world which accepts what is great and good in every religion, rejecting what is bad. Hence, though Brahmoism has no Scripture of its own yet it should be taken as a separate religion. It is true that the great Raja Ram Mohun Roy, with a commendable spirit of a broad-mindedness, took special pains to study not only the Hindu Scriptures, but also other religious treatises like the Bible and the Quran. But if we consider the fundamental principles of Brahmoism—philosophical, religious and ethical—we find that every one of them is found in Hinduism alone by itself, so that it is not at all necessary for Brahmoism to look to other religions like Christianity and Islam for many of its cardinal principles.

We may here refer briefly to the stock arguments of orthodox Brahmos that although Brahmoism 18 based on the Upanishads, yet it is fundamentally different from Hinduism in the following main points:—(a) Hinduism is polytheistic and idolatrous; Brahmoism, purely and strictly monotheistic and non-idolatrous. (b) Hinduism accepts Guru-vada, and priestcraft; Brahmoism is definitely against it. (c) Hinduism accepts Avatara-vada or Incarnation also; Brahmoism is equally and as strongly opposed to it. (4) The cardinal principle of Hinduism is Janmajanmantara-vada on the basis of Karma-phala-vada. or, a belief in births and rebirths in accordance with one's past karmas or actions. But Brahmoism does not accept this too. Hence Brahmoism is not only totally different from, but also essentially opposed to, Hinduism as a religion.

It is true that certain sects of Hinduism do subscribe to the above doctrines of polytheism, imageworship, priestcraft, incarnation, transmigration, etc. But it would be making a very great mistake indeed to identify Hinduism in toto with these. As well known, Hinduism is the only religion in the world that allows Adhikari-bheda, i.e. different forms of worship to suit different individuals. Hence, Hinduism rejects no known forms of religion, high or low, but welcomes all in its broad bosom. For this reason, it is so very difficult to define what Hinduism exactly stands for; and that is why many unjust criticisms have been hurled at its hoary head on the assumption that it is only one or other of these forms. The fact is that, from the highest Monism of the Advaitavadirs down to the crudest form of ghost-worship, etc., of primitive races, all possible forms of religion have place in Hinduism, to suit the different capacities. inclinations and opportunities of different individuals. The monist who through the sheer glory of his intellect realises: "I am Brahman", the monotheist who bows down to the one Formless Being in love and reverence, the polytheist who sees the embodied form of God in various images and incarnations, the ghostworshipper who plays on the drum to scare away the Evil spirit, are all recognized as "Hindus", because with it in his own way, according to his own tendency

and power, trying to grasp an Unknown Being beyond his everyday surroundings. This striving for something Beyond is the first beginning of religion, and Hinduism as the most catholic of all religious recognises this real core of religion, however crude and revolting its outer expression may be. So instead of summarily rejecting these so-called lower forms as mere blasphemies and condemning those so-called heretics to eternal hell, Hinduism is not ashamed to open its arms to all equally. Of course, the lower forms of religion must develop and perfect itself progressively in higher and higher forms, but each must be given an official recognition first as a form of religion itself, however primitive and imperfect it may be. If one is to traverse a flight of stairs, he has to be first admitted into the house and given a place to stand on the landing. It is neither wise nor charitable to insist that either he must instal himself on the topmost stair all at once from the very beginning, or he will not even be allowed entrance at all. Hinduism is the only Universal Religion of the world that recognises this progressive realisation of the soul,in the fold of religion itself,-from the very lowest to the supremely highest state. This is the most unique message of Hinduism to the world at large: Recognize the different calibres and inclinations of different individuals, do not try to mould every one through the same way to the same ideal and do not shut the door to one who fails to live up to that highest ideal; for, reformation must be a guidance from within, not chastisement from without; not a change from one religion to another quite different, but progress in the fold of the very same religion; not repentance for so-called sins, but realisation of new truths. No other great religion of the world manifests this commendable spirit of universal accommodation and adjustment. In them, there is absolutely no place for any unbelievers, for those who are unable to realise their great ideals. So to these, conversion or reformation means making a man change his religion, or bringing one from non-religion and heresy to religion and truth, from eternal sin and hell to salvation and heaven. But to Hinduism, even the ghostworshipper is not committing any sin and is not condemned to eternal damnation,-if that is what he can best do. This message of hope for every one from the lowest to the highest is the greatest message of Hinduism to the millions of dumb, drudging human beings who are denied admission into any other religion. It is absolutely necessary to bear in mind this unique character of Hinduism as a Universal Religion before trying to label it with one or other of the known "isms" of religion. So, it is entirely wrong to characterise Hinduism summarily as only a form of polytheistic, idolatrous religion. On the contrary, the highest ideal of Hinduism is Monotheism, nay, even Monism, for not a few. Even in the very first dawn of human civilisation, a Vedic Seer asks : "To whom shall we offer oblations besides

the Universal Spirit who is the cause of life and strength? (Rig-Veda 10. 121). Another Vedic Seer announces ecstatically: "Reality is only One, the wise call it differently as Agni, Yama, etc." (Rig-Veda 1.164.46). Image-worship was absolutely unknown during the Vedic Age. In the Upanishads and the Vedanta systems, later on, these high ideals of Monotheism and Monism soar to such heights as neither reached, nor surpassed by any one else. One who cares to turn the pages of even one or two of the Upanishads will be convinced of the truth of this contention. Still, those who cannot at once realise these highest ideals must not be driven out for good as sinners, but must be allowed to work out their salvation in the fold of religion itself. That is why Hinduism allows monistic realisation of oneness with the absolute and monotheistic worship of one Formless Being, equally with the polytheistic devotion to the different idols as the different embodied forms of the same God. Thus, a Brahmo who on the basis of the Upanishads, worships one God and abhors polytheistic image-worship is not doing something different from and contrary to the Hindu religion as such, but is simply following the fundamental creeds of one of its sects.

It might be further urged that while Hinduism, at best, recommends Monotheism through Polytheism and thus supports Monotheism plus Polytheism, Brahmoism recommends Monotheism from the very beginning, and allows only pure Monotheism without the slightest vestige of Polytheism in it. Thus, Brahmoism does have a special message of its own, not found in Hinduism as such. But this, too, is entirely a misconception regarding Hindu Monotheism. It is wrong to assert that Hinduism necessarily recommends Monotheism through Polytheism for all. It is never insisted that everyone must be a polytheist first and then, if possible, rise to be a monotheist, and that a pure monotheist is not a Hindu at all. On the contrary, as pointed out above, Hinduism is the only religion that allows perfect freedom of worship and opinion to all. If one likes and can, he is at perfect liberty to be a pure monotheist, worshipping one Formless God from the very beginning, and it is not at all compulsory or obligatory for him to have recourse to image-worship. Although Hinduism allows polytheism and image-worship, still, according to the basic principles of Hinduism, one may scorn and denounce these practices, yet remain a Hindu, as his monotheistic worship of one Formless God is fully supported by the Hindu Scriptures. So, here too Brahmoism has no special message to deliver, but is only one of the sects of Hinduism.

The same remarks apply to the Guru-vada and Avatara-vada and Janma-janmantara-vada of Hinduism. It is by no means essential for a Hindu to approach Truth or God through a spiritual preceptor by taking him to be god incarnate. Those who are confident of reaching the goal by their unaided afforts

are at perfect liberty to do so. In the same manner, a Hindu may not tolerate the intervention of an Avatara between himself and God. But this reluctance to admit a via media between himself and God in the form of a Guru or an Avatara by no means disqualifies him as a Hindu,—for belief in these is only a permissible and not at all an essential part of Hinduism as a religion. Neither image-worship nor Avatara-vada is found in the Vedas at all. Belief in rebirths due to the force of past acts, too, is not necessary on the part of a Hindu. Even some Mimamsakas, such as Bhartrimitra and Badari hold that karmas do not afford a satisfactory explanation of the facts of life, so that rebirths cannot be explained by karmas.

Thus, if the Bruhmos think themselves high enough to love and worship one Formless God without the help of any symbols or images, clever enough to dispense with the solicitation of a Guru or an Avatara, it is perfectly well and good, but these are no grounds at all for his claims to a separate religion and a separate community as such. Is it not as absurd for a Saiva or a Vaishnava, e.g., as for a Brahmo to claim to be a non-Hindu. Thus, Brahmoism can by no means be regarded as a separate religion, but is only a particular sect, a progressive and rationalistic sect, of Hinduism itself. So, Brahmos are and will for ever remain Hindus, unless and until they repudiate the Hindu Scriptures, the Upanishads, and owe allegiance to some other Scripture, new or old.

From the purely philosophical standpoints, too, Brahmoism has contributed nothing new. It accepts the ordinary monotheistic philosophy, viz., the idea of One God, both transcendent and immanent, both Lord and Friend, both different and non-different from man. Yamunacharya and Ramanuja of the Visistadvaita School of the Vedanta, even their predecessors interpreted the Upanishads in exactly the same manner, so that Brahmoism cannot claim to have supplied a new interpretation of the Upanishads.

From the social and cultural standpoints, too, it is absurd for the Brahmos to claim separate existence as a community. When in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Brahmoism arose as a living force, there was really a great necessity for it as a social, reformative and corrective movement of vital importance. In those days, due to various factors. Hinduism had become degraded to a very low depth, and social customs had assumed heinous forms. Then, very fortunately Brahmoism arose as a great check to further degradation, and produced the double benefit of putting an end to many social evils in Hinduism, on the one hand, and preventing mass conversion to Christianity, on the other. But, while in no way undermining the monumental service of Brahmo social workers of those days, we cannot subscribe to the view that Brahmoism was a reformation, i.e., a purification and development, of Hinduism, from outside. For, what those selfless Brahmos toiled and laid down their lives for was no new reform, absolutely

unknown to Hindu society, but only the re-introduction of certain ancient social laws and customs. It is true that in those days the Brahmo Samaj was the pioneer among those social movements that aimed at freeing Hindu society from such evil customs as widow-burning, Kulin Pratha or polygamy childmarriage, etc. But these and other equally heinous customs have never been sanctioned and supported by Hindu Scriptures, viz., the Vedas and the Upanishads. Unfortunately, taking advantage of existing chaotic condition of society, some Smritikaras misrepresented scriptural injunctions to mass, and as a result, all sorts of highly degenerate and deplorable customs came into vogue in the name of religion, and became so very deep-rooted in course of time that we are still today reaping the baneful consequences thereof. But really, as well-known, the Vedas speak of an equal right for men and women in education, in law and in society in every sphere of life. Widow-burning and child-marriage, etc., were absolutely unknown in the Vedic Age; and polygamy, though tolcrated, was never encouraged in the name of religion. Even the abolition of caste-system had been undertaken by the Vaishnava School of Hinduism, led by the great religious reformer Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, long before the Brahmos came into the field. So, the Brahmo reformers should not have claimed any originality for their "reforms," as many of them did in those days, and are even now doing. There is no doubt that they would have met with a far greater success if instead of assuming a superior attitude towards the "idolatrous" masses and their "idolatrous" scriptures, and trying to reform and save them, from outside, in the name of a new superior Church and religion, they represented themselves as merely striving for the regeneration of the real spirit of Hinduism, for the re-establishment of ancient scriptural culture and customs, so long entirely lost sight of in the haze of ignorance and superstition. Thus, from the social and cultural standpoints, Brahmoism cannot have a separate existence from Hinduism. The so-called Brahmo culture is nothing but the purest and highest form of Vedic and Upanishadic culture. The austere form of Ethics for which the Brahmos rightly became famous in those rather loose profligate days, too, has been propounded by all the systems of Indian Philosophy (except, perhaps, the Charvaka Materialists).

From the legal and political standpoints, the Brahmos have, at present, no separate existence from the Hindus. Some Brahmos, even today, desire to have a separate legal and political status, as one of the smaller "minority communities." But such a policy would be absolutely suicidal, and we are sure that the more enlightened section of the Brahmos would never countenance such an absurd proposal. It is high time to learn the lesson of history and discourage these infinite divisions of our Hindu society which in the past led to so very disastrous consequences. When

Hinduism is trying to absorb in itself all India-born religions, when even the Buddhists and the Jainas, though technically lebelled as Nastikas or heterodox for not directly accepting the authority of the Vedas, do not feel ashamed to call themselves "Hindus," as nourished and brought up in the lap of the great age-old Hindu culture and civilisation, what a sorry sight would these handful of Brahmos, drawing as they do their spiritual and cultural inspirations solely from that eternal fountain-head of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, viz., the Hindu Scripture Upanishad, present in disclaiming themselves as "Hindus," and insisting on a separate religious, cultural, social, legal and political status! Let them not claim special prerogatives legally and politically, and ignore the greater interest of the country for a few loaves and fishes. But, on the contrary, let them work out for a greater improvement of the legal (for women specially) and political status of all Hindus, and in that alone lies their real salvation. For, how can a part flourish apart from the whole? Now-a-days, at least, there is absolutely no difference between Hindus and Brahmos from the cultural and social standpoints, not even so very much from the standpoint of religion itself. For, now-a-days, religion has become more a matter of inner conviction than of external ritualism. That is why these external religious rites and rituals are assuming a more and more universal, national and as such, non-religious character, so that whatever be our special inner convictions we do not feel any hesitation in taking part in these external ceremonials. That is why, not a few Brahmos join, with a clear conscience, the Durga Puja, the great national festival of the Hindus, though they do not support image-worship. It is rather regrettable that even today, some Brahmos seem to suffer from a superiority complex and think themselves to be somewhat higher than the idolatrous, polytheistic Hindus, riddled with numerous social malpractices. That is why, not a few Brahmos assume a rather condescending attitude towards their Hindu brethren, as if they have been specially chosen by God to lead these poor, misguided sinners from darkness to light, from eternal hell to salvation. The time has come to change this altogether unwarrantable, pompous attitude which is sure to bring down ruin to Brahmoism itself. Why should we Brahmos be ashamed to declare ourselves unequivocally, as "Hindus," if we like, as Monotheistic Hindus, worshipping One God, who, to us, is not embodied in anything, neither in images, nor in Gurus, nor in Avataras? Why should we claim to be spared from the attention of Moslam hooligans on the ground that we are non-Hindus and have a far greater religious, cultural and social affinity to the Moslems? Undoubtedly, we claim fundamental affinities with Islam, Christianity and all great religions of the world; but we claim these not as non-Hindus, but as true Hindus, striving to live up to the glorious ideal of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. We claim exemption from all communal

riots, not as non-Hindus, but as Hindus, as the humble torch-bearers of a very ancient civilisation and culture, the ground-stones of which are the twin pillars of equality and fraternity, universal love and service. It is as Hindus that we extend our hands of friendship to Moslems, Christians and to all alike, for a true Hindu sees the same Universal Spirit in every one and does not, therefire, hate any one (Isa Upanishad 6). It is as Hindus that we are inspired by that immortal message delivered by a Vedic Seer right at the first dawn of human civilisation-a message that has a special value for us all today:

सं गच्छवं सं बढवं सं वो मनांसि जानतां। समानो मन्त्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः सहिनसमेषाम् ॥ समानी व आकृतिः, समाना हृदयानि वः । समानमस्त वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

"May you meet together, talk together, know the minds of one another. May your mantra be the same, may your achievement be the same, may your mind be the same, may your desire be the same. May your striving be the same, may your heart be the same, may your minds be the same, so that there be a perfect and thorough union among you all." (Rig-Veda, 10. 191, 2, 3, 4.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

-Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

MUNSHI: HIS ART AND WORK: Published by Shri Kanaialal Munshi. Diamond Jubilee Committee, January, 1947. Price Rs. 15.

On the Shasti-purti divasa or the sixtieth birthday celebration of Shri Kanaialal Munshi his friends and admirers have collected the appraisals of men that should know on the contributions made by Munshiji to the various aspects of present-day cultural life through Gujarat to India. Munshiji's has indeed been a dynamic life; he has drunk deep at the fountains of literary and cultural inspiration, both eastern and western. A man of lively imagination, warm sympathies and keen sensitiveness to sensuous appeals, he has been a colourful novelist, dramatist, historian and essayist, and moulded the mind of his contemporaries to a considerable extent. Four social novels, nine historical romances, eight Pauranic dramas, eight social plays, one volume short stories and other works -even if Kanhaialal M. Munshi had done nothing else—were a substantial claim to the homage of his people. Historical romanticism has distinguished his writings and stimulated his readers.

But Shri K. M. Munshi has not been a mere writer. His interest in politics led him in his adolescence to Shri Aurobinda who asked him to see India as a living mother and who advised him to read Swami Vivekananda's works. From Aurobinda he learnt that "nationalism is the realization of the Mother in the country; the contemplation, adoration and service of the Motherland as Divinity". Contact with Mrs. Besant's personality and the trend of events in the country quickened the zest for a political life, but the time was not yet for him to follow the Mahatma as he began to do by eventually champion-ing the cause of Bardoli against the powers that ruled. Gandhiji was the great alchemist of life, and in June 1928 a change was beginning in the career of K. M. Munchi, a change which was the beginning of a new

life. The C. D. movement, the Congress Ministry, the Akhand Hindusthan movement, the Constituent Assembly—who can dispute Munshi's claim to be included among the makers of modern India?

But these should not make us blind to his great gifts as a lawyer and to his zeal for construc-

tive work. An organiser of educational institutions, he seems yet to widen the bound of his creative activity.

The volume is not only a spontaneous homage but is also an appreciation of contemporary life-of which Shri K. M. Munshi has been a successful exponent. It

is a picture of contemporary Indian history.

Where will Shri Munshi's place be, when the attempt is made to take the whole of India and its cultural life for a critical appraisement? Is it not reasonable to believe that he will be hailed in times to come as a true representative of modern Indian culture at its best, responsive to the deep forces at work both in the East and the West, not a provincial at all, but an Indian first and foremost? The Editors have done wisely to put a comprehensive account of his life before the public, not only for information but also for guidance.

WAR AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: By M. C. Setalvad. Published through the Indian Council of World Affairs by the Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. 86. Price Rs. 3.

A total war of the type which shock the world recently involves incursion of the state into every sphere of the life of the individual even in democracies where the liberty of the individual is in normal times greatly valued. In such countries guarantees are provided through one device or another for the protection of what are called "the fundamental rights" of citizens which are viewed as the basic conditions for the free and fullest development of human personality of "the citisens. But when the very existence of the state is

threatened the protection of even these basic liberties of the individual naturally takes a secondary place by the side of the safety of the state to which everything else is subordinated. Yet even in the midst of war or a national emergency liberty of the individual cannot altogether be thrown overboard; because after all at least to the believers in democracy and the liberal school of political thinkers state is not an end in itself but the means to the fullest realisation of personality by the citizens. As the author of the monograph under review has aptly quoted the words of Lord Atkin, "Amid the clash of arms the laws are not silent. They may be changed, but they speak the same language in war as in peace." The great problem is to fix the point at which to delimit the scope of state encroachment into the domain of individual liberty, and to strike a proper balance between the needs of the state in such an emergency for extraordinary powers and the pre-servation of such liberties as the individual may be spared without jeopardising the safety of the state. This problem has been discussed in the book thoroughly and exhaustively with particular reference to the situation created in India during the last war by arming the legislature and the executive with emergency powers. A comparative study has been made between the position in England and India in this respect which is at once instructive and useful. To what extent personal freedom suffered a set-back by reason of emergency legislation passed during the war and the extraordinary power with which the Executive was armed under such legislation both in the United Kingdom and the Dominions which are democratically governed and also in India which was not so governed at the time has been ably discussed by the author with copious illustrations from cases brought before and decided by the Courts in all these countries in the light of which the author has suggested valuable safeguards for the protection of civil liberties even in such national emergencies consistently with the preservation of the safety and interests of the state. Should a third world war which seems to be in the offing unfortunately actually break out, these suggestions would prove very helpful to statesmen and leaders who may be called upon to pilot their countries through war and who happen at the same time to be genuine lovers of human freedom. Of course, as the author rightly points out the real safeguard of freedom lies not so much in paper safeguards but only in "a perpetual and vigilant awareness in the citizen of his rights and a passionate desire to exercise them that can keep alive the individual liberties of the citizen in a world seething with forces having a tendency to encroach upon and engulf their rights." (P. 86).

A. K. GHOSAL

ARCHAEOLOGY IN BARODA (1934-1947): brief review by A. S. Garde. Baroda State Press. 1947. One map and thirty-six plates. Pp. 39. Price Rs. 3-8.

The Government of Baroda have been carrying on for many years past the work of archaeological exploration and excavation within the State. Baroda is rich in such materials. There are numerous old temples, sculptures, inscriptions which have yielded interesting and important material with regard to the history of this portion of India, as well as its connection with the Western world in pre-historic and historic times. A very interesting site or two have also been discovered and worked where stone tools displaying a technique and form associated with the Paleolithic period of Europe

and Africa have been recovered in situ.

The present book gives a general account of the work done so far by the Department of Archaeology

in the State.

ELEMENTARY CARPENTRY AND JOINERY: By Arthur S. Emery, F.B.I.C.C. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London. 1946. Price Rs. 4.

A well-illustrated and instructive book which will prove helpful for beginners in their practical work.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE NON-VIOLENCE-THE INVINCIBLE POWER: By Arun Chandra Das Gupta. Published by Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1-8.

The passing away of Gandhiji adds a new meaning and significance to the truth and way of life to which he bore testimony and over which he trod all through his life. The author of this book brought up in the atmosphere of the Khadi Pratisthan under the spacious eyes of his parents, founders and builders of this centre of Constructive Nationalism in Bengal, has tried to live up to the vision of the man whom the world has hailed as the Architect of India's freedom. He is happy in the fact that he has known no other loyalty than that to Truth and Non-violence. Therefore, has he been able to bring a single-pointed mind to the discussion of a problem that has attained a new urgency in this age of Atomic War, its destructive cruelty demonstrated at

Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan in August, 1945.
But this end of the second World War of the twentieth century has not settled anything of the conditions that are the breeding-ground of wars between nations and violence in individual conduct. This futility recalls us to the philosophy preached by Gandhiji—his appeal to and trust in "man's superior nature," in his ultimate goodness. The attempt of radical reform should, therefore, be addressed to this divine element in us patient with the evil-doer, trying to rouse in him the consciousness of his heavenly heritage. This teaching of Gandhiji has been elaborated in this book.

Duty thus becomes the pivot of all morality: duty fulfilled will bring rights that will equalize conditions for all in the scheme of social relations. The author deduces therefrom his arguments in support of "decentralized economy." The "constructive programme" that Gandhiji laid down for the peculiar conditions of India has a world reference where exploitation of man's labour and of his human weaknesses has distorted natural human relations out of recognition. Modern capitalism has heightened this discord, and a way out of it through Socialism, through the Totalitarian State, adds to the complexity of the problem. Pages 59-84 are devoted to elucidating this argument.

The book whose first edition was exhausted in 1946, has re-emphasized in its revised form the points raised therein. In the year 1948 we are still in the midst of this world-wide controversy, and after Gandhiji's exit from the field of his mundanc activities, it has developed on men and women of good will all the world over to re-valuate all the elements of modern life in the light of his life and in response to the challenge of the brute and the greed in human beings. It is no easy task to reverse a historic development, to recall the world to sanity, a world that modern science has created with its unending vista of material progress.

Books like the present one constitute an attempt at this re-valuation. We cannot say that we accept all the simplicity of analysis that is evident in the book. Human nature in the twentieth century has grown too

complex for that.

A word of criticism may be made of the arrangement adopted in the book. Chapters and headings would have facilitated the understanding of the lines of argument followed here. As it is, it is one long-drawn controversy. Readers will find it a great handicap. S. K. Dun

STUDIES IN INDO-BRITISH ECONOMY HUNDRED YEARS AGO: By Nirmal Chandra Sinha, M.A. Published by A. Mukherji & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 5.

This is a timely publication, being an assessment of the British contribution towards India's political and economic slavery through the administrative machinery which the East India Company set up in the country for maintaining law and order. In the name of free trade, the British destroyed the industries and as a result millions of citizens were thrown into agriculture which was already overcrowded and unprefitable. With the advent of British trade Indian capitalists were thrown out and the world-renowned house of Jagat Seth became a thing of the past. British educational system set up a machinery for the manufacture of clerks for governmental and mercantile offices in the Company's domain. Landless agricultural labourers were compelled by economic pressure to go abroad to work as coolies at a wage which lowered their standard of life and morality. Thus the Indians were compelled to take the place of the liberated Negro slaves, Indian labour in South Africa, Madagascar, Trinidad, Fiji, Malay, Mauritius, British Guiana tells the same story of woe and misery. Thus India's misery and degradation contributed towards British supremacy and wealth. Now that Britain relinquishes her hold on India, it is not unlikely that the British Isles will again occupy a position of comparative insignificance.

The author has taken considerable pains to collect materials from untapped sources and as such he has been able to throw new light on the subject. The book under review is rather a skeleton work. We shall be glad to welcome a fuller treatise by the author, which will add new chapters to the dark history of India's

foreign domination.

A. B. DUTTA

RANDOM SELECTIONS: Compiled and published by the National Information & Publications, Ltd., 74 Laxmi Building, Sir P. M. Road, Fort Bombay. 1947. Pp. 138. Price paper-bound Rs. 2-8, cloth-bound Rs. 4.

This little volume contains eleven articles on different subjects published at various times in the Indian press, all written by eminent writers including Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Amiya Chakrayarty, Mulk Raj Anand, C. E. M. Joad and others.

Random selections provide fascinating reading for all both for the distinction of their authors and the interest of the topics they discuss. The publishers are to be thanked for their supplying the general readers in a small dish so varied food for thought—some sweet and delicious, some pungent and bitter, while others sombre and thought-provoking.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

BENGALI

MANTRI MISSION O PARABARTI ADHAYA: Compiled by Mr. Amiyakumar Bancrice. Published by J. Chowdhury Bros., 60/1/A Wellington Street. Calcutta. Pages 156. Price Rs. 2.

Although there are several publications in English on Cabinet Mission in India, the book under review is perhaps the only publication for the Bengali-knowing readers. The book contains translations of all important documents and letters of the Cabinet Mission and also important letters of the Congress and Muslim League leaders and gives all relevant information up to the elections of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The book will serve as a handbook of records of current politics and as such will be useful to general readers.

SWADHINATAR ABHIJAN YUGE YUGE: By Bamaprosonna Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L. Published by Enakkhi Grantha Mandir, 159 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta. Pages 114. Price Rs. 2.

March of freedom through ages is the theme of this book written in chaste Bengali by one who not only knows his subject but presents it in a readable manner suitable to young readers. In the first few pages he makes a short survey of the freedom movement in countries outside India but the bulk of the book contains descriptions of struggles for independence since the first fight for Independence in 1857. The author brings down his treatment of the subject down to the British Government announcement on 3rd June, 1947. A chronological table of important events at the end of this book has made it more useful to general readers. Young men will find this book not only instructive and interesting but inspiring as well.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

TRIPURI KA ITIHAS: By Vyohar Rajendra Sinha and Vijayabahadur Shrivastava. Manas Mandir, Jubbulpore. Pp. 222. Price Re. 1-8.

Tevar is a small village near Jubbulpore. It is Tripuri of old which once, for several centuries, flourished as a great capital town of a succession of ruling dynasties—Maurya, Sunga, Kanva, Kushan, Gupta, Hun, Kalchuri and others. The book, under review, which is illustrated is an overall account—geographical, historical and cultural—of it up to the time of the Marhattas, that is, till about the sixteenth century. The authors have brought their painstaking labours and results of research to bear upon their work, which is sure to serve as a model to others engaged in the same field. One wishes the number of these latter were large, for if it were so, the history of many an important city, now in ruins, would be resuscitated and thereby ample and adequate material for the writing of a proper history of India discovered.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SU-MAN SARATHI: By Mrs. Jayavati Pranlal. Published by N. M. Thakkar and Co., Bombay. 1946. Cloth-bound with an illustrated jacket depicting Krishna as the driver of Arjuna's battle-chariot. Illustrated. Pp. 194, Price Rs. 25.

This sumptuously got-up volume of nearly 200 pages is a collection of Mrs. Jayavati's writings on various subjects, social religious and educational. She is well-known in Bombay society as a worker for the betterment of children's interests, both boys and girls. She is married into a rich and cultured family and helps all social causes generously. For instance, the income of this book, highly priced at Rs. 25, is a gift by her to the Suman Balmandir in which she is greatly interested. She expects her rich sisters to buy up the whole issue in no time. The subjects handled are mostly religious and mythological and presented in such a manner as can be acted. She is conservative by family up-bringing and views, but fully recognises the tendency of modern times and has given it due weight. Her object is to act for her readers the part of a guide or driver (Sarathi) leading them to a happy frame of mind (Suman), and she has done it well.

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amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1928 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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Ramakrishna and Vivekananda Through Western Eyes

Hallam Tennyson writes in The Visva- $Bharati\ Quarterly:$

For those of us who come from the West our first contact with Sri Ramakrishna Paramhamsa is as likely as not through the life of him written by Romain Rolland. If, after reading this life, we go on to study the Gospel prepared by "M" on the basis of Ramakrishna's teachings we find ourselves affected by a slight feeling of bewilderment, even of disappointment. In the life, Ramakrishna is made out to be a religious leader of the greatest importance, with all the social implications of such a title. In the Gospel, on the other hand, he appears as a religious mystic and devotee and in no sense a religious leader.

Through the immense charm of his personality and the enchanting metaphors and parables with which he flavoured his teaching, he gathered round him a group of disciples of exceptionally fine calibre. One of these, Vivekananda, was so wholly fascinated by the Master that although of quite different temperament and outlook, he dedicated himself completely to him and was in a strange way singled out to "carry on his work." This Vivekananda did—but, and here is where our logical Western minds are likely to be bewildered—along totally different lines. It was Vivekananda who turned into a great religious leader. The disciples were firmly removed from their search for Samadhi and personal salvation. Ramakrishna had preached the abdication of social responsibilities and had laughingly inveighed against those who tried to build hospitals and to alleviate the incluctable suffering of man. Under the guidance of Vivekananda, however, every kind of social service was undertaken.

There are of course several explanations of this. The orthodox one is that Ramakrishna, preaching as he was in the dark and troubled age of the Kali Yuga, had, before everything else, to bring back the souls of men from their attachment to wordly values. Once his disciples had become intoxicated with the love of God, then they could abandon themselves to worldly action and could "plunge into the turbulent waters of life without fear." It is certainly true that in whatever service it has undertaken the Ramakrishna Mission has never lost sight of the essentially spiritual roots from which the sense of service must spring. The maths, where the monks are trained, remain to this day quiet, withdrawn and austerely disciplined. Nevertheless, without Vivekananda and without the dynamic message of social service which he brought, one cannot help feeling that the Ramakrishna movement would have remained as it had started, another of those spiritual retreats built round the personality of a garu, which have somewhat fitfully maintained the integrity of Hindu religious life throughout the ages.

Even the teaching of the Master contained little that was now. It was in the nature of reaffirmation, rather

to God; the belief that ont only Bhakti, Jnana and Karma Yoga, but also the paths laid down by Christianity and Islam, lead to the same end-had not this been implied several millennia before in the Gita as well as the Upanishads. More recently too the Unitarian movement of the Brahmo Samaj had made it the pivotal point of its creed, though its subsequent repudiation of idolatry seemed to narrow its message, since Ramakrishna claimed that idols were essential to the Bhakti approach. Yet although one may be able to analyse the various ideas that went to make up the main elements of Ramakrishna's teaching and prove that in themselves they were not original there remains something beyond, something difficult to define and something of vast significance and importance

The charm of Ramakrishna's personality was really very great. This "personality" was an expression of his vision of God, and Ramakrishna's vision of God was one of the most intense and joyful that the world has

This joy of Ramakrishna's fits well, of course, into the tradition of Chaitanya and the Vaishnava poets, but it was less sentimental than theirs. It was full of a new element of virility and self-confidence. "Bondage is of the mind. Freedom is also of the mind. I am a free soul, he it in the world or in the forest, I am not bound. I am the son of God, the son of the King of Kings. Who is there to bind me? . . . The fool who says continually I am in bondage, I am in bondage', do indeed bring bondage on himself." One could of course point out that this virile joy was something that was far from unknown in the Vedanta. Was not the Self called "the Enjoyer" in the Upanishads? Was not the attainment of consciousness, knowledge, bliss the aim of all mysticism in the Vedanta? But these clear springs had become overgrown with exotic, choking weeds of pessimism and apathy.

Everything was the Self, evil could not be fought since it was essential to the scheme of things, the only course of action for the enlightened man was to raise himself beyond good and evil and to free himself from the illusory bondage of creation.

To the separated soul the only means of approaching the Self is through Maya, through the phenomena of existence in which Brahman displays himself in creation. This aspect of the Self is Kali. Now the first thing that overwhelins one on withdrawing oneself a little distance from one's own personal life and looking at the world around one (and in India it has to be only a very little distance) is the terror of creation. To the separated soul the universe must seem a vast charnek house ever preying upon itself in purposcless activity. "The terror of Brahman is like a drawn sword" as the Kathopanishad says. This is when the destructive aspect of Kali is propitiated and her devotees fix their eyes in fearful fascination on the severed head that she holds in her left hand. But later when the separation of the individual soul has been backen down and one is living from within enceelf as a than revelation. The equal validity of all the approaches part of the vast cosmic plan in which one is born, the

universe is no longer terrible. Then Kali's garland of skulls and her drawn sword are forgotten. The eyes of the devotee turn only to her right arm raised in benediction. This is what Ramakrishna meant when he said: "Outside my mother is terrible, but in her heart she is full of mercy." How he loved to quote the famous prayer: "Oh, thou Terrible One. Evermore protect us from ignorance with thy sweet compassionate face."

It was precisely this attitude towards the Mother to which Vivekananda at first objected and it was precisely it, which, in the end, became the deepest and most mysterious link between him and his master.—"Learn to recognise the Mother as instinctively in evil, terror, sorrow and annihilation as in that which makes for sweetness and joy. Fools put a garland of flowers round thy neck, Oh Mother, and then start back in terror and call thee the Merciful . . . Meditate on death, worship the terrible. Only by the worship of the terrible can the terrible itself be overcome and immortality gained. There should be bliss in torture too-the Mother herself is Brahman. Even her curse is blessing. The heart must become a cremation ground-pride, selfishness, desire all burnt to ashes." "If necessary seek death, not life. Hurl your self on the point of the sword and become one with the terrible for ever-more." It was in such words that Vivekananda developed the hints dropped by his Master and perhaps it is not until one has understood them that one can realise the full robustness and vitality of the optimism that he was to bring into Hindu life.

The terror of life must be fought against, even embraced, nor masked or denied as the Christians might do, nor timidly shrunk away from in the devout Hindu fashion.

On the fly-leaf of Rolland's Life and Gospel of Vivekananda the following words of the Swami's are quoted: "Never forget the glory of human nature. We are the greatest God—Christs and Buddhas are but waves on the boundless ocean of I AM." This indeed is the key-note of the whole of Vivekananda's teaching. It crystallises the virility, the exuberant power, the faith in wordly activity, the magnificent humanism and the exaggerated truimphant phraseology that he used to rouse India from her spiritual lethargy. Those marvellous words how they burn with passion and feeling. Such a character as Vivekananda's was of course above all fitted to start the process of reformation and recreation so urgently necessary if India was to keep her own traditions and avoid uncritical dependence on the feverish energy of the West.

In one of his last essays Vivekananda wrote: "Material science is nothing but the finding of Unity in the physical field." Is not this really the point that Bertrand Russell has reached in his philosophy of Neutral Monism. Smuts in his Holism and Planck and Einstein in their philosophical explanations of Relativity and the Quantum Theory of light? I believe that we owe it partly to Ramakrishna and Vivekananda that at least in one part of the world this conclusion has been reached within the framework of an old but still living religious tradition.

Industrial Planning

The New Review observes:

The Government of India have at last made up their mind about the national development of industry; we shall have no plan, we will have a policy. Policy commands planning. The Government want an evolution rather than a revolution; too much wealth has already been wasted in communal riots and cross-migrations, and too many resources have been reduced, disjointed or paralysed by Partition. Nobody but a child would dream of making a brutal sweep of the present industrial structure and of starting with a 'clean slate'; even communists should acknowledge that it is futile to talk of redistributing the national income until something comes in. Nor will the Government let its moncy be swallowed up in buying up private concerns, since a change of ownership do's not imply increased wealth.

State-money will rather be devoted to new productive undertakings. Naturally the gigantic schemes of irrigation, some of which had been prepared under the previous regime, will have priority over all others. The leading problem of India is food-production, and the key to food-production is found in water, manure and seeds. Irrigation plans could hardly be delayed for the satisfaction of buying up tramway or bus companies here and there, and for the pride of having nationalised the transport industry.

According to Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, industries would be divided into three classes: state-monopolies (railways, posts and telegraphs, defence and atomic energy); industries owned and controlled by the state but preferably corporation-managed (coal, iron, steel, aircraft, ship-building, mineral oils, etc.) though the existing establishments would not be absorbed for the present; free enterprises, individual or co-operative, in which, however, the Government explicitly threatens interference in case of necessity.

The implementation of this general policy will lead to repeated criticism, but at the present stage only one caution is needed. Officials and politicians, as is natural with them, have a propensity to overdo their economic foresight and talent; they readily funcy that they normally know best and manage best. Pandit Nehru showed his keen insight when he frankly admitted the narrow limits to the actual possibilities of his present government. The evils of partition, the refuger problem, the uncertainties of the international situation should tone down the economic ambitions of officials and politicians. Moreover, in democratic countries which have pushed state-enterprise to its maximum, a new tendency is developing. In their preoccupation to save as much as possible of personal liberty, more and more people are converted to what is called the principle of subsidiarity; in other words, the role of the state is to be considered as subsidiary to private enterprise and personal initiative. The Government should address itself to those tasks that are beyond private reach, its intervention in economic life should with advantage be directed to general planning and supervision, and the power of the political group which makes the ministry should not be turned into a camouflaged dictatorship. Pride and greed mislead politicians as well as capitalists,



and there is little to choose between the factory-owner who captures parliament by the back-door and the parliamentarian who confiscates the factory by the front-gate.

INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL LIFE

The country is settling down to peaceful conditions. Communalism and communism are abating under the constant pressure of the Government and of the summer sun. Refugees sleep in their precarious tents, problems and plans are pigeon-holed, and the voting of the Coustitution is made to wait for the first monsoon showers. The Inter-Dominion Conference at Calcutta benefited by the seasonal appeasement. Representatives of India and Pakistan, of East and West Bengal discussed with airconditioned pacifism. Resolutions as generous as they were general were passed unanimously: migrations which were a nuisance to both governments should cease; the authorities would not authorize unauthorized persons to make unauthorized searches at the customs-houses, etc., etc., a glorious bunch of resolutions which the authorities are keen on implementing, but which unauthorized subjects of theirs (smugglers and gangsters) might wither away.

There remains the Kashmir imbroglio. From the spare information available, the political and military situation is obscure. More than half the populated area of Kashmir and Jammu is till occupied by the raiders and the Azad Kashmiris: Gilgit, Kashmir North, Muzzafarabad, large sectors of Mirpur, Poonch, and Ladakh. No large-scale advance has been made since November last and spring operations were unexpectedly restricted to local gains. The allegiance of the people is uncertain; the non-Muslim minority is solidly behind Sheikh Abdulla, the Azad Kashmiris against him, and the vast majority have had little opportunity of voicing their feelings. Whatever be the results of a plebiscite, some districts contiguous to India or others along the Pakistan border will certainly make a bid for partition.

The U. N. O. Security Council has proved of little assistance, and its third resolution was as unacceptable as the first two. The declaration of India's representative was blunt: 'Pakistan has helped and is helping the raiders, and should be checked. When the raiders have withdrawn, Indian troops will occupy the whole country and maintain order. Kashmir's accession to India stands and must stand until it be reserved by an impartial plebiscite. Pakistan should not interfere in such a plebiscite.' Pakistan's delegate answered: 'A plebiscite must decide everything; hence Kashmir's accession is suspended. Indian troops must withdraw, and Kashmir police will maintain order. The Security Council has put forth the resolution; let the Council see that it be carried out.' The resolution was passed but did not resolve the antagonism, and the Plebiscite Commission was committed to hard labour.



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Alternative of Joint Family System

In the course of his article in the *Insurance World* on an alternative of the joint family system J. M. Datta observes:

Whatever the causes, conscious or unconscious, the joint-family system has fallen into disfavour and decay. The decisions of our High Courts, manned by Europeans and English-educated Hindus, have hastened the decay by introducing changes in the law unsuited to the spirit of the Hindu race. A rough and ready idea of the progress of decay of the joint-family system may be gathered from the average number of persons per census house at the different censuses, although the figures are not strictly comparable with each other on account of the presence of non-Hindus and the changes from time to time in the census definition of a house. The figures are:

| Year of Census | | | persons |
|----------------|---------|-----|--------------|
| 1881 | •• | per | house 5·8 |
| 1891 | • • | • • | 5.4 |
| 1901 | | | 5.2 |
| 1911 | | | 4.9 |
| 1921 | | | 4.9 |
| 1931 | | | 5.0 |
| 1941 | | | 5-1 |
| | | | |

As a rough estimate we may say that if all Hindu families were joint-families in 1881, about half of them are now no longer joint. In another 50 or 60 years, probably much earlier having regard to the increase in the age of marriage and certain other tendencies, there will scarcely be any joint Hindu families in the old sense.

With the decay of the joint-family system, we are losing its advantages. Along with this decay, there has been a rapid growth of pernicious individualism and its consequent selfishness. Maternal-uncles and nephews scarcely lived together under the same roof; and were not 'ex hypothesi' members of the same joint family. Formerly it was a common social phenomenon to find maternal-uncles helping and pushing their nephews; but now such a sight is rare. Even well-placed paternaluncles do not help their brilliant nephews with collegefees, etc., thus stopping their further education, although they visit cinemas with friends and members of their own families almost daily. In the seventies and eighties of the last century, college professors with incomes round about an average of Rs. 100 used to spend about one-sixth of their incomes in helping poorer relations and destitutes. Now-a-days such help is very rare. The father's sister of a professor drawing about Rs. 400 is serving us as a cook; the mother's sister of another

with an income of over Rs 700 came to a charitable institution for clothes and blankets in winter.

How to replace the co-operative spirit is the problem. That Life Insurance, Old-age Pensions, Sickness and Accident Insurance, etc., are the proper substitutes—there cannot be two opinions. Without the State aid it is not possible to have old-age pensions or sickness insurance. Life Insurance is the practical substitute at present for the joint-family system. Even with the phenomenal increase in new life insurance business in recent years, the progress of Life Insurance in India has been decidedly slow. It has been calculated by Mr. P. V. Krishnamurty, Assistant Superintendent of Insurance, that per capita value of insurance was Rs. 3 in 1930. Rs. 6 in 1940; and Rs. 12 in 1945. The progress may at first sight seem to be rapid. But the following table, which is self-explanatory, tells its own tale.

| | Per Capita | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|
| | Income | Insurance |
| | Rs. | Rs. |
| U. S. A. | 1.406 | 2,300 |
| Canada | 1.038 | 1,573 |
| Britain | 980 | 973 |
| Australia | 972 | 960 |
| Germany | 603 | 240 |
| India | 65 | 12 |
| | | |

Even allowing for the differences in National Wealth, the discrepancy is too great. The number of life policies in force at the end of the year 1945 is 25,92,000. In 1941, the population of India was 388 millions; by the end of 1945 it is estimated to be at least 410 millions. Thus less than 0.6 persons per 100 has insured.

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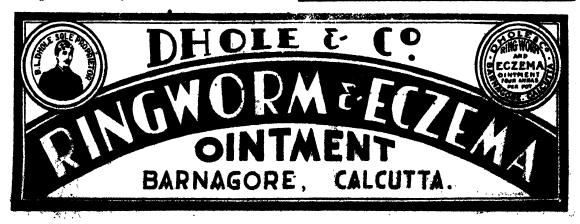
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America and the Partition of Palestine

John Earle Uhler observes in The Catholic World, March, 1948:

The partition of Palestine, as decided by the United Nations on a feverish Saturday session at Lake Success, November 29, 1947, was accomplished largely by American efforts. In many quarters, therefore, America is thought to be responsible for implementing the decision. She may work through the United Nations but it will probably be her duty to provide through her own treasury or privately through various agencies, for the successful inauguration and development of the new Zionist state. She is considered liable for its defense against all enemies. In brief, in her attempt to wrest a large part of Palestine from Islam for the sake of Zionism. America appears to have undertaken what Christian Europe attempted during the Middle Ages through the Crusades—and failed to accomplish after several hundred years of bloodshed.

That America is the force behind the partition of the Holy Land cannot be disputed.

True it is that England gave the movement its first impetus with the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, which viewed "with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people." This declaration was made to win Jewish support for England's wreating of Palestine from Turkey in World War I. After England drove Turkey out, however, and assumed control of the Holy Land through a "Mandate," she was confronted with an Arab protest against Zionism. At that time -less than thirty years ago-Palestine was overwhelmingly a land of Arabs, just as Mexico is a land of Mexicans. The Arab population was more than ten times as large as the Jewish. Alarmed at the influx of foreigners, this Arab majority rose against both the Jews and the British. The entire Mohammedan world was anxious about its Holy Land and made threats on behalf of the Palestine Arabs. Seeing the dangers involved in this hostility, that spread from Gibralter to the Philippines, Winston Churchill, in 1920, gave a reinterpretation to the Balfour paper and virtually repudiated the original promise to the Jews.

Since that time England has resisted any further progress of Zionism.

The Jows, however, were not to be denied. Year after year, waves of Zionists swept into the Holy Land. In 1932 alone, ten thousand moved in. In 1933, thirty thousand. In 1934, forty thousand. In 1935 more than sixty thousand. They established for themselves many schools, including the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. They forced the recognition of Hebrew as an official language in association with the heretofore official tongues, Arabic and English. They organized the Palestine Electric Corporation and constructed a great power plant. They virtually built and populated all the city of Tel Aviv on the Mediterranean coast, adjoining the Arab city of Jaffs. They began to buy up the cultivable land. And steadily the Asaba were aroused into greater violence against them.

England, on her part, could already foresee the coming of World War II. She had the Suez Canal to protect. More desputie now then over, she realised that she must

not antagonize the Moslem world—250,000,000 strong—that lay athwart her life line from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. To win this vast world, England turned her back completely on the comparative handful of Zionists, published in unequivocal terms (May 17, 1937) that her policy was not for the establishment of a Jewish state, and began restriction of immigrants into Palestine with a view to curtailing immigration severely after March 31, 1944.

At this point, the Zionists turned the full force of their propaganda on America. They appealed to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and, according to Senator Wagner, who has a large Jewish constituency in New York, were assured that the American government would do everything in its power "to prevent the curtailment of Jewish immigration into Palestine." In the spring of 1941, the American Palestine Committee was organized, with Senator Wagner as chairman and Senator McNary as co-chairman. Its membership included Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes and Secretary of Agriculture Claude A. Wickard. Their avowed purpose was to prepare Palestine for "large scale" Jewish immigration.

The machinery turned fast. Many tabbis and other Jewish speakers, together with Christian clergymen, championed the Zionist cause from the platform and directed their audiences to write to their congressmen. Newspaper editorials favoured the proposed Jewish state. Full-page advertisements appeared. Appeals for financial aid filled the mails.

As a result, on December 4, 1942, about two-thirds of the members in the United States Senate and almost one-half of those in the House expressed themselves in favor of America's "declared and traditional policy" of promoting a Jewish nation in Palestine. They included both the majority and minority leaders of both the Senate and the House. Their expressions turned into official action in February, 1944, less than two months before the date when England was to ban immigration into Palestine. Resolutions were introduced by both Democrats and Republicans in the House (in which Representatives Wright and Compton were co-sponsors) and in the Senate (in which Senators Wagner and Taft were co-sponsors). The resolution was to the effect "that the doors of Palestine be



there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." This resolution, said Representative Compton, would be "notice

to the British government."

This "notice" to England from the United States Congress was reinforced by a letter from President Truman, August 31, 1945, to Prime Minister Attlee, in which the President intervened on behalf of the Zionists. This attitude on the part of America evoked a question from the British Foreign Office as to the extent America was willing to go in order to effect the suggestions, which were now equivalent to demands, that she had made. The two countries then agreed on a joint committee to investigate and make recommendations. It was England's opportunity to slip the hurden to the shoulders of the nation that was constantly interfering.

Negotiations lagged during the formation of the United Nations. Once it was organized, the new British-American Committee on Palestine, unable to come to any agreement, turned its problem over to that organization. At once America took the initiative. Although an 11-nation Commission of the United Nations by a vote of seven to three (one not voting) decided on the partition of Palestine, and the 57-nation Palestine committee, by a vote of twenty-five to thirteen (nineteen not voting) supplemented the voice of the Commission, it was the American State Department that inspired most of the details of the plan and gave it the final imprimatur. It was Herschel V. Johnson, furthermore, American delegate to the United Nations, who helped largely to steer its passage. At the time when the measure was to be presented in the General Assembly, all the Americans there were as busy with their politics as schoolboys at a class election. They lacked a few votes necessary for the adoption of their plan. They had depended on Haiti, Greece, and the Philippines, which at the last moment announced themselves against it. The delegates of some other nations were instructed to abstain from voting, which was almost tantamount to negation. The British, on their part, refused to vote on any question whatsoever that pertained to Palestine. They declared that their country wished to withdraw from the Holy Land completely and would not take part in the enforcement of any measure that mas not agreeable to Arabs and Jews alike.

The situation was desperate. To gain time for

electioneering, Herschel Johnson, Warren Austin, and other Americans won a postponement of the question. Johnson made two speeches in one day pleading for a larger majority and asking the abstaining nations to vote. He and his collaborators worked in corridor corners and on the backstairs. They rejoiced when Siam was disqualified because of a change of government in that country. They persuaded Haiti and the Philippines to return to their side. They brought Belgium, the Netherlands, and New Zealand into the fold. They courted France, which remained doubtful to the very end. At last they were ready for the question, and the measure passed, by the necessary twothirds vote, 33 to 13, with 10 nations abstaining, paper, a new nation had come into being. Wit America, it would have died in early embryo.

This new Zionist state, which is supposed to take its place among the nations of the world on July 1, 1948, covers the larger and better part of Palestine.

It is shaped somewhat like a hunchback, the upper spine lying on the Mediterranean, the face and throat turned east against Syria and northern Trans-Jordan, the leg, with a bulge at the knee against southern Trans Jordan. Just above the hump in the back lies a section of what will be left to the Arabs. In the chest and abdomen lies another

opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that Arab area, with the exception of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which will be international. In the seat lies the third Arab territory, a narrow strip, less than a hundred miles long, on the Mediterranean. The Zionist state will compromise 5,600 square miles, or almost fifty-five per cent of Palestine; the Arab state will comprise 4,700 square miles, or about forty-five per cent. In the area assigned to the Zionists there are at present about 498,000 Jews and 327,000 Arabs; the ratio of Jews to Arabs is therefore about one and a half to one. In the area assigned to the Arab state are 10,000 Jews and 805,000 Arabs, the ratio being one to eighty. The ratio of Jews to Arabs in all Palestine is less than one to two.

An examination of the Zionist state reveals that the partitioners had Jewish interests foremost in their consideration. The Jewish state is better consolidated—more in one piece. It includes most of the railroads-in fact, virtually all except a strip toward Egypt. It embraces the richest lands in Palestine, extending inland from Haifa to Jaffa, as well as those north and south of the sea of Galilee. with their grain fields, olive groves, and vineyards. It has an outlet to the Mediterranean trade through the best seaport in Palestine, Haifa, and another outlet, Akaba, to the Red Sea. Although the southern part of the new state is largely desert, it is capable of irrigation; there are numerous fertile places at the present time. The chief advantage lies in the fact that it horders one-half of the western shores of the Dead Sea, which not only invites the establishment of winter health resorts but promises a wealth of minerals, the largest salt deposits around the Sea being in this area.

The Arab state, on the other hand, is cut into three separate sections, or rather four, because the Arab city of Jaffa on the coast is isolated as the fourth section. For the northern and southern areas, little can be said except

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that Nazareth, of inspiration to Christians as well as Moslems, is in the northern territory, as is the seacoast town of Acre, with its malarial swamps. In the southern territory is Gaza, and a portion of the railroad that runs through to Egypt. Both the northern and southern areas are entirely Arab, the farmers in the north, the shepherds in the south.

The middle territory is also overwhelmingly Arab. It is dotted with mosques, some of which were constructed over a thousand years ago, when there were virtually no Jews in all of Palestine. In the north lies Nablus (ancient Shechem), toward which the Biblical Jews were unfriendly because it was populated by the Samaritans, a people of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish blood, descendants of whom still live in the south-western part of the town. Except for the eight large mosques in Nablus, the town is poor and shabby. So is Er Ramle, at the western extremity of this middle part of the Arab state. Here the native has little left to him except the ruined Tower of the White Mosque, from which he may view, on the Jewish state.

At the extreme south-west of the central Arab territory lies Beersheba, which is nothing but a tiny trading post for Bedounis; it serves chiefly as a boundary mark between the two states. Different is Hebron, three thousand feet above sea level, busy with the manufacture of glass and cotton goods, as well as of water-skins from goats' hides, and surrounded by vineyards and almond groves and apricot orchards. The remainder of the Arab state consists of barren hills cut by tillable valleys. In its heart lies the area that includes Jcrusalem and Bethlehem. These are holy cities for the Moslem as well as for Christians and Jews. They will be governed by an international tribunal. All in all, the Arabs got the skimmed milk; yet there are American congressmen who have expressed resentment that they got as much as they did get. Among them, for example, is Representative F. Edward Herbert of New Orleans, who made a speech to that effect in the House of Representatives.

The principles that guided those who partitioned the Holy Land were largely echoes of the past war. To be sure, these statesmen must have felt, to a greater or less extent, the hands of antiquity and tradition. People of the Western World have been taught to regard Palestine as the fountain spring of the Jewish race. It is an attitude that has been stressed by Christianity. But the fact remains that even in Biblical times the Jews had only a tenuous hold on Palestine. Again and again they were driven out, into Egypt, for example, or into Babylonia. More significant still, they made a final exit in A.D. 70—

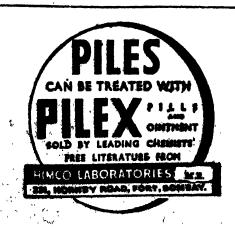
almost two thousand years ago—when the Romans scattered them over the earth and burned their temple. In the course of centuries they returned slowly; but in 1918 there were only about 50,000 Jews as compared to 600,000 Arabs.

A more immediate motive in the partition was the sentiment engendered for the Jews by their persecution in Europe. Furthermore, they were Hitler's enemies, and so they were our friends. We are told that they cannot remain in Europe, because—as Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, the former adviser in Germany to the United States Governor, warned—they will be subject to pogroms. He even reported increasing friction between American soldiers and the Jews. And so American congressmen spoke up; Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce said that we should find refuge for the Jews in the "place they prefer, Palestine, and gnarantee this by force of arms if necessary."

The Zionists turn this sentiment to their purpose. They point out that the Arabs opposed the Allies during the war and favoured the Germans. They name as the chief example, Hag Amin El Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who, after being driven from Palestine by the British, because of his resistance to Zionism, fled to Italy and then to Germany, whence he radioed pleas to the Moslem world on behalf of the Axis. But it should be emphasized that first, as an exile in French territory—so says the Survey of International Affairs—the Grand Mufti declared: "Palestine Arabs will always be grateful to the French Government and will refain from any activity likely to affect its interests, in the hope that it will be successful in maintaining peace, justice, and integrity... and the freedom of nations, which is the aim of us all."

It was only after France fell to the Germans and America went openly to war in 1941 that the Mufti turned to Germany for help against the Zionists. By that time the American Palestine Committee had been formed, and many political leaders, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, had expressed themselves in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine. It was then that the Mufti felt it his sacred duty to Islam to do all in his power to prevent what he considered the desecration of the Moslem Holy Land. America was an enemy to his cause: the Axis seemed to be his only salvation.

Throughout the entire controversy leading to the partition of Palestine by the United Nations, the stand of Russia has been puzzling and ominous. Although she did not campaign for the Jewish state as did America, she voted for it. Through her delegate Semen K. Tsarapkin, she has insisted on an interim period between the withdrawal of British troops and the establishment of the two new nations. During this period, Tsarapkin



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proposed, Palestine should be under the supervision of that she controls in Eastern Europe, of thousands of the Security Council (the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, Syria, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Colombia, and Poland). In these proposals of Russia, many skilful observers scent ulterior motives. In the first place, if the Security Council should take charge of the partition, Russia will be in control, for already she has exercised twenty-two vetoes on this Council. Furthermore, she will be dealing with associates that are indifferent to the partition. Britain, China, and Colombia abstained from voting for the new Jewish state. Franco, always strong among the Araba, was uncertain. Syria, recently a French mandate, voted no. And Poland is completely under Russian dominance. Under these circumstances, Russia could easily take the control away from America, while America kept the responsibility.

Another motive may lie in the very fact of partition. If America, through the U. N., can split up a territory so that foreigners, to whom she feels sympathetic, may emigrate to that territory and make homes there, why cannot Russia do the same? If Russia should encourage a migration of Rumanians perhaps Rumanian Jews of Communist leanings to northern Greece, for the sake of splitting Greece and establishing a new nation there, could America protest in view of what she herself has

done in Palestine?

There is apparently still more behind the Russian stand. Moscow has many agents in the Jewish Stern Gang in Palestine, reported to be largely Communistic. She is also supporting the emigration, from the countries

Jews who are Communists or Communist sympathizers. It is said that she has distributed arms among them preparatory to their move to Palestine. They are to form the nucleus of a Communist movement in the new

Russia foresees, moreover, that an army will have to be sent to Palestine to protect the new Jewish commonwealth from the enmity of the surrounding Arab state. As one of the Big Five in the United Nations, she naturally expects to make up a part of this army. She will thereby accomplish what she has been attempting since the war-the movement of her troops into Asia Minor near the oil fields here, which will be vital in

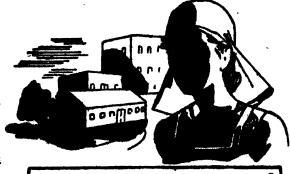
the event of another war.

It need not be explained that the Arabs are resisting the whole movement. Fearful over the possible loss of Palestine they organized the Pan-Arab League in 1943, uniting Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yamen, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. Although for more than a thousand years they have practised tolerance toward both Jews and Christians and have a record far better than most European countries, they have now declared a Holy War and are concentrating troops against the Zionists. They warn that 70,000,000 Arabs will rise for the fight and that all Islam is behind them. The war has already started, and more than a thousand Arabs and Jews have so far died in the struggle.

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Emancipator of India

Leo Hirsch had written this article in Unity

before Gandhiji was assassinated:

The Indian ideal of sainthood comes from the Bhagavad-Gita meaning the Song of the Lord. "To those who are detached from desire and from anger, who practise self-control and are restrained in mind, knowing

the true self-to them is salvation nigh."

It is in the blending of this idealism of India with that of Christianity that Mahatma Gandhi is to be understood. Mahatma means "great soul" and the title is India's recognition that in him her ideal of sainthood is realized. This distinction came to him unsought; and when he was-asked by members of the English Parliament what the title meant, he replied: "It means a very unimportant person." Such humility is of the essence of sainthood, and it is by identifying himself with the poor that he has won his great eminence in India. A saint is one who makes the spiritual world visible to us; and this will help to explain the vast multitudes who come to gaze at the homely and humble figure of the Mahatma as a religious exercise. Here is a man without wealth or earthly possessions, rather sickly and emaciated, yet possessing a spiritual grandeur, whose influence has affected 400 million human beings.

Like Dr. Kagawa in Japan, Gandhi is a fighting pacifist, and his long and heroic career has been spent in a great attack upon race prejudice and the exploitation of the poor. The conviction was burning into his soul that India had been and still is being killed, body and soul, by

exploitation from abroad.

Some of Gandhi's sayings upon the central principles of his life have become classical. They are: "If untouchability and caste are convertible terms, the sooner caste perishes, the better for all concerned." "If blood must be shed, let it be our blood." "Passive resistance is always infinitely superior to physical violence." "There is no God higher than Truth." "Truth is the first thing to be sought for, and beauty and goodness will then be added unto you; that is really what Christ taught in the Sermon on the Mount."

He profoundly believes in non-violent resistance which came to him from that great American, David Henry Thoreau, who expressed it over one hundred years ago. Non-violence does not mean weak submission to the will of the evil-doer but rather the putting of our whole soul against the will of the tyrant. It is in fact another name for love—opposing itself with courage to physical violence

and opposing truth to untruth.

Gandhi also believes in fasting. This is a discipline of soul and body and has rarely been understood in the Western world. When he enters upon a long fast, it is because he believes that his followers need to be lifted to new moral heights and that, in their failure, he himself has failed. His genius as a leader comes from the fact that he leads such opposing forces as the Mohammedans and Hindus, as well as the Untouchables. These conflicting forces continue those rhots which seriously disturb the peace of India and make progress difficult. Whenever these riots pecame serious, Gandhi would fast and in each case he won a temporary victory by first winning a victory in his own soul. On the other hand, when he fasted as a prisoner of the British, he unquestionably used a form of non-violent resistance.

He often confessed during these riots that his followers were not yet ready for the full exercise of soul force. Despite such failures, he has worked miracles in the reshaping of the soul of India. His amazing success has been that he has changed India from a slave mentality of acquiescence to a fearless expression of revolt and, at the same time, he has harnessed the fury of the mob.

He has kindled the flame of freedom and independence and yet prevented a conflagration. He has won an immense victory without force, without war, and without money, in so far as he has compelled the British Empire, after two hundred years of occupation, to withdraw her troops and restore the independence of India. He wrote the Declaration of Independence for India. Gandhi has declared the Emancipation of the Untouchables, liberating 60 million human beings from actual persecution and alavery. This is the greatest deliverance in human history. (The other emancipations were the freeing of 23 million Russian serfs by the Russian Czar, Alexander II, March 2, 1861, and the freeing of the Negro slaves by Abraham Lincoln.)

Gandhi has also brought about the emancipation of women, and that, too, was a miracle of social reformation when it is remembered that for many centuries women had no real place in Indian life apart from domestic duties.

Gandhi believes that the machine with its mass production has brought to man neither freedom nor happiness. He insists that only partnership, brotherhood, and love can win for us the release of our spiritual forces. Einstein confirms this universal truth when he says: "There is partnership between time and space," and biology recognizes that the seccessful insects and animals are the co-operative ones. Candhi's attitude is the spirit which recognizes the supreme value of personality and of freedom. In the industrial world, we are witnessing the result of placing the machine above man, and we will yet learn through bitter experience that the human values are the real values. We will yet learn the lesson that is is impossible to keep our machines in full operation, and their product in constant consumption, unless the profits of industry are shared in ever-increasing ratio with the men who operate the machines and who are the mass consumers. Partnership is the only principle that justifies the machine. Workers the world over are demanding not charity but partnership, not patronage but justice. America became great because here, for the first time in human history, the common man became the measure of all values. This religious ideal is at the heart of Dr. Kagawa in Japan, Gandhiji in India, and it motivated our American saint, Abraham Lincoln.

We of the Western world, trying to recover our sanity and stability after the most destructive war in history, wounded, weary and confused, yearning for a permanent peace and yet divided and incapable of achieving it, look wistfluly and hopefully to Gandhi as the incaraction of a moral and spiritual power and as the embodiment of principles which offer to the race moral substitutes for war and a challenge to luxury.

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Mahatma Gandhi's Statue Sculptor Devaprocad Roy Chowdhury (left)

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE No. 499

NOTES

This Freedom!

In the prayer meeting of 26th January, 1948, only four days before the Father of the Nation was removed from amongst us by the hand of the assassin, Mahatma Gandhi said:

"The subject of corruption is not new. Only it has become much worse than before. Restraint from without has practically gone. Corruption will go when the large number of persons given to the unworthy practice realise that the nation does not exist for them but that they do for the nation. It requires a high code of morals, extreme vigilance on the part of those who are free from the corrupt practice and who have influence over corrupt servants. Indifference in such matters is criminal. It our evening prayers are genuine they must play no mean part in removing from our midst the domon of corruption."*

Today the most vital problem that faces us is that of corruption. Corruption had eaten deep in the administrative services of India long prior to the departure of the British from the controlling posts of India. What is more terrible is that this virus has spread alarmingly wide amongst those on whom lay all the hopes of the nationals of India. The Congress has been badly affected by this plague, as was openly stated sometime back by the veteran Congress leader of Madras Sri Konda Venkatappa. There is some hope for Madras inasmuch as they still have puritans in the rank who have no hesitation in resorting to open condemnation. But why is the Congress President silent about the Centre and the other provinces?

Where are the rosy dreams of a glorious and mighty India today, with which we used to solace the stricken people of this country during the fateful days when British bureaucracy was trying to extinguish the fires of freedom with demoniac repression? Where are those wonderful plans for the regeneration and renaissance of the nation, plans for Industrialisation,

* We have taken the above quotation from Sri Bijay Bihari Muhikarji's book Administrative Problems of India, a managuaph that the state of the sakes of miner administrative teday. In 181 9 for reclamation of waste lands, for the harnessing of hydraulic energy now running to waste, and for raising the standard of living of those millions who are suffering a living death today?

Today the very foundations of the State are being undermined by corruption. So what chance is there of any great structure being ever built over the ruins? We are beset with problems on all sides, it is true, but does not that fact make the crime of corruption still more heinous for those who are trying to profit by the distress of the nation? Why are our statesmen silent over the matter? It is well-known today, throughout the length and breadth of the country that there are bag-burons at Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay, who are the master-criminals in all this planned treachery, of corruption and of profiteering, blackmarketing and tax-evasion. And yet it seems that they are immune from the trammels of law, arch-criminals though they might be. Why are they being shielded? The public have a right to know why the rights of hundreds of millions are being sacrificed so that a group of unprincipled cut-throats might bleed them to death and gather vast fortunes thereby with impunity. Mahatma Gandhi must have had these racketeers of Big-Business in mind when he spoke.

We should like to know what plans Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel have to combat this evil. Kashmir and Hyderabad are great problems, but of what avail would a thousand Kashmirs and Hyderabads be, if the common man of India become poorer still and the sick die without relief, as under British rule, because all the wealth of the land is being drained, by means illicit and immoral, into the coffers of the few who have sacrificed all their principles through evil lust for gain?

Labour is getting more and more intractable and restive and production in industry has fallen to an all-time low of 45 per cent of normal, agitators and inciters have had their task made easy through the continuous rise in the cost of living. The vital channels of transport are now affected dribbly through removant

corruption in the staff and through chronic neglect of duties. The industrialist does not care for he merely doubles the price of all life's essentials and rakes in his ill-gotten gains at the cost of the poor consumer, who pays and suffers all the way.

We know of cases where honest officers of the State have been held up in the execution of their duties, when they started investigations into cases of tax-evasion by these mighty and filthy bag-borons. They withstood threats and temptations but were finally brought to a halt by orders from superiors. We know that the anti-black-marketing legislation in Bengal was held up for months because there were clauses in it that threatened the safety of the persons of the master-black-marketeers. We know that the State and the People are being mulcted by these treacherous scoundrels with such blatant and brazen impudence, because there are those in power who are shielding them, whether through ignorance or otherwise, we leave the people to judge.

We would ask Pandit Nehru then, what is the value of this freedom to our people? And for whose benefit are they suffering? It is time now for stringent legislation and ruthless enforcement, else there would be chaos.

The Change-over

The world is in turmoil. In the Far East China is ablaze with communism fighting for the domination of all East Asia. In Burma and Malaya there are active attempts at kindling a fire, the intensity of the blaze depending on the aid the communists might rereive from abroad. There is an uneasy peace in Indo-China, Indonesia and Siam, France and Holland being busy in the first two areas, in devising formular that would enable them to continue with their imperialistic programme under the guise of democracy. Ou the Western marches of Asia Arab nationali-m has been fanned up by foreign interests and is up in arms against the new-born State of Israel. If there is a conflagration then the blaze may spread to the borders of India, and it is on this that the die-hard Tories of Britain and their stooges in Pakistan and Hydernbad are counting.

In Europe, the Soviets are slowly adopting strongarm methods. Poland, Austria and most of the Balkans are in their grip. The Czechs have been dragooned into toeing the line and the major part of Germany is on the eve of the Soviet anschluss. There is panic in France, as a result of which the anti-Communist drive has been intensified as the following extracts from a Worldover Press bulletin would show:

"For France the late spring, long forecast as its most critical period, gave an opportunity not merely to consider current crises, but to look back at a six months' miracle. When the government of Robert Schuman took office, no one believed it could stay in the saddle more than a few weeks at the very longest. During all that time, Communists were uttering dire reals.

Premier Schuman reached the point where he could assert, with a measure of plausibility, "They won't get away with it here." No observer in his right mind could doubt the ability of French Communism to precipitate serious trouble, for their hold over key labour groups, such as the northern miners, had never been broken. But through the Force Ouvriere, the democratic trade union organization set up after splitting from the C.G.T., through the ineptitude of Moscow, and in particular through specific moves made internally by the Schuman regime, the constructive appeal of Communism, once a factor, had been rendered negative.

When De Gaulle went into the Communist stronghold of Marseilles in late April, and local Communism failed to organize any effective counter-demonstration, it was spectacular. But the very drama of that incident tended to disguise a long series of tough steps by the Schuman government which have received scant world publicity.

Last December a raid was carried out on a Sovietoperated camp, followed by the expulsion of numerous Moscow spokesmen and the liquidation of the Union of Soviet citizens. But this raid was only a taste of what was to come. As weeks went by, French Comnunism got liberal doses of its own medicine.

Four Communist papers were barred on December 24th from all army posts. They were the morning daily L'Humanite, the evening daily Ce Soir, and the periodicals L'Avant-Garde and France d'Abord. To carry out this move and still remain legal, the Schuman regime used an old law in existence before 1936, which had become a dead letter after Communists entered the government in the early post-war period. At the same time, Jules Moch, Socialist Minister of the Interior—a man regarded by the Communists with a mixture of hatred and grudging respect—took away the monthly allowance of gasoline granted to the Communist Party under an arrangement whereby all varties receive a quantity of gas for political uses.

Another paper was suspended on January 20th, it was The Soviet Patriot, printed in Russian. Its editor had been expelled at the time of the December raid. At almost the same time, Communists were ousted from strategic positions in the Chamber of Deputies.

In short, for half a year, after the break-up of the political strikes last fall, the Communists have just not been allowed to get away with a thing. And by setting up a series of "super-prefectures," M. Moch has built an apparatus, flexible and all-pervasive, with which to counter the "defense committees" established by the Communists on the model of the "action committees" which were so efficacious in suppressing Csechoslowak democracy."

It is in this setting that the change-over took place at Delhi. From now onwards the utmost of vigilance is needed at the Foreign Ministry at Delhi. Perhaps Pandit Nehru has already made arrangements for a new set-up. For the first set-up has been por and wanting in many things.

Lord Mountbatten

With the departure of Lord Mountbatten ends an episode in India's millennial history—an episode extending over 190 years. When the "factors and clerks" of the East India Company brought about a coup at Plassey in 1757, they did not know what would be the consequence of this adventure of theirs; it must have been this unconsciousness that later led a historian of their people to popularize the opinion that the British had acquired empire over India in "a fit of absentmindedness." It took about forty years for the ruling classes of Britain to grow into the consciousness that the disorganization in India afforded them an opportunity to found an empire which would add to the wealth and glory of their people. And by the middle of the 19th century a school of politics was developed in Britain of which 50 years after Rudyard Kipling was to be the poet laureate. The necessities of holding sway over an alien people across six thousand miles of sea water forced on British politicians and administrators the adoption and pursuit of policies that have led to results which were described by Rabindranath Tugore in 1941:

But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth will they leave behind them!

The unnatural relation that subsists between an alien conqueror and a dependent people cannot have any other result. The "plunder of Bengal" after Plassey "flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years" and imparted "the first impetus (to the industrial revolution) in Britain" and financed its capitalist enterprises over East Asia. These words of Dean Inge, not an economist or historian, held the mirror to the spirit of cannibalism that moved the new imperialism of exploitation of other peoples' weaknesses and their resources. Lord Mountbatten inherited this regime, and in winding it up he had no occasion to apply his mind to the understanding of this process of progressive deterioration in the material conditions of life in India. From March 24, 1947 to June 20, 1948, he was engaged in liquidating a system of rule that his immediate predecessor had made hateful beyond words to the people who had been nursed in the Liberalism of 19th century Britain. During Lord Wavell's administration forces of anarchy were released over our country all through northern India from Chittagong to Multan that could not have been the creation of mob frenzy alone. The malignant mind of an alien bureaucracy, ashting rear-guard actions for the defence of British vested interests, could be traced through the eruption of beastliness in India. Lord Wavell by his inaptitude became a tool in its hands, to put the matter in its mildest. Calcutta in August, 1946, Noakhali in October, 1946. Bihar in October-Nevember, 1946, and the Punjab in March, 1947 highlighted these activities of a desertion of administrators.

It thus became apparent to the Labour Government in Britain that Lord Wavell had made himself impossible to India, and that their policy, announced on February 20, 1946—to quit India by June, 1948 needed the service of another mind. It has been suggested that the choice of Lord Mountbatten to give shape and form to this policy was "an inspiration." History will decide on the validity of this judgment. Lord Mountbatten had expressed the hope on March 24, 1947, that he would try his best to prevent further bitterness and addition to the toll of innocent victims to the requirements of British policy. The Punjab, cast and west, demonstrated in lurid light the failure of this hope. Even so, it should be also stated for the departing pro-Consul that he and Lady Mountbatten had "helped greatly to lightening that burden," use the words used in the India Union's Cabinet resolution in appreciation of their "work of healing." But "the tortured minds and stunted souls" that crowd into the villages, towns and cities of India and Pakistan have left a problem that will leave an impress on India's life that decades may not erase.

The argument is quite admissible that Lord Mountbatten was not individually responsible for the crookedness of the policy that he was called upon to carry out. That policy had become explicit during 1940 when Lord Linlithgow gave an assurance to all disgruntled elements in India, British and Indian, that they would have freedom to deny the authority of any Government in India set up to replace that of Britain, thus repeating "exactly what was said with fatal results to Ulster," to quote the words of the London New Statesman and Nation. The Cripps Mission plan, the Cabinet Delegation's plan were all variants of the same theme. The latter made much of their pose that they came with an "open mind"; that they were anxious to preserve India's unity and integrity. But this plea was negatived by what they themselves said in their "Memorandum on States' Treatics and Paramountcy." The date of presentation of this Memorandum was significant. In it appeared the words: "Succession Government or Governments of British India," and these words showed that the Cabinet Delegation's mind had been moving towards a "partition" of our country on communal lines or had become prepared to accept such a dispensation. A Note attached to the Memorandum issued on May 12, 1946, attempted an explanation for the use of these words which was revealing, and we share it with our readers.

"The Cabinet Delegation desire to make it clear that the document issued today entitled "Memorandum, etc. . . was drawn up before the Mission began its discussion with party leaders and represented the substance of what they communicated to the representatives of the States at their first interview with the Mission. This is the explanation of the use of the words 'Succession Government or Governments of British India,' an expression which would not; of course, have been used after the issue of the Delegation's recent statement (dated May 16, 1946)."

In a Time-Table of the Cabinet Delegation's itinerary we find it stated that the first non-official Indian whom they interviewed was Mahatma Gandhi. On April 1, 1946, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, had an interview of 72 minutes with him : previous to that Sir Stafford Cripps had talks with him for about half-an-hour. On the 2nd April, 1946, they met the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal. Thus, it becomes clear that members of the British Cabinet forming the Delegation had begun flirting with the idea of the "partition" of India as early as March, 1946, the last week of March, at least. And Lord Mountbatten was sent out to give it shape in March, 1947. Perhaps for twelve months it was all a dress rehearsal of what was announced on June 3, 1946, through the mouth of Lord Mountbatten. During this period, the people in India, apart from their leaders, were misled into thinking that "His Majesty's Government" were cudgelling their brains to decide "to whom to hand over the powers of the Central Government on the date set for transfer." And the people have paid dearly for their ignorance or complacence.

This was the background in which destiny called upon Lord Louis Mountbatten to play a part. It was no new policy discovered by the Attlee Government that he was to implement. It was all cut out for him by the logic of British policy. His personal contribution was dash and drive which enabled him to brush aside through the cob-webs of law. He cut the time-table by months; instead of June, 1948, he made it possible for "British control" to be withdrawn from India August 15, 1947. The leadership of the country, represented in the Indian National Congress, accepted this logic; the Muslim League, representing majority feeling amongst Indian Muslims had worked for it, though the decisions of the Bengal and the Punjab Assemblies by the end of June had left it with a "motheaten" and "truncated" State. We have often felt that Lord Mountbatten had no occasion to exert great pressure or use hard persuasion to convince Indian leaders that the decision of June 3, 1947, represented the only step that could end "British control" over India's destiny. Whether or not anybody amongst them or even Lord Mountbatten could visualize the uprooting of millions, we cannot say. Perhaps, "partition" wanted a sacrifice, and they unwittingly co-operated in this act. In any case history will put to his credit the fact that he did not try to cloud the issues by evasion or subterfuge. He plainly stated the task that he had been set, and he took the shortest and quickest path towards fulfilling it, without flinching at the risks. And when the conflagration—for which British permanent officialdom had been working overtime before his time did blaze up, he did his best to bring it under control, without any hypocritical jeremiads.

Mountbatten's Farewell Broadcast

Edrid Mountbatten's farewell broadcast was typical of the man. Flowery ornaments were very few, nor was there much frothy sentiment. There was a directness of speech that is characteristic of the British Naval tradition.

The Governor General said:

"When I was first asked to interrupt my naval career to become the last Viceroy of India, I must confess that I viewed the prospect with considerable trepidation. After serving in South East Asia from 1943 to 1946, during all of which time I had a rear headquarter in Delhi, I felt that I could to some extent appreciate the complexity of the situation which would confront the Viceroy on whom the task of transferring power would fall. But when I arrived in India and was able to see the problem for myself at close quarters, it appeared to present even more difficulties than I had supposed.

There was one bright feature, however, in the general gloom—and it was perhaps the most important feature that one could have wished for. This was the determination of all those with whom I had to deal—whether they were leaders in the political field or in any other walk of life—that a realistic solution could and must be found. And from the moment that I arrived, difficulties which had seemed insurmountable began to melt in the atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill with which those leaders combined to help me in my task.

I can never say with what emotion I received the invitation (which was generously ratified by the Constituent Assembly as its first act during the midnight meeting of the 14th/15th August) to be the first constitutional Governor-General of free India during the interim period. I gladly agreed to stay on until the 31st March 1948 (the date specifically mentioned in the Indian Independence Act as the end of the interim period) and, later, I was deeply honoured by the invitation to extend this time until June. It has been difficult to decide at what juncture it would be in India's best interests that an Indian should be appointed in my place; but I hope that time will show that I have stayed long enough to be useful; but not too long, so as to deprive India of the right which her freedom has conferred on her, to choose on of her own people to be the head of the State. It is a particular pleasure to me that the choice should fall on my friend Rajaji, for no one is better qualified to take over the post.

It has been an unforgettable experience for myself and my family to have been privileged to be in India during these past, historic fifteen months. India has a great history behind her—and she has a great history ahead of her. She has many problems, grave problems such as would be bound to face any national suddenly achieving freedom—but magnified in her case by the fact that this freedom has been attained at a time of unparalleled world-wide difficulties, and in a country that contains nearly one-sixth of the human rase. But I know that she will solve these problems and that her difficulties will be surmounted; India is

destined to fill a high place in the world, and to play a high part in the world's affairs.

India is potentially as rich a country as any in the world. Quite apart from the wealth within the ground itself, such as coal, iron ore, manganese and all the other valuable minerals, quite apart from the immense possibility of further prosperity from hydroelectric power and irrigation schemes, there remains the greatest source of wealth that any country can have—the hundreds of millions of its ordinary people. For with them rest not only the age-long traditions of manual labour but the inheritance of the new technical age and of the ever-increasing skill which during training will provide.

Inventive genius, which is latent in the Indian people, can now be harnessed as never before for the benefit and prosperity of themselves and of the whole world. Clearly the spread of universal education and the advance of social service and conscience are essential if those creative forces are to be fully realised. These things will come about, but for all that India's greatest asset will, I am sure, always he in the character of her people. I myself saw the most stupendous crowds in my life in India—on Independence Day, at Gandhiji's funeral, at the Mela at Allahabad and on other historic occasions. The good nature and friendliness of these vast masses were unforgettable; I realised then that I was seeing before me the raw material of India's future greatness.

Your draft constitution takes its place among the great documents of liberty and human rights. Be worthy of it. Goethe wrote that only he is worthy of true freedom who is prepared to establish it himself in his everyday life. It is not the fact that high ideals are written into your constitution that will help you, but the stern resolve with which you yourselves determine to suppress all that could militate against these ideals being put into practice.

I would like to end this talk on a personal note. During the last fifteen months in India my wife and I have visited every single province, and the majority of the major states; and wherever we have gone, we have been received with universal friendliness and kindness. My wife, who has been so closely associated with welfare work, particularly among refugees and abducted women, has had an even greater opportunity of meeting the people than I have had myself; and I know how deeply she has appreciated the help and co-operation given to her by all officials, and the way that she has been received by all the people with whom she has come in contact.

Wherever we may go in the future, both of us will remember with a sense of pride and of real humility the wonderful kindness and friendship we have received on all sides. We shall continue to love India and to take the deepest personal interest in her future welfare."

Rajaji's Assurance

After the departure of the last of the British Governor-Generals of India, came the installation of the first Indian Governor-General. His first address therefore is worthy of record as a public document.

The following is the text of the Governor-General's address:

"My Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very grateful to you all for your participation at this ceremony. Your presence has lifted the occasion from the plane of a mere ceremony to that of human fellowship and cooperation.

Speaking objectively, the occasion is undoubtedly historic for this is the first time that one who belongs to the soil has, in accordance with the wishes of the Prime Minister of India and his Cabinet, been entrusted with the honour and the duties of the Head of the State in India. I owe a debt of gratitude, which I cannot hope to repay, for the signal honour implied in this my installation. I hope I shall act, on every occasion and in every matter, in a manner worthy of the trust reposed in me. The work of my predecessor during his memorable term of office was a marvellous instance of detachment, devotion and energy on the part of one who, though not belonging to India, worked as one belonging to her and did his work in the spirit that is laid down in our scriptures with regard to the task that falls to any one. I come after him but I hope I will be judged by standards suitable to one who is inexperienced either in arms or in diplomacy unlike my illustrious predecessor.

Our problems have multiplied beyond all expectation and are such as may perturb even the most adventurous spirits among us. The only remaining interest in life which moves my colleagues who are entrusted with the charge of the affairs of India is the happiness of our people and the good name of our country. This is the passion that binds them together. They have experience and nobility of character. May God enable them to achieve the purpose so dear to their hearts. I shall be proud to render them all such assistance as I can in this position.

India is unchangeably committed to the policy of making every one within her borders find pride and joy in citizenship irmsespective of caste, creed or race. No one will suffer any disability by reason of the community to which he or she belongs.

The days of dynastic rule or domination through force are gone in India. No territorial or racial or religious community can hope to thrive or maintain its happiness through force without the willing and full co-operation of other people and the utmost intercommunication. It is, therefore, necessary that all communal and territorial isolationism should be abandoned and the best talents in every community should seek to serve the whole State. Communities should spread themselves out rather than build walls round themselves.

Whatever be the technical phraseology which public law may use to describe it, what disturbs the peace of India now is internecine discord pure and simple and it is utter folly. Our economy has not yet had time to separate into two parts corresponding to the political division to which we have agreed. It is very doubtful if it ever can be so split. We are far too interdependent and whatever we might do, there will yet be vital links that can never be severed. It is folly to quarrel and make into a scene of strife and misery what has been shaped by the pressure of age-long forces into a field of beauty and joy. Let us pray for wisdom and let us do what will make good thoughts grow and save them from being swamped by folly and evil which wait to tempt man.

I have received blessings and goodwishes from great and good men in all parts of the world. May these help me to steer clear of error and enable me to be of some service to our people in the great office conferred on me."

India's Place in British Commonwealth

On the 21st January, 1947, the Indian Constituent Assembly passed the "Objectives" resolution declaring India an "independent, Sovereign Republic." Dr. Jayakar and Dr. Ambedkar opposed this declaration, showing that amongst members of the Indian Constituent Assembly there were men with a certain amount of representative character who were not happy at present with the prospect of getting out of the British Commonwealth. From certain points of view it can be said that in this expression of their views they are moved more by considerations of India's safety in the evolving power-politics of the post-war world than by any softness for British susceptibilities or interests. Since the passing of that resolution in the winter of 1947, there have been vast changes in India, which is no longer one, as a separate State has been cut out of her to suit the conceits and ambitions of the dominant section of Indian Muslims. An Indian Independence Act has also been passed by the British Parliament, conferring "Dominion Status" on India, freeing her from the limitations of "Colonial Legislatures" of the old days, conferring on her Legislature "the power to repeal or amend any existing or future Act of Parliament (British), or any Order, Rule or Regulation, in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion." With all this, there are certain "implied powers" which do not enable India to attain her full status as a sovereign State, It is hoped that the Constituent Assembly framing the constitution of the Indian Union will clarify this position. An element of mystery has been introduced into the matter by an amendment that Dr. Ambedkar proposes to move to the "Objectives" resolution passed at Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's instance. Significance is attached to it because Dr. Ambedkar is Minister in charge of legislation in the Nehru Ministry, and he

is also Chairman of the Drafting Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly. He proposes to substitute the words "Sovereign, Independent State" for the words "Sovereign, Independent Republic" found in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's resolution, and he has frankly stated the purpose of his amendment; it was to secure that "nothing in the Constitution (of India) brings about an automatic and instantaneous severance between India and the British Commonwealth of Nations." A further element of speculation has developed by the news that the Indian Constituent Assembly, scheduled to meet sometime this month, has been postponed and is expected to meet in October or November next. This new time-table has been interpreted as a step which will enable the Prime Minister of India to meet the British Prime Minister and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth on the occasion of the proposed conference of their own. The condition of Britain in the present international set-up will be reviewed at this conference. She has hitherto borne the burden of Imperial Defence which at present is beyond her means. India standing at the head of the Indian Ocean has a distinct part to play in the defence arrangements of the areas about stretching from Africa to Australia. With her new dignity this new responsibility has come to her. Realists in India among whom is the present Governor-General, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, appear to be of opinion that in discharging this responsibility. India can get the most immediate help from Britain and her "white" Dominions. These considerations may be weighing with them, and it is but natural that they should be pressing them on the attention and consideration of the Nehru Cabinet. These factors of the problem should be clarified soon and the present artificial discussion on India's foreign affairs should end. Military organization and foreign policy are inter-linked. Let us not forget this fact.

Hyderabad

The statement of the Prime Minister of India on the failure of the Indo-Hyderabad negotiation published in another column does not add to our knowledge of "the realities of the situation" to which he referred. He has called for a "dispassionate and balanced assessment of all the unforeseen problems that might crop up in the event of a likely Indo-Hyderabad armed conflict." But he has not cared to enlighten us on these "realities" and on "the unforeseen problems" that confront his Cabinet and the people outside. He has asked us to visualize "the reaction . . . on the international sphere" of a conflict between the Indian Union and Hyderabad without indicating what its nature and extent is likely to be. This vacuum in our knowledge could have been removed by him, but he has not done it. He might have justification for this omission, but the fact remains that we are left to fill it up in our own way.

It does not require any effort of imagination to realize that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah has been pulling the strings not very overtly. The communique from his Government House which was published on 8th of June last in the newspaper Hyderabad showed him in his true colours. He would not meet the representatives of the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen as "he did not think it proper to meet the representatives of any political group in Hyderabad." pose of detachment wore thin as we remember what he said on the status of Hyderabad in the present controversy. "Hyderabad was an independent State, and was at full liberty to accede to India or to remain independent." We are under no doubt that this declaration of his sabotaged the last negotiations of the Nizam's representatives with those of the Indian Union.

The Press of Britain and her Conservative Party have been beating up a great noise with regard to this matter calling Pandit Nebru's "Hindu Government" all manner of names. But behind these public activities busybodies, bought up by the agents of the richest man in the world, as his Exalted Highness is reputed to be, have been insidiously engaged in equipping the Nizam with men and munitions for a fight with the Indian Union. Winston Churchill, the old Cassandra of British polities, has come out into the open with his support to the intransigence of the Nizam. These are signs that show that the traditional enemies of India's freedom in Britain are back at their old occupation.

Add to this the ruling classes of the United States. Their mind was reflected truly in the speech of Dr. Henry Grady, U.S.A. ambassador to New Delhi and Katamunda, on the occasion of the Ootacamund Conference on East Asia's economic re-construction. In his haste to support Dutch opposition to the Indonesian Republic's demand for representation in this Conference, Dr. Grady likened the position of the Republic to that of Hyderabad, and he warned India that if Indonesia can claim representation so can Hyderabad.

These are certain of the straws which the Indian Union has to take notice of. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would have done well in telling his people of the elements of the complicated situation that the Nizam has created for us. An uninstructed democracy cannot stand for long the stress and strain of situations like these.

Nehru's Statement on Hyderabad

Pandit Nehru clarified somewhat the complexities of the situation, consequent on the refusal by the Nisam of the final draft agreement sent to him by the Government of India, at a Press Conference at Delhi on the 17th of June.

Pandit Nehru who was delayed in arriving at the Press Conference said that he expected Sir Walter Monckton back from Hyderabad this evening. Not that anything special might happen but he thought it would be fair to wait for him so that the Press might have "the latest dope." He referred to the two drafts—the agreement and the firman—which were circulated and said that at the present moment these were of historical interest only, but will enable the public to know the basis on which the Government of India were proceeding. Apart from the agreement which was to have been signed by the Government of India and the Hyderabad Government, the firman was something which the Nizam of Hyderabad would have issued. So far as the Government of India was concerned, the firman was important and hence in a sense it became a part of the draft agreement.

After explaining these two documents, the Prime Minister said that this was the last document that was presented in the course of conversations. Apart from these documents it was proposed that he (Pandit Nehru) would give a collateral letter to the Hyderabad Government to make one or two points clear. They include, for instance, that the Government of India would do their utmost to ensure a free flow of goods of all kinds to Hyderabad, secondly, that the Government of India would co-operate on a joint basis on the economic development of Hyderabad and afford all facilities to them and, thirdly, that it was not the policy of the Government of India that there should be any unfair discrimination against Hyderabad in the working of the new agreement.

There was the question of certain trade matters and representation in international organisations such as food, etc. The Government of India said these questions could not be considered in isolation and had to be decided with reference to the constitution of various organisations and the Government of India's relations with them but were prepared to consider them later. In effect there was nothing new in that except to remove any apprehension if there was going to be any discrimination against Hyderabad after the conclusion of the agreement.

During the last ten days various proposals had been discussed between the representatives of India and Hyderabad and ultimately they had taken shape in the form of the two documents now released. Meanwhile, there were at least two visits to Hyderabad of the Nizam's representatives, taking back these proposals in some form or other and the impression we had was that these proposals were agreed to by the Nizam's representatives here. He had, in fact, made it clear to them even before they came on the last occasion that there was not much point in taking the trouble to come over to Delhi unless they accepted the basis of these proposals and unless they came with plenipotentiary authority to come to an agreement. It was really on that basis that the talks had proceeded.

The Prime Minister said: "The principal matters contained in these proposals were more or less accepted by the Nizam's representatives here. In fact, we thought that we were going to proceed to sign them when we were told that they wanted to take it back to Hyderabad to consult the Nizam." But one of our difficulties in this business has been in dealing with persons who cannot say "yes" or "no" definitely but who continually wanted to fly back to Hyderabad, in spite of the fact that they are connected by telephone and continually telephone to each other. This made it very difficult to get on and numerous unnecessary delays took place. Anyhow the position at present is that this latest agreement has not been accepted by the Hyderabad Government or the Nizam.

"They have not said that negotiations are over. In fact, they have suggested in a telegram which came just an hour ago that they would like to carry on talks, but as the draft stands at present they are unable to agree to it. So far as we are concerned, we have given naturally a great deal of thought and attention to this matter for the last few months. We have been criticised and to some extent it has been said that the Government of India were weak and feeble in dealing with the Hyderabad situation. A few persons have also said that we wield the big stick too much. Well, so far as Indian opinion is concerned, I think it is pretty well unanimous in criticising us that we have been rather lax. It is not merely a question of coming to a political or economic agreement with Hyderabad but of facing a dynamic situation which is giving rise to continuous trouble in border areas and which may bring trouble to wider areas.

"It is not for me to enter into long explanation or justification of the attitude of the Government of India in this matter but I now stand by everything that the Government of India has done in this matter and I think both these criticisms are not justified or are based on insufficient data or insufficient realisation of any other action which might have been undertaken in the past. We have stated fairly clearly in the past what our basic attitude towards Hyderabad is that Hyderabad, situated as it is, cannot conceivably be independent and that India can never agree to it whatever happens and whatever may be the consequences. This is not because of sentimental reasons and not because of an emotional approach to the problem but for highly practical reasons of geography and other reasons which would lead to incessant conflict."

Pandit Nehru said that the alternatives before Hyderabad were: Accession or paramountcy.

If Hyderabad was not to be independent in the real sense of the word—he was not talking about internal autonomy which in fact all the provinces and States and Unions of States enjoyed—then it would have to become part of the Indian Union with exactly equal rights like any of the provinces or States or Unions of States, and enjoying the same rights and other things. It was not therefore a question of any kind of suppression of Hyderabad or a Hindu-Muslim question. It was a partnership with equal rights. If they left our independence and if there was no accession the only other alternative was paramountey.

Paramountcy meant practically for the Indian Union as such to have all the rights which accession would confer on it without that free partnership of Hyderabad State in the Indian Union which would give Hyderabad a big share in shaping its own as well as India's destiny.

Nehru Defends Hyderabad Policy

The Central Government of India's policy regarding Hyderabad has been criticized in some quarters. At a public meeting in Lucknow on 25th June, Pandit Nehru made a detailed statement regarding the viewpoint of his Cabinet.

Pandit Nehru referred to Hyderabad and said the Central Government cannot be stampeded into taking a hasty action against Hyderabad because of the criticism of some irresponsible elements in the country. The geographical situation of Hyderabad is such that it cannot remain independent and must be treated as part of Iudia. Hyderabad cannot run away from India.

Referring to the recent breakdown of negotiations between India and Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said that there was now no scope left for fresh negotiations and the Government of India were not prepared to discuss the matter any further with representatives of the State.

The Government of India's demands based on the fundamental rights of the people of the State had been placed before the Hyderabad representatives in clear terms and they could not make any changes in their proposals which were final.

The problem of Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said, deserved dispassionate and balanced assessment of all unforeseen problems that might crop up in the event of a likely Indo-Hyderabad armed conflict. "Some people asked us why we do not send our armed forces to Hyderabad. Maybe, a time might come when we shall have to send our forces, but before we do so we shall have to examine all inter-related issues arising from such a course. I am not afraid of using my Army. But at the same time it would be appropriate if we visualised the reaction of this step on the international sphere."

Pandit Nehru said that Hyderabad was a part of India and we wished to give its people, Hindus and Muslims, citizenship of Hindusthan and the State partnership of the Indian Union.

Pandit Nehru referred to the periodical outbursts of the Razakar leader and said that the Hyderabad issue had been given a communal colour by the Ittehad-ul-Musleemin. That, in fact, was not so.

The Prime Minister said that a year ago there were six hundred States which had been reduced to thirty as a result of their merger either into provinces or into bigger States.

The map of India was fastly changing. A new map was being prepared and it would be supplied to the people in the near future.

The States system that worked for about 100 to 150 years has changed. I do not claim that all this has been done by the Government of India. The movement of States people is also responsible for it to a great extent. Except in Hyderabad, in all other States democratic Government of one form or another is functioning. The Hyderabad problem is to be viewed from two angles, viz., democratisation of the State administration and its accession to the Indian Union. We do not wish to coerce the States at the point of sword to make them accede to the Indian Union.

Pandit Nehru said that Kashmir, Hyderabad and all other problems were linked together and could not be considered separately. Whatever we have done in Hyderabad and Kashmir is right and correct, and those who accuse us of a weak-kneed policy do not know the realities of the situation.

He referred to the fighting in Kashmir and said that the raiders had behind them not only the power of the Pakistan Government but its army. Indian troops were sent to Kashmir about eight months ago and much of its area had been cleared of the raiders.

The Kashmir issue was not a communal issue The whole of Kashmir was fighting for its independence. Though some of its inhabitants were helping the raiders, there was no doubt that an overwhelming majority of Hindus and Muslims had rallied round Sheikh Abdullah. Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that "we shall clear Kashmir of the raiders and make the country independent."

Criticising the present policy of Socialists, Pandit Nehru said that if they had correctly appreciated the changes that had taken place in India after August 15, they would have made a material contribution to the progress of the country. He said: "I also call myself a Socialist. The fundamental principles of Socialism are acceptable to me, and I want India to adopt these principles."

The Socialists criticised the Government of India's policy regarding Hyderabad and accused the U. P. Government of delaying the abolition of the zamindari system. Pandit Nehru said: "I am not very proud of what the Central or U. P. Governments have done so far. Delays have occurred on account of administrative difficulties and because the machinery is old."

One Socialist leader claimed that if they were in power, they would have abolished the samindari system overnight. Such utterances were not relevant. Socialism could not come in India by law but by slow constructive programme in consultation with Socialists, which the Government of India had adopted in certain measures.

An organisation could not survive on negative principles. He knew that the present economic structure was not satisfactory, but it could only be broken when an alternative machinery was set up. He said: "Some of the Socialists are my old comrades, but I regret their irresponsible statements."

Making at strong plea to strengthen the Congress organisation, Pandit Nehru said: "I know the short-comings of the Congress organisation. The same time there is no other organisation which can serve the country and save it from dangers.

"What other organisation is there which can replace the Congress?" he asked.

The step of the Socialists to weaken the Congress was not proper. The Socialists could bring Socialism, while remaining within the Congress-fold, but they could not do so as they were engaged in party-politics. "I do not want that nobody should point out the defects of the Congress, but they should not weaken it"

Pandit Nehru said that those who criticised the foreign policy of the Government of India did not place before them any positive or constructive alternative. Judging by other countries, no country in the world could claim to have succeeded in its foreign policy.

Draft Agreement

The draft agreement reads as follows:

- 1. The Nizam's Government agree that they will, on the request of the Government of India, pass legislation similar to the legislation of the Government of India on any matter enumerated in the schedule attached.
- 2. If the Nizam's Government fail to pass the required legislation with due despatch, the Nizam himself will forthwith pass the necessary ordinance under his own powers.
- 3. The Dominion Government agree to fix the strength of the Hyderabad army at a figure not exceeding an overall strength of 20,000. The provisions of the Indian State forces scheme of 1939 will apply mutatis mutandis to these forces and the Government of India undertake to supply arms, ammunition and equipment on the scales and conditions laid down in the scheme. The Government of India will have the right of periodical inspection and the Nizam's Government will also give all facilities in regard to such inspection and furnish such information and returns as they may be requested to do by the Government of India from time to time.
- 4. The Nizan's Government agree to limit their irregular forces to 8,000 in addition to ceremonial and household guards. The Hyderabad Government agree that all other formations of a military character shall be disbanded. Progressive steps will be taken for the disbandment of the Razakars within three months, rallies, parades, demonstrations and speeches by Razakars will cease forthwith.
- 5. It is agreed that the Government of India will not station their armed forces inside Hyderabad State, but if in an emergency the Government of India wish to station their forces inside the State for the period of a state of emergency declared in India by the Government of India under Section 102 of

the Government of India Act, 1935, this will be agreed to by the Hyderabad Government. In such an event it is further agreed that the Government of India will be willing to pay to Hyderabad nominal compensation for the occupation of buildings in the State and for other services.

- 6. If, in any emergency as above, India army units are stationed in the Hyderabad State, they will be subject to the appropriate dominion law governing the armed forces of the dominion.
- 7. It is agreed that Hyderabad's external relations with any foreign country shall be conducted by the Government of India. Hyderabad will, however, have freedom to establish trade agencies in order to build up commercial, fiscal and economic relations with other countries, but these agencies will work under the general supervision of, and in the closest cooperation with, the Government of India.

Hyderabad will not have any political relations with any country.

- 8. Subject to the above paragraphs, the existing agreements and administrative arrangements in regard to matters of common concern shall continue and will be given effect to by both sides. The said agreements and arrangements shall not cease to have effect on 20th November, 1948, as was provided in Article V of the Standstill Agreement of 29th November, 1947.
- A. Defence:—1. Any armed forces raised or maintained by Hyderabad whether within or without the State. 2. Naval, military and air force works. 3. Arms, fire-arms, ammunition. 4. Explosives.
- B. External Affairs:—1. External affairs, the implementing of treatics and agreements with other countries, extradition. 2. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, Hyderabad, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in Hyderabad of persons who are not Hyderabad subjects. 3. Naturalisation.

Communications: 1. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting and other life forms of communication.

- 2. Railways of the Government of India in the state; the regulation of the Nizam's State Railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers, the regulation of other railways in the State in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.
- 3. Aircraft and air navigation, regulation and organisation of air traffic and aerodromes, provisions for the safety of aircraft, carriage of passengers and goods by air.

Nizam's Draft Firman

The following is the draft firmen that was to be issued by the Nizam in the State—following the signing of the agreement between India and Hyderabad;

- 1. After protracted discussions between my Government and the Government of India, I am now in a position to announce the lines of my policy. I am most anxious to put an end to the uncertainties which prevail as to the nature of the relationship between Hyderabad and the Dominion of India. The views of the Dominion of India have been made clear to me and mine are well known to them. I have now decided to consult the will of my people on the question whether Hyderabad should accede to India, I shall, therefore, take a plebiscite in Hyderabad on the basis of adult franchise. In order to ensure that the plebiscite is fairly conducted, I shall arrange for it to be held under the supervision of some impartial and independent body. I shall accept the result of the plebiscite whatever it may be.
- 2. But I am satisfied that more is required than the holding of a plebiscite, in order to restore confidence and tranquillity. I have, therefore, decided to instruct my Government to proceed in accordance with the following principles. In doing so they will appreciate that the re-establishment of goodwill between India and Hyderabad is the object of my policy and is of greater importance than the terms of an agreement which may be reached between India and Hyderabad in accordance with these principles.

- (I) It is my intention to introduce responsible Government in Hyderabad and to that end to establish a Constituent Assembly early in 1949.
- (II) In the meantime, there should be a reconstitution of my Government as a result of which a new interim relationship between Hyderabad and India pending the holding of plebiseite. This agreement, which involves some modification of the existing standstill agreement, has been embodied in a separate document signed by my Prime Minister.

Churchill's Mendacious Jeremiad

Mr. Winston Churchill told a Conservative Party rally that the renunciation of King George the Sixth's title as emperor of India was "a melancholy event."

"Nearly half of a million Indians have already paid the forfeit with their lives in this fateful tale of the casting away of the British Empire in India and of the misfortunes and slaughter which have fallen and are falling upon its peoples.

"All the blame cannot be thrown on one party but the Socialists on gaining power threw themselves into the task of demolishing our long built-up and splendid structure in the East with zeal and gusto and they certainly have brought widespread ruin, misery and bloodshed upon the Indian masses to an extent no one can measure.

"Power has been recklessly confided to Indian political parties which in no way represent the peeds or feelings of the 400 million people, who had dwelt so long under the protection of the British Crown." Mr. Churchill said.

"Already there has been something like a collapse

in the process of internal administration and we must now expect an indefinite epoch of internecine and religious strife.

"We have witnessed the violent action of Mr. Nehru's Hindu Government against Kashmir, four-fifths of whose peoples are Moslems. It may be that soon this same Government, using the modern weapons we left behind, will attack the ancient State of Hyderabad with its 17 millions of people and overthrow the Government of the Nizam.

"Burma is now a foreign country already descending rapidly into a welter of nurder and anarchy, the outcome of which will probably be a Communist republic, affording dangerous strategic advantages to Soviet Russia in this important part of the world on which he depends for vital supplies of tropical produce and which is on one of our sea roads to Australia and New Zealand.

"In Malaya, the long arm of Communism, unchecked by feeble British administration, has begun a campaign of murdering British planters and their wives as part of the general process of our ejection."

All over the world, Mr. Churchill said, the prestige of Britain had "fallen grievously since the nation fell flat on its face in the moment of its greatest victory."

The Governments of Chile and Argentina thought that we are so completely finished, that they occupied some of our possessions in the Antarctic near the Falkland Islands. The invading parties are still there.

"At this juncture the Board of Admiralty, who seem strangely affected by the Socialist moon, have offered to sell the cruiser Ajax to the Chile Government so that she can help protect this wrongful intrusion upon British territory."

It is not necessary to deal at length with the details of this poisonous outburst from this old enemy of all Asiatics. It will suffice to say that it was Mr. Churchill's cretinism, during U. Saw's mission, that handed Burma on a plate to the Japanese. In the resultant panic-stricken evacuation, which was led by the British Governor and the British officials appointed by Mr. Churchill's government, tens of thousands of Indians were left to perish in the trek to India. Mr. Churchill's Government only took care to save the Britishers alone. Later on the panic-stricken British Governor of Bengal, a typical product of British Torydom, instituted a denial "policy" which brought on a famine in 1943. In that famine nearly, six million Indians met a horrible death by inches through starvation. British officialdom, who were in full control of India under Churchill, did not stir a finger to save them until millions had perished. They only moved when they found that the American and Chinese press were making strong comments of an extremely derogatory nature. Mr. Churchill's sole reaction to this terrible tragedy was to order his henchmen Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, to lie himself blue in face in a vain attempt to prove that the total of deaths did not exceed a million. And to-day he is shedding crocodile tears over the half-million poor innocents who met a violent death during the partition of India!

Patel's Warning

Sardar Patel as the spokesman of the Government of India has been prompt in nailing Churchill's lies to the counter. He has further given an warning as to the evil effects of such malicious statements on British prestige and influence. His statement is as follows:

Mr. Winston Churchill, His Majesty's Leader of the Opposition and Britain's wartime Premier, while bemoaning the disappearance of the title of Emperor of India from the royal title, has indulged in a characteristically ignorant but extremely prejudiced outburst against India and its Government. Mr. Churchill's disastrous record in relation to India, both as member of Government and in Opposition, is well known. His intervention has every time been exercised to the violent prejudice of this country, and, in the ultimate analysis, to the detriment of his own. Mr. Churchill is an unashamed imperialist and at a time when imperialism is on its last legs, he is the proverbial last-ditcher for whom obstinacy and dogged consistency gain more than reason, imagination or wisdom. Many an attempt to build up friendship between India and Britain has been wrecked by his refusal to face facts and attempts to mould them to suit his own predilictions.

It is well known that when the Cripps offer was made, it was he who prevented negotiations from achieving success. It was he who every time thwarted the attempts of Mr. Roosevelt to see that justice was done to India's legitimate aspirations and its free and willing co-operation enlisted in the war effort. At the time of Lord Wavell's Simla Conference, it was he who was responsible for its break-up and failure. If any of these attempts had succeeded, the history of India and of the relationship between Britain and India, despite the bitterness and intensity of freedom's struggle, would have been different. We might have avoided the cvil of partition and the disasters that attended it. Fortunately for Britain the cup of disasters was by then full and the British electorate decided to change the pilot. Through a realistic policy followed by the Labour Government and the bold, imaginative step taken by one of Britain's wisest statesmen, Lord Mountbatten, and the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality which he helped to create, the mischief done by the Churchill regime has been to a large extent undone. But it seems Mr. Churchill is still seized by his favourite disease Hindu-phobia and is determined to wreck all that good work by his most unwise disregard of the proverbial virtue of silence.

It might well be expected of a man of his record of offices and positions of responsibility that he will exercise that discretion and restraint which are characteristic of sobriety and ripeness of official life. How far it was appropriate for him to have attacked in such terms the Government and the people of a sister Dominion, I shall leave to His Majesty's Government and the people of Great Britain to determine. I shall only say this, that we have been patient for too long with

such unseemly, prejudiced and mischievous attacks by high-placed Britishers on our administration, or leaders and our people.

I have not seen anything even remotely like this being said of any other member of the Commonwealth. One of them has outraged world's conscience by barefaced and wanton policy of racial prejudice and an open disregard to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. But Mr. Churchill's clastic conscience with his infinite capacity for bearing wrongs done to others by his own race, has never registered even a formal protest. I should like, therefore, to tell His Majesty's Government that if they wish India to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain they must see that India is in no way subjected to malicious and venomous attacks of this kind and that British statesman and others learn to speak of this country in terms of friendship and goodwill. Owing to years of deep-seated prejudice and owing to ignorance, it may be difficult for some of them to do so but if future disasters are to be avoided, it has got to be done.

That Mr. Churchill's attack on India and its Government is both mischievous and venomous can be judged from the way in which he has disregarded the all parties' responsibility for the passage of the Indian Independence Act in July last year through Parliament. We ourselves foresaw that if the final stage of grant of freedom to India were made a party issue, it would enhance our difficulties manifold. We were fully aware of the machinations of the vested interests both in India and the United Kingdom to hand over as difficult a legacy to India as possible.

Balkanisation of India was being actively promoted. Large-scale disturbances were being manufactured. Vandalism at the peak of impending departure from the scene of personal rule was actuating many of the Churchillian agents in power here.

We, therefore, decided to drink the bitter cup and accept the lesser evil of partition, only on condition that it commanded all parties' support. That support was both promised and given. It was this agreement of all parties that secured the safe and speedy passage of the Indian Independence Act, for which there is no parallel in the history of the British Parliament. We thought Mr. Churchill was an honourable man and would abide by the obligations inherent in the agreement, But obviously he finds it hard to recognise that India is now a free and independent country.

If a proof of his deep-seated prejudice and his medieval mind were needed, it would be enough to show that whilst he refers to Kashmir as being four-fifth Muslim he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad is four-fifth Hindu and that a creation of the eighteenth century, as the Nizam's State is, is suddenly by the magic of Mr. Churchill's words transformed into an "ancient state." The fact of the matter is that, to vary the words of a British statesman, whether Mr. Churchill roars like a lion or coos like a dove, it is his ignorance and blind prejudice that must come out prominently.

We can well realise what a disaster the British public avoided by forcing Mr. Churchill to give up the seals of office. We had hoped that this blow to his personal fortune administered by his people at the height of his glory would make him a sadder but wiser man. But it appears that through his ancestors Mr. Churchill has acquired the well-known characteristic of the Stuarts of not being able to learn or unlearn anything.

Mr. Churchill has referred, apparently with some self-satisfaction, to the large casualties that occurred during the disturbances more than nine months ago. Obviously, it did not suit his purpose to mention that since then India had settled down to peaceful conditions with a speed and efficiency which had amazed many disinterested visitors. While no one of us would disclaim our due share of responsibility for these tragedies, and it is agreed that these have brought shame and disgrace to India, there can scarcely be any doubt that, in the ultimate analysis, a very large part of the blame must attach to the divide-and-rule policy followed with such masterly activity by Mr. Churchill himself and so faithfully implemented by his agents and Luropeans of his way of thinking in this country, whether under his regime or that of his predecessors. No dispassionate student of recent history of India can fail to be convinced that the partition of the country and the attendant disasters were brought about by the disruptive activities of the group of which Mr. Churchill was the inspiration and the spokesman. Thus, for these tragedies it is Mr. Churchill and his henchmen who have also to answer before the bar of history.

It is not clear how far the Tory Party is behind its leader in these acts of indiscretion and unwisdom. Mr. Butler's irrelevant reference to Hyderabad in the foreign affairs debate was the first indication of a section of the Tories still attempting to make capital out of India's Mr. Churchill's intervention in Parliament, troubles. followed up by his speech at the Conservative rally, seems to indicate that at least an attempt is being made to whip up enthusiasm in favour of Britain's one-time "faithful ally" against India. I should like to warn the British public against being taken in by these attempts. The question of Hyderabad can be solved peacefully if the Nizam would shed the utterly medieval conception of rule through a ruling caste chosen almost entirely from a militant minority and accept the democratic method of consulting and acting in conformity with the wishes of his people expressed through their elected representatives and would recognise the inevitablity of the consequences of action and interaction of geographical, economic and other compelling forces on the relationship between Hyderabad and India.

But then in order to injure India's interests, these distinguished products of a democratic age would forget the lessons of history and the teachings of democracy and stoop to buttress a regime which still lives in the times in which it was born. If, therefore, disaster overtakes the fortunes of the Nizam, the responsibility will lie elsewhere than on the Indian Dominion. I am glad to know that

His Majesty's Government have not fallen a prey to these machinations of Mr. Churchill and his henchmen and have refused to treat the Hyderabad issue otherwise than as one of the domestic concerns of the Indian Dominion. I would, therefore, appeal to the rank and file of the Tory Party not to be misled by these old-world ideas of some of their leaders, but to extend to the Indian Dominion that goodwill and friendship which are as essential in British interests as in India's and to sustain and uphold the fine gesture they made in transferring power to Indian hands. It is only in this spirit, and not on the malice and venom of Mr. Churchill's tongue, that an enduring relationship of friendship, co-operation and collaboration can be built between India and Britain and other members of the Commonwealth.

Origin of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty

In the Asaf Jahi dynasty that now rules Hyderabad, some Britons have perceived imposing remnants Moghul rule, but a retrospective glance at the British records on the origins of the dynasty will reveal that its founder was an unscrupulous upstart from Bukhara and the dynasty was established in Hyderabad through a series of acts of treachery the like of which is difficult to match in India's history. The Deccan subah of the Moghul Empire became independent under Mir Kamaruddin Chin Kilich Khan, better known as Nizam-ulmulk. His grandfather, Abid, Sheikh-ul-Islam Bukhara migrated to India about the middle of the seventeenth century and entered the service Aurangzeb. Ghaziuddin Firoz Jang, father of the Nizam, also came to India during the reign Aurangzeb and rose to fame by holding several posts in the Moghul Imperial service. Mir Kamaruddin himself was appointed to a small command in his thirteenth year but he was promoted quickly and given the title of Chin Kilich Khan.

At the time of Aurangseb's death, Chin Kilich Khan was at Bijapur and under the guise of observing neutrality in the war of succession, he began scheming for power against the sons of the man who gave him bread and honour. He desired to carve out a kingdom for himself at the Deccan. Bahadur Shah removed him from the Deccan and made him Governor of Oudh. He retired from public service for some time but entered it again towards the close of Bahadur Shah's reign with the title of his father, Ghasiuddin Firus Jang. He succeeded in winning the favours of Farrukhsiyar. Soon after Farrukhsiyar came to the throne, he appointed him Governor of the Deccan, in 1713, and invested him with the titles of Khan Khanan and Nisam-ul-mulk Bahadur Fath Jang, as a reward for having espoused his cause.

As soon as he was back in the Deccan, he began to strengthen his own position under the plea of sheeking the rise of the Marathas. He was thoroughly unscrippilous and, as later events would show, never helps to make alliances with anybody like the franch, the English or the Marathas as and when

occasion arose to serve his own purpose and did not hesitate to go to the length of inviting Nadir Shah for invading India to reduce Delhi to ruins so that he may reign in the South. Delhi had always an eye on him. By the end of the same year 1713, he had to lose his Viceroyalty of the Deccan and was transferred to Muradabad and subsequently his removal to Bihar was also thought of. At this time, Farrukhsiyar was murdered, Muhammad Shah ascended the throne and the Nizam was transferred to Malwa.

It was in Malwa that the Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to lay the foundation of his future rise. His activities there roused the suspicion of Delhi and orders for his transfer were again issued. This time, instead of submitting to these orders, he prepared to defead his position by arms. Hussain Ali, Governor of Deccan, was ordered to proceed to Malwa to chastise the Nizam, but was stabbed to death on his way. The army sent to chastise him was defeated and its two commanders were killed. Thus towards the end of 1720 he again made himself master of the Deccan.

In 1721, Muhammad Shah summoned the Nizam to Delhi and evidently with the object of pinning him down in the capital, offered him the post of wasir. He soon realised that the advices that he tendered were generally rejected. He left for the Deccan without the Emperor's permission in 1723. The Emperor issued secret instructions to Mubariz Khan, Governor of Hyderabad, to fight against him, promising him the Viceroyalty of the Deccan in the event of his success. But the Nisam-ul-Mulk not only defeated and slew Mubariz Khan but also indirectly compelled the wretched Emperor of Delhi to recognise him as the Viceroy of the South and confer on him the title of Asaf Jah which his descendant still bears. From this time may be dated the Nizam-ul-Mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad State.

Muhammad Shah was, however, much displeased with the Nisam who had under his jurisdiction nearly a fourth part of the total Mughal Empire at that time and who had rendered himself almost independent of the Emperor. With a view to strengthen his position against the Emperor, the Nizam invited Nadir Shah to invade India. Orme, in his History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan (Vol. I), writes:

Bred under the eye of Aurangsebe, Nisam-ul-Mulk censored openly and in the strongest terms, the lethargic and pusillanimous administration, as well as the profligate and dissolute manners of the Court; hoping, no doubt, to impair the influence of his rival Caundorah. At last pretending that there could be no remedy to such desperate evils, but in a total revolution of the empire, he advised Thamas Kouli Khan, (Tamasp Qli Khan, Nadir Shah), who had usurped the throng to Pensia, to come and take possession of that of Indostam; and Thamas Kouli followed his advise."

Nadir Shah entered India through Kandshar in 1788 and a mere skirmsh decided the fate of the

Moghul Empire. Muhammad Shah lay prostrate at the invader's feet who took possession of Delhi, plundered it, and massacred a hundred thousand of its inhabitants.

The part that the Nizam had played in Muhammad Shah's fight against Nadir Shah, is equally ignominious. Prof. Owen gives the following account of the battle:

The Emperor, with Khan Douran, the Amir-ul-Omra or the Head of the Peerage, marched from the capital at the head of a considerable army to confront the invader. Nizam-ul-Mulk was also in the camp, and Sadut Khan joined soon after with his own forces. Vain attempts were made to raise the Rajputs; and this failure seems to have much disheartened the already craven-hearted Imperialists; and advancing very slowly, they came to a stand at four days' march from Delhi. Many circumstances disclose the wretched state of military organisation among them. Thus they had no exact knowledge of the enemy's whereabouts until Nadir's advance guard fell upon Sadut Khan's baggage train. And the discordant counsels and separate action in the engagement that followed show the utter want of a general plan and a commanding and authoritative mind. Sadut hastened to succour his own followers, Nizam-ul-Mulk insisted that the day was too far spent for fighting; Khan Douran dis-playing unwonted spirit, inveighed against the ignominy of leaving Sadut unsupported and led a body of troops to his assistance. This body was quickly routed; and the Amir-ul-Omra was mortally wounded, and was rescued only to die. Sadut Khan's men fought better, but shared the fate of their comrades; and Sadut himself was taken prisoner; and like other captor Viceroys, was well-received by the Victor. A negotiation followed, set on foot by the Vicercy of Oudh and concluded by Nizam-ul-Mulk; and Nadir agreed to retire on payment of two crores of rupees. The Emperor then visited him, and received the highest honour. The grim conqueror was all smiles and defence. But the end was not yet!

The sack of Delhi and the complete prostration of Muhammad Shah came soon after. The Nizam's conspiracy and wily handling of the situation bore

Sadut Khan was of Persian origin and was the founder of the later Oude dynasty which came to an end on the eve of the great mutiny of 1857. At the time of Nadir's invasion, he was Viceroy of Oudh. He died before Nadir had retired from Delhi. Sadut Khan did his best to overthrow the Syeds, remove the Hindu influence in the administration, liberate the Emperor and restore the political ascendancy of the Moghul party. Nizam-ul-Mulk had cut a poor figure in the campaign against Nadir Shah. The Nigam was also greatly anti-Hindu in his sentiments. Before he went to Delhi to put up a show of a fight against the invader whom he had himself invited, he had suffered a severe

Nizam's eldest son. Baji Rao died soon afterwards in 1740. The new Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao continued the fight against the Nisam and but for French help the old dream of conquering the Nizam's territory would have been accomplished. The Nizam had played his traditional double role with the Mahrattas as well by supporting one faction against the other. He had tried to play Trimbak Rao Dhabade against Baji Rao I by entering into an alliance with the former but Baji Rao, through superior genius, frustrated the plans of his enemies. He prevented a junction of Trimbak Rao's army with that of the Nizam, attacked the former on his way and killed him. After this battle of 1731, the Nisam was compelled to come to terms with Baji Rao. The Emperor was alarmed with the growing power of the Peshwa and he summoned the Nizam, the arch enemy of Baji Rao to Delhi for counsel. The Nizani had no scruple in ignoring the compromise of 1731 and at once responded to the Emperor's call. The Nizam and Baji Rao met near Bhopal and the former was utterly defeated. The Nizam had to submit to terms dictated by the Peshwa. The memory of Nizam's betrayal of the treaty of 1731 however remained and Baji Rao took the opportunity of Nizam's temporary absence at the Deccan and attacked his territory.

Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748 and was succeeded by his son Nasir Jang who had saved his kingdom from Mahratta attack. But his grandso.1 Muzzaffar Jang laid claim to the throne on the ground that the Moghul Emperor had appointed him Subahdar of the Deccan.

Dupleix had by this time entrenched himself in the Deccan and was cagerly waiting for a situation like this. He concluded a great treaty with Chanda Saheb, son-in-law of Nawab Dost Ali, Governor of the Carnatic and Musaffar Jang with a view to placing them on the thrones of the Carnatic and the Deccan respectively. In 1748, the three allies defeated and killed Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic.

The English now realised the danger that threatened them but they lacked the energy of Dupleix. They tried to back up Nasir Jang and Anwarud-din's son Muhammad Ali who had fled to Trichinopoly. But they could not organise an effective confederacy against one headed by Dupleix. The result was that Nasir Jang, in spite of some initial successes in the Carnatic, was ultimately killed. Musaffur Jang, who had been kept a prisoner, was now set free and proclaimed Subahdar of the Deccan. The grateful Subahdar suitably rewarded the services of his French ally. Dupleix placed at his disposal the service of his best officer, Bussy, with a French army. It proved to be the surest means to guarantee French influence at defeat at the hands of the Peshwa Baji Rao and had the Court of Nizam. The third Nizam thus purchased agreed to pay the Mahratta Chouth. While the Nisam his throne by allying himself with a foreigner and lingered in Delhi, Baji Rao sought to conquer his killing his uncle, the rightful owner to the threne and territory in the Deccan but the attempt miscarried the man who had saved it from the Mahrattas. His through the unexpected energy of Nasir Jung the grandfather's Nadir Shah tradition had been fully

vindicated. Musaffar Jang and Chanda Saheb occupied the thrones at Hyderabad and Arcot.

During the period of Anglo-Mysore wars, the Nizam played a singularly opportunist role. Mahrattas never trusted him. As soon as the danger from Tipu had lessened, all the Mahratta leaders, the Peshwa, Daulat Rao Sindhia, Tukoji Holkar and the Raja of Berar attacked him. The Nizam appealed to the English for help but Sir John Shore denied it. The Nizam was defeated and saved his throne by submitting to a humiliating treaty, heavy pecuniary loss and large territorial concessions. Sir John Shore's critics say that the Nizam was entitled to British support on the strength of the Treaty of 1768 by which the Nizam had placed himself under the protection of the English. But really speaking, Shore was precluded from intervention by Clause 34 of Pitt's India Act which laid down that Britain would not intervene in any fight between Indian powers. Further, the Mahrattas were then at peace with the British, who were not bound by any previous agreement to help the Nizam against friendly power. In view of the events of 1766 and 1767, Shore had still more good reasons for this refusal. In November, 1766, the Madras Government agreed to assist the Nizam against Hyder Ali of Mysore in return for ceding his northern sircars. In short, the Mahrattas, the Nizam and the English had entered into a triple alliance against Hyder Ali. But the Mahrattas who first attacked Mysore, were soon fought off by the Mysore chief. The Nizam, accompanied by a company of British troops under the command General Joseph Smith, invaded Mysore in April, 1767, but influenced by Mahfuz Khan, brother and rival of the pro-British Nawab Muhammad Ali of the Carnetic, he quickly deserted the British and allied himself with their enemy. Hyder was soon abandoned by his fickle ally, the Nizam, who went back to the British camp. In 1768, the Nisam concluded a treaty with the English and by this he confirmed his old treaty obligations in as irresponsible a manner as he had broken them. This alliance with the vacillating Nizam was of no help to the British but it needlessly provoked the hostility of Hyder. In spite of Nizam's desertion Hyder continued to fight with the English and in April, 1769, dictated a treaty to the British after defeating the Bombay troops within five miles of Madras.

During the second Anglo-Mysore war, the Nizam violated the treaty of 1768 by taking French troops in his service. This was disapproved by Warren Hastings. The Nizam left the British and joined an anti-British confederacy. Hastings succeeded in detaching the Nizam from the confederates by giving him the Guntur district at a time when the second Anglo-Mysore war had already progressed to the disadvantage of the British. Guntur district was later taken back by the British when times were more propitious for them. The Nizam surrendered Guntur and in return sought British help to recover some of the districts which Tipu had seized. Lord Cornwallis found himself in a délicate

position because the right of the Mysore Sultans to those very territories had been recognised by the English by two separate treaties concluded with Hyder and Tipu respectively in 1769 and 1785. But at the same time, he was eager to secure allies in view of the certain war with Tipu. So Cornwallis wrote a letter to the Nizam on July 7, 1789, explaining the treaty of 1768 to suit his motives and agreeing to support the Nizam with British troops, which could not be employed against the allies of the English, a list of whom was included, Tipu's name being deliberately excluded from it. Thus through an act of double treachery, the Nizam joined the triple alliance of 1790 and fought for the English in the third Anglo-Mysore War.

Menace of Provincialism

The Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has been expressing off and on opinions on the menace of Provincialism as it has been manifesting itself in India since "British control" was withdrawn from our country. While sharing his disgust, we are afraid that he has not been able to apply his mind to understand the various elements that make up this problem. The eruption of this narrow feeling is not peculiar to India, nor has it been new in human history. The experience of the "founding fathers" of the United States did not differ much from what India's Congress leaders have been deploring today. We have the following from a history on America:

"Not only was there no unanimity as regards separation from England, but there was no unity among the Colonics. Thirteen Provinces jealous of one another and with separate interests made it impossible to secure close political and military co-operation."

"The States seemed to quarrel incessantly. When the disputes were not about tariffs or currency, troubles arose about boundaries and land. Pennsylvanians warred upon Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley as if the later were a tribe of treacherous Indians. New York and New Hampshire fought for control of the region of Vermont, while Massachusetts cast a covetous glance towards the same Green Mountains. No less than eight States quarrelled about boundaries."

"Well might the question be asked: 'Is this one nation or 13'?"

Leaders of the State and leaders of thought have been exhorting us to think and live as Indians, not as Tamilians, Andhras, Malayalams, Kannadigas, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Biharis, Assamese, Punjabis or Bengalis. In the U.S.A., the same phenomenon was evident. In the first Continental Congress, Patrick Henry "spoke a fond hope of some" when he dramatically declared: "I am not a Virginian, but an American."

The recital of this experience ought to enable us to get over that defeatist mentality that appears to have invaded the counsels of the ruling authorities of the Indian Union and paralysed their will to action to halt this menace to its integrity. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is evidently afraid of tackling this question; he has been counselling us of the inopportuneness of the time for disturbing the present arrangement of "Provincial Autonomy" just as the U.S.A. during a decade (1777-'87) had been threatened by what came to be known as "State Sovereignty," the conceits and ambitions of every one of the "13 colonies" which formed the nucleus of the United States. In law and fact, none of the Provinces in the Indian Union can claim the rights inherent in "State Sovereignty." The problem of the Indian States and the "Princely Order" was far more difficult. Their "merger" or "unionization" has become possible, because the Government of the Union were determined to solve it; they applied their mind to its solution, and the miracle was worked.

This example should have enabled the Nehru Government to determine to meet the new menace straight, to draw out its fangs. Shri Sankar Rao Deo, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, is reported to have been scandalized at what he heard and saw in Bihar, affame with a new greed for territorial expansion; an Oriya public man has declared that after the Seraikela and Khersawan experience, Orissa cannot expect justice at the hands of the Indian Union, and they, the Oriyas, should take counsel whether or not they should maintain relations with it This development should lead rulers of our State to probe a little into this psychology of narrowness. So far as we see, there is hardly any element of idealism that inflames provincialism. It appears to be moved by considerations quite frankly material. Babu Rajendra Prasad rationalized one of these for us when he wrote in 1939 in course of his report on the disability imposed on Bengalees by the then Congress Ministry of Bihar. His analysis is as true today as it was then, and we commend it to our readers' attention.

"It is not possible to ignore the fact that the demand for the creation of separate provinces, based largely on a desire to secure larger share in public services and other facilities offered by a popular national administration, is becoming more and more insistent, and hitherto backward communities and group are coming up in education and demanding their fair share in them. It is neither possible nor wise to ignore these demands, and it must be recognized that in regard to services, and such matters the people of a province have a certain claim which cannot be overlooked."

Here we get into a knowledge of one element of the problem that provincialism feeds on. And today the dominant group in Assam illustrate by their conduct the genesis of their anti-Bengalee bias. Its Governor, Sir Akbar Hydari, simply voiced their feelings when he perpetrated a stupidity worse than a crime in course of his speech opening the Assam Legislature after the "referendum" in Sylhet. He called the Bengalees "strangers" in Assam. Bengalees are autochthopous to certain areas in the province; and he appeared to gloat over the fact that the result of the

Sylhet "referendum" had taken away about 20 lakhs of Bengalees out of Assam, thus sterilising their influence over the province's life. The existence of such a feeling has long been known to us. And we have reasons to believe that the Bardoloi Ministry looked benevolently on the outburst of Muslim League hooliganism which made the "referendum" a farce and a misnomer. And when it was called upon to honour the pledge contained in the "option" clause enabling Government officers to choose the Dominion they wanted to serve, they adopted an attitude that could not be characterized as honest. As an agent of the Indian Union Government they failed to carry out the guarantee that no officer would suffer from his choice. They served discharge notices on the "temporary" personnel, many of them serving for ten years or more. The injustice of the step can be realized when one came to know that this discharge notice was served only on officers who are Bengalees or belonged to the district of Sylhet, which since 1874 had been made a part of Assam. Its enormity was exposed when it was seen that the Ministry preferred to go short of hands in their various departments rather than allow officers born in Sylhet to man these. We know it for a fact that many schools and colleges in Assam have been going without their necessary staff while Bengalee teachers and professors have been knocking in vain at New Delhi and Shillong to have the promise made to them redeemed. The Central Government of the Indian Union, almost submerged under the Punjab tragedy, have no time to devote to righting this wrong, and the Assam Government with its policy declared through Sir Akbar Hydari felt no interest in the "strangers."

This story evidences the evil tendency of provincialism, and the Nehru Government by its failure to face it straight have been encouraging separatist forces that are no less inimical than communalism has proved itself to be. Delay in tackling it excites certain vested interests that irritate human relations in India. As an example, the attitude of Bihar leaders in 1912 and in 1948 may be referred to. In the former year, they were eager to do the decent thing by the Bengalee-speaking areas tacked for administrative purposes to their "baby province." But in the latter year, their successors threaten war on those who propose the transfer of these areas so that West Bengal may have opportunity to recoup the loss caused by the Radcliffe Award. This episode illustrates once again that human nature is fickle in its desire for good deeds. This experience should be a warning to the Nehru Government. Reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis is a live issue. And in this development West Bengal cannot allow its case to be ignored or shelved. Her people do not desire to be engaged in agitation for the rectification of this wrong, but the Nehru Government should not expect them to take lying down the obvious injustice of the dilatory procedure followed by it.

Orissa States' Integration

Shri N. Senapati. Chief Administrator and Special Commissioner of Orissa States, gave a talk from the Cuttack Station of the All-India Radio on the new duties to which he has been called and their complexities in the new set-up in India. On December 14, 1947, the rulers of 25 Oriya-speaking States agreed to "merge" these in the province of Orissa, since then two of them Seraikella and Kharsawan have been taken out and given to Bihar by a fiat of the States' Ministry in the Central Government of the Indian Union. We learn from this talk that while the oldest ruling family in the States can trace its history back for 146 generations in 3,000 years, "not one of them was at any time paramount," they were subordinate to whatever authority held sway over Orissa. During British period, the States were brought under one authority, that of the Commissioner of Orissa under the Bengal Administration. In 1814, their number was 15; Baudh and Athmallik were added in 1837; and in 1905 the five Sambalpur States-Patua, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamra and Parikhal were added from the Central Provinces as part of Lord Curzon's scheme for the partition of Bengal; in the same year Gangpur and Bonai were placed under the Orissa Commissioner; in 1916 on the representation of their rulers, Seraikella and Kharsawan were transferred from the Chota Nagpur Commissionership. After 1935 all the Orissa States came into direct relationship with the Crown Representative at Delhi, On August, 1947, these were transformed; all claimed to be "paramount"; in Orissa, there was one Government for 6 districts and 26 Governments for 26 States. The agreement of December 14, 1947, ended all this. and except Mayurbhanj, all the 25 States found themselves "merged" within the Orissa Administration in fact, though not yet in law, with a common Legislature, common Judiciary and a common Executive. This change could be brought about because the peoples of the States refused to be any longer bound to their feudal chains; the Praja Mandal agitation quickened the arrival of freedom to the States holding possibilities of democracy in every relation of life. It appears that the rulers and their relatives and henchmen have been fomenting "separatist" movements as steps to a come-back to their irresponsible authority. They are not satisfied with their Rs. 15 lakhs a year "guaranteed privy purse", and Rs. 6 lakhs for their relatives. This attempt will fail, as the halo of their dignity has been dispersed for all the world to see. There cannot be a return to the "good, old days."

Fate of Sikh Shrines

The same of the same of

We have received a copy of Professor Kartar Singh's brochure on the "Fate of Sikh Shrines in Pakistan" which relates the depredations from which Gurdwaras, shrines associated with the life and times of Sikh Gurus and their companions and contemporaries, have suffered at the hands of Pakistanis, official and non-chicial. The brochure contains two

assurances and suggestions which were made to the Boundary Commission set up for drawing up the boundary of the Punjab. These were brushed aside by the Chairman Sir Cyril Radcliffe; all the same they bear re-production as a guide to future conduct. The then Under-Secretary of India, Mr. Arthur Henderson, said on the 15th July, 1947, in the House of Commons that though the primary basis for the demarcation of boundaries was to ascertain whether the majority was Muslim or non-Muslim.

"in certain cases there may be special factors which would justify departure from this principle. The special factors were being allowed to take account of the circumstances of the Sikh community in the Punjab so that the locating of their religious shrines could be taken into account."

The Conservative leader, Mr. Butler, a lieutenant of Mr. Churchill, was more emphatic and specific. In a speech made on the occasion of the same debate, he dwelt on the position of the Sikhs; in the "notional" division of the Punjab, the Sikh community were divided almost half and half; and as a "solution" of their difficulty he suggested that "the Boundary Commission will so define the boundary that the maximum portion of the Sikhs should be included in one conglomerate whole." He hoped that

"The Commission will be able to arrange the boundary so that the shrines and properties and other things, held so dear by the Sikhs, may be amassed so far as possible within one frontier."

As we have said, this hope remains unfulfilled, and the central grievance of the Sikhs remains to confound the wisdom of the rulers of the Indian Union and Pakistan. We suggested in our last December issue that the Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, should be given the status of a "Sovereign Independent State" on the analogy of the "Vatican City" in the heart of Italy constituted by the treaty of 1929. But there are hundreds of Gurdwaras spread all over West Punjab which cannot be ignored but which, perhaps, cannot claim the special treatment reserved for the Nankana Sahib. These constitute a problem that should engage the attention of the two States. When we hear so much of all-round agreements and understandings between them, the matter under reference should not prove difficult of adjustment. A price may have to be paid for it. For the sake of inter-State peace, this should not be beyond their common intelligence.

India's Ambassadors

In our June number we commented on the revelations made by Shri P. D. Sharma in the columns of a Bombay weekly on the acts of omission and commission of certain of India's ambassators and Delegations to foreign countries. He hinted at one reason of Argentine's throwing its weight against India in the Kashmir reference: "Argentine seems to be angry with India because of the noterious visit of an Indian Delegation which did no credit to India." He

also animadverted on the ineptitude of India's late ambassador at Washington. Since then the Indian Press appears to be waking up to the significance of these goings-on. In the Kutah Minar weekly commentary featured in the News Chronicle of Delhi, appearing on June 14 last, the writer has been specific in his condemnation of Janah Asaf Ali. We reproduce his words:

"In Washington, the Indian ambassador had further, very close to him, a Muslim gentleman and his wife who after knowing all they had to know about the Indian Embassy, walked over to the Pskistan Embassy."

This is a very serious charge. The Minister of External Affairs who also happens to be the Prime Minister of the Indian Union, could not have been wholly ignorant of it. The public has a right to know his reaction to it.

Cooch-Bihar

There is a news in the daily press telling us that the State of Cooch-Bihar, now within the territorial jurisdiction of Bengal will henceforth have its relations with the Central Government of the Indian Union carried through the Governor of Assam. It 14 significant of many things. This new arrangement could have been made by the States' Ministry in the capable hands of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. And the news confirms the suspicion that territorial transfers are afoot in the eastern marches of India that will adversely affect the interests of West Bengal. The appointment of the Governor of Assam as the agent of the Central Government in preference to that of West Bengal requires an explanation, and it is up to Dr. Kailash Nath Katju to ask of the States' Ministry the reason why of this change. We should like to know if the Premier of West Bengal, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, had any cognisance of this matter or had any inkling of it, and whether or not he has registered on behalf of his Ministry protest against this vandalism. We have known for sometime that the chauvinist leaders of Assam have been angling for the expansion of their influence; and propaganda on behalf of including Cooch-Bihar and neighbouring areas in their Province had been launched since the days when the Cabinet Delegation was here. It appears now that Sardar Patel has succumbed to their wooing. We are old enough to remember the secrecy with which Lord Curson compassed the partition of Bengal, and the world has known what its consequences have been. On the present occasion also, the same secrecy has marked the States' Ministry's procedure. And we will not be surprised if the same reaction against it does follow. We will wait for it to appear, and we are sure that the wholly unjustifiable act of Sardar Patel's department will be opposed as staunchly as that of Lord Curson.

"A British Enterprise"

The great savant Albert Einstin said sometime in 1946: "Trouble-making is a British enterprise, It

is my impression that Palestine is a kind of a small model of India." Both in Palestine and in India, the truth of this verdict on British diplomacy stands proved since it was uttered. In the horror of the devastation and killings that accompanied and followed the setting up of "Pakistan," we have ignored the part that the British bureaucracy and their myrmidons had played in encouraging the perpetration of these abominations and co-operating in their infliction. Anglo-Muslim League entente in this business has been manifest in many instances in West Punjab, and as we watch events in Palestine, we are more than ever confirmed in our opinion that the prospect of losing their hegemony in the world has made the imperialists of Britain calculatingly cruel. Palestine, a periodical published by the American Zionist Council, New York, has brought out many of the treacheries of the British mandatory Government in Palestine discriminating between the Jew and the Arab. While they allowed Arab bands from Transjordan and Iraq to come into Palestine armed and very often in battle array, they took particular care to intercept Jewish refugees trying to reach Palestine. We in India, who have had experience of British bureaucrats, civil and military, looking benevolently on Muslim League "Direct Action" atrocities, are not surprised at this news. Since the seventies of the 19th century, they have done their best and worst to set the Muslim against the Hindu, and for a time they appeared to thrive in this "enterprise" of theirs. But all their skill have not perpetuated their rule over India. Winston Churchill may not personally preside over the liquidation of their empire, but he and his tribe were indirect accessories to it. Perhaps, this is the fittest-punishment that their arrogance could receive. They have to live and lament the eclipse of their glory.

The following extract from the Times of London would further illustrate our comments.

To the Editor of The London Times: Sir,—Major-General Sir Edward Spears, in stating that Zionism has endangered British bases in the Mediterranean and represents a threat to British strategic interests, surely conveniently forgets not only that many of the present Arab political and military leaders, including Fawzi El Kawukji and the Mufti, either spent the war in Germany working for Hitler or had to be interned by us, but forgets also what happened in the Middle East between 1939 and 1945.

In 1944 Brigadier Glubb (now leading the Arab Legion in its assault against Jerusalem, and no pro-Zionist surely), writing when the Arab war effort was still close enough to defy even Foreign Office attempts to romanticize it, said:—

At the time of these operations every Arab was perfectly convinced that Britain was finished for ever and that it could only be a question of weeks before Germany took over Arabia. The Iraqis were perfectly sure of this or they would not have declared was on

us... in brief, during the six weeks before the fall of Baghdad every Arab was convinced that we were done for. Every Arab force previously organized by us mutinied and refused to fight for us or faded away in desertions. (Pages 214-215 of Somerset de Chair's "The Golden Carpet.")

No doubt when Glubb wrote this he would remember (what General Spears has forgotten) that, although the Jewish population in Palestine was only half that of the Arab, more than twice the number of Jews volunteered for service to protect our Mediterranean position: and that at the time when the Iraqis declared war against us, and British tanks had to be driven into the Abdin Palace yard to compel King Farouk's consent to the appointment of a pro-British Government under Nahas Pusha, Haganah men were being dropped as British agents in enemy territory, that Haganah was recognized by G.H.Q. as the one reliable local defence force and Palestine the one base whose loyalty was never in doubt for a moment.

And what now? No doubt if British officers and British-supplied tanks and aeroplanes continue the destruction of Jewish settlements and life we shall earn the bitter hatred of the Jews of Palestine. Is that surprising—a symptom of Zionist original sin? It is a policy choice for the British Government which will determine whether Israel becomes once more an ally as in the war, or an enemy beleaguered by British arms and equipment who must look elsewhere for aid for sheer survival. And may I say that our attitude—that Israel must show itself capable of functioning before being recognized by us—would sound more honest if it were not troops trained and equipped by British military missions, and the British officered and subsidized Arab Legion, which were at war with Israel to prevent precisely that functioning?

Does public opinion at home appreciate (as it does abroad) that every tank and aeroplane now being used by the Arabs has been supplied from the United Kingdom; that the British air mission is still functioning in Iraq; that British missions are now working, training, and reequipping Arab armies in Saudi-Arabia and Iraq; that between 1945 and 1947 we supplied Egypt alone with 40 military aircraft, 38 scout cars, and 298 carriers, apart from a great quantity of small arms and light equipment; that the Arab Legion now waging war is wholly subsidized by us with £ 2,000,000 a year and is commanded by 38 British officers; that Transjordan under the March, 1948 treaty is bound to 'undertake not to adopt in regard to foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or might create difficulties for the other party thereto"; that no word of protest has come from the British Government at the Arab invasions, but that the Jews within the boundaries given them by the United Nations partition decision (which still stands) are denied arms by the British?

Finally, the Foreign Office viewpoint conveyed by your Diplomatic Correspondent on May 20 that "it should not be assumed that Transfordan is acting as an aggressor until it can be shown that she acted aggressively towards another State" (obviously meaning a State recognized by us) smacks a little too much of the legalis-

tic chicanery of the thirties which reduced Japan's war on Manchuria to the status of an "incident" and in so doing destroyed the League of Nations. Will we never learn that we cannot subsidize aggression in the Middle East and oppose it in Greece or Persia—that to climb now into the grandstand and attempt to wash our hands of responsibility for the slaughter perpetrated by our Spitfires and British trained and officered Arab troops is conduct utterly unworthy of the traditions of a great nation and indicates a moral degeneration within the political leadership of this country far more alarming than any signs of a merely materialistic or economic decline?

House of Commons, May 20. LYALL WILKES.

"White Australia"

We do not think that Dr. Evatt, Australia's Minister for External Affairs, expects us to accept the "fundamental" nature of the policy that discriminates against non-white peoples of the earth—the policy that "will not permit persons of non-European origin or birth to remain permanently in Australia"—as a recent Reuter's message interpreted the policy. It appears that Dr. Evatt's excursion into a justification of what is intrinsically unjust has been called forth by criticism of this policy in Malaya. A number of Malayans who had come to Australia during war years and married Australian women were ordered to leave the country simply because they did not fulfil the conditions of this policy. For about six years they must have been tolerated as persons of requisite conduct as citizens of the Australian Commonwealth. And because their blood and pigment differed from those of the ruling classes of the country, they were required to break up their homes and start anew in life. This dispensation Dr. Evatt characterizes as "a fundamental right claimed by every nation to determine the composition of its own people. He also thinks that if this policy of discrimination had been departed from, "Australia might easily have been overrun by the Japanese in 1942." Dr. Evatt's argument opens out a vista of controversy that traverses the whole relation between the white and non-white peoples, the latter in an overwhelming majority and huddled in China, Japan, Indonesia and India and denied outlet into the empty spaces of the earth now under the control of the former. This arrangement cannot last, though it be regarded as part of "fundamental policies" of Governments which have most of the guns, bombers and atom bombs in this period of 20th century history. It separates, and keeps separate. the peoples of the earth, and forms part of the policy of "Apartheid"-Segregation-for which the Boer and the Briton in South Africa have attained a certain degree of notoriety.

Germany Split by Victors' Policy

While the leading victorious Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—have been paying lip homage to the concept of German unity in State and economic life, their failure to agree

to measures for such a consummation has exposed their sincerity to the derision of the world. It is a fact that they have failed to agree on any single item of German reconstruction since May, 1945, when the Potsdam Pact was signed. Instead, they have been engaged in political propaganda, the Western Powers accusing the Soviet Union of imposing her totalitarianism on Europe, and the latter returning the compliment by pointing the finger of accusation at American, British and French monopolists. A news-item featured from Berlin under date of June 19 informed the world that the recent currency reform decided on by the Western Powers, has completed the disruption of German unity so much talked of by both sets of rival powers.

For a proper understanding of the present disagreement, we must recall the fact that the three Powers who dominate the world today did have a war-time alliance that was based wholly on the exigencies of war; their one purpose was to smash Germany. Even in that they disagreed with regard to strategy and tactics. The controversy between the Soviet rulers and Winston Churchill with regard to a "second front" was a case in point. And today the delay in launching an attack on Germany from the West or South is seen in perspective to have been a costly experiment. If in 1944, it had been launched, the Western Powers would have been in Berlin earlier than the Soviet Union, and they would not have to suffer the indignity of regulating their movements in this city by the directions of the Russian commanders. Berlin has stood forth and will continue to do so as the symbol of German unity and Germany's will to resume her position as a fashioner of Europe's life. The present arrangement has established complete Russian control over Berlin, and the master of the city will be regarded by Germans as the custodian of their future. This is a natural reaction on their part to the present confusion of things. And they can only wait and watch how the victors quarrel amongst themselves, and split in fact as they do in idea.

United States' Generosity

The people of the great republic became conscious of their destiny as the leader of the modern world during the second World War in the 20th century; they were to regard this century as the "American Century" when the rule of conduct will be dictated by New York and not by London. This consciousness has brought certain responsibilities at their door-step, and in various ways they have been trying to discharge these. The Lend-Lease operations during the war years were one of these; the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe is another. In this behalf, the U.S.A. Congress has been persuaded to sanction the expenditure of about six hundred crores of rupees in 16 European countries in course of the next 15 months beginning from this month. This was propagandized as an act of great generosity. But the first flush of elation in European countries appears to be receding as the conditions attached to the grant of this help

in goods and services are being scrutinised by the recipient countries. We cannot say that we fully understand the many implications of these conditions; but the following summary of certain of these, sent out by Reuter from Washington on June 22, 1948, explains their consternation and exasperation.

"The original draft would have bound all the European signatory countries to "consult" with the U.S.A. on the devaluation of their currency whenever the U.S.A. desired this, a provision which European diplomats argued put their currencies in an unfavourable light and might contravene the powers of the International Monetary Fund.

powers of the International Monetary Fund.

"The original provision has now been almost entirely deleted and replaced by an article merely binding the signatory country to maintain an "appropriate" exchange rate. How far controversial provisions such as compensation to American nations affected by European nationalization programmes, termination of the agreement granting "most favoured nation" treatment to Germany and Japan, and freedom of movement for visiting Congressmen, have been the subject of a compromise has not been disclosed."

Every recipient country is required to sign an agreement by the 2nd of this month. And as the conditions are stiff in all conscience, the Governments of the different countries think that it would be difficult to persuade their people or Parliaments to accept these. The British Government propose to go into the matter with the help of the Opposition; the French Government apprehend a storm of opposition from the "Leftists" who command almost half the allegiance of the people. The U. S. magazine, Newsweek, discussing the dilemma says: "The British face a desperate choice: either they must accept restrictions on their sovereignty or renounce all U. S. aid."

Annamala: Chettiar

The Tamil country is the poorer today by the death of Annamalai Chettiar, the founder of the Annamalai University and leader of the Chettiar community, the masters of finance-capital in South India. We think that the foundation of the Annamalai University was the first example in India of an individual benefaction financing a university; Dr. Hari Singh Gour's Raipur University in Mahakoshal, Central Provinces, is the second. Annamalai Chettiar's example has changed the ideas of his community and helped to widen their vision beyond mere moneygetting. A lover and promoter of modern education, he held fast to the traditions of Famil culture tracing a history of more than twenty-five centuries. His gift of ancient Tamil books and manuscripts to the library of the Visva-Bharati of Rabindranath Tagore was in line with this phase of his life. In South India, disrupted by Brahmin-non-Brahmin rivalry, his was reconciling part which held aloft the ancient social polity that had made an attempt to reconcile diversities of functions with allegiance to a composite national life. The death of such a man at this juncture in our country's life is a loss to be marked and noted.

WAS IT CONSTITUTIONALLY PROPER?

By D. N. BANERJEE, MA., University Professor of Political Science, University of Calcutta

In the course of an otherwise excellent reply to an address presented to him by the Darjeeling Bengalee Association on 23rd May, 1948. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has been reported to have observed:

"Don't worry about the size or number of districts in Bengal, don't worry and get a headache over it now. Everything will be looked into and done properly, but nothing can be done properly if done in haste. In the old days there was some meaning in the autonomy of the provinces. Hereafter all the provinces have to be so closely knit together with Delhi, that there will be no distinction whatsoever between province and province . . . The Dominion of India is so closely knit together that this is not the time to look to provincial borders. All provincial borders are practically abolished now, and India is one. What strength can we develop now in the present overall difficulties, if we go on fighting with one another inside?

"Therefore I appeal to you all, friends, let us for the time being drop our narrow ideals. Let us learn to entertain broad ideals. (The italics are mine). Until we are safe, sound and strong, we cannot afford to quarrel with one another on matters

which are essentially domestic."

By these remarks, not often informed by a sense of realism, His Excellency has not only discouraged, but also disapproved, the growing movement in West Bengal for the re-inclusion of the Bengali-speaking areas now comprised in Bihar, within the Province of West Bengal.

At a Press Conference, however, held on 20th May, 1948, Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, had been reported to have given out the information that the Cabinet of the West Bengal Government had, four weeks before, placed through him before the Government of India for its consideration, a proposal for the inclusion of Dhalbhum, Manbhum and a part of the district of Purnia, adjoining the district of Dinajpur, in the Province of West Bengal.

It appears from what has been given above that the Government of West Bengal are divided in opinion on the question of the desirability of the present move in this province for the inclusion of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar within the province of West Bengal: the "formal" or "dignified" part of the Government taking one view, and the "political" or "efficient" part of the Government another view. Has not this publiclyrevealed difference of opinion created an awkward position for either part? And has it not created a confusion in the minds of the general public? To me It appears that it has done both.

Now the question is: Was the Governor, as the constitutional Head of the Government of West Bengal,

justified in publicly expressing a view on a very important question, now rightly or wrongly exercising the minds of the people of West Bengal, which was apparently not in harmony with the attitude which his Council of Ministers had previously taken towards it, and which the Premier had made known to the public through a Press Conference? My respectful submission is that he was not; and that in making the observations he did, His Excellency did not strictly keep himself within the limits of constitutional propriety; nor did he conform to the ethics of the parliamentary system of Government as it obtains in England. Let me explain the constitutional position as it stands today. Under Sub-clause (2) of Clause 3 of the India (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947, issued by the Governor-General in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the Governor of a Province in India has no power today either to act "in his discretion," or to exercise "his individual judgment" in any matter. And Section 50 of the Government of India Act, 1935, has been amended accordingly. As a result of this, the Governor of a Province in India has, with effect from the 15th of August, 1947, become a purely constitutional Governor. And what should be his position and functions in relation to his Council of Ministers, i.e., his Cabinet? For this we must refer to the "traditional maxims" of the parliamentary form of Government as it exists in England since our present system of Government has been really based upon the English model. These maxims or principles embody, in the words of Todd (Parliamentary Government in England), "the matured experience of successive generations of statesmen, and are known as the precepts of the (English) constitution." Among other things, these maxims enjoin, to quote the words of Sir William Anson (Law and Custom of the Constitution), that

the King of England "should not give public expression to opinions on matters of State without consulting" his Oubinet Ministers; that "he should accept their advice when offered by them as a Cabinet, and support them while they remain his servants (i.e., Ministers)"-(the italics are mine); that he "either accepts the advice of his Ministers in any matter to which they attach importance, or must dismiss them;" and that "the Cabinet, on the other hand, are bound, as is each individual member, to inform the King of all important measures of the executive."

We also find in Maitland (Constitutional History of England) that

"The King must govern by the advice Ministers who are approved by the House Commons."

Thirdly, Lowell says in his Government of England:
"The Ministers, being responsible to Parliament for all the acts of the Crown, are obliged to refrain from things that they cannot justify; and to insist upon actions which they regard as necessary. In short, the Cabinet must carry out its own policy; and to that policy the Crown must submit."

Again,

"The Ministers direct the action of the Crown in all matters relating to the Government. The King's speech on the opening of Parliament is, of course, written by them; and they prepare any answers to addresses that may have a political character. . . . Almost the only public acts that can be done by the Crown before the public eye are ceremonies, public functions, speeches which have no political character and deeds of kindness that are above criticism." (The italics are mine).

Another eminent authority, namely, Dr. Ivor Jennings, has also observed (Cabinet Government) that

"Although an able Monarch can have considerable influence in the policy of the Government, yet he must, in the last resort, accept a Cabinet decision."

And he has quoted the views of Mr. Asquith in support of his position.

Finally, we find in Laski (Parliamentary Government in England) that

"An active King, whose opinions were a matter of public concern, is unthinkable within the framework of the English Constitution; that a 'Patriot King', whatever the character of his opinions, is incompatible with parliamentary democracy in its British form; that the King (of England) must act upon the advice of his Ministers; that is the central theme in the metaphysics of the English Monarchical system; and that the King's public acts must be of an automatic character, he must, in the public view, accept the advice of his Ministers."

If I have quoted above the views of some eminent authorities on the theory and practice of the British Constitution, I have done so only with a view to showing that under our present constitution based as it is on the British model, the Governor had no constitutional right publicly to express any opinion which was not quite in harmony with the action which his Cabinet had already taken some weeks before, and that in so far as he did express any such opinion, he departed from the traditions which the Constitutional Head of a parliamentary form of Government should strictly adhere to. I presume here, of course, that after the West Bengal Cabinet had taken its decision in regard to the Bengal-Bihar-boundary-dispute question, it must have, as it was constitutionally bound to do. informed the Governor of the same through the Premier, Dr. Roy, and that, previously to it, the Governor had had ample opportunities of putting his own views before his Ministers, of pointing out objections which might have seemed valid against the course they had been contemplating, and of suggesting, if he so thought fit, an alternative policy. If, after all this, the Ministers had come to the decision which Dr. Roy revealed as Premier at the Press Conference held on 20th May last, it was a constitutional duty of the Governor to support them publicly: That is to say, if he could not persuade his Ministers to accept his own point of view and if they insisted on their views being carried out, then he should have yielded and accepted their decision, and publicly backed it up. It is true that, technically speaking and according to the older theory of parliamentary Government, the Governor could disregard their advice, in case he thought it definitely wrong, if, however, he could find others who were willing to adopt his policy and assume responsibility for it. But it has also to be borne in mind in this connexion that the right to dismiss a Ministry even in England, although unquestionably within the legal prerogatives of the Crown, seems to be regarded, as Lowell has shown, "as one of those powers which the close responsibility of the Cabinet to the House of Commons has practically made obsolete." A constitutional Governor, even in the context of our Indian politics today, cannot be such a Governor and a Congress politician at the same time. This is the price he must pay for his exalted position.

I have dealt above with the constitutional position. Governor C. Rajagopalachari's remarks are open to objection on another ground. He is shortly going to occupy the position of Governor-General of India, and the Bengal-Bihar controversy is likely to be taken up at an early date at the Government-of-India level. Any public expression of opinion by him at this stage otherwise than as a purely constitutional Governor backing up his Ministry, might create later on a difficult position for His Excellency himself, and might make the people interested in the matter, rightly or wrongly, feel that, so far as he was concerned, he had already committed himself to a particular point of view and to a definite course of action. And this might not help an easy solution of the question.

In conclusion, I should like to say that we need not doubt that the Governor, when he expressed himself as we have seen before, did so wholly from a conception of patriotic obligation. The point, however, which I have tried to make above is that his action was not quite in keeping with the traditions of parliamentary Government. A constitutional Governor, need hardly emphasize, should not merely act constitutionally in fact, but he should also appear to act constitutionally. At any rate, it seems to me to be highly desirable in view of what I have set forth above, that Dr. Roy's Ministry should explain to the people of West Bengal what exactly the position of the Government of West Bengal has taken in regard to the question of the re-inclusion of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar in the province of West Bengal. We really seek enlightenment. On our side we forbear from expressing any view on this question here as it is not the object of this article to do so.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

THE Drafting Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly of India to draft a constitution for India on the basis of its deliberations has at last submitted its Report to the President of the Assembly embodying its recommendations as to the future set-up of the Indian Constitution. The Constitution has been drawn up on extant models, such as those of the U.S.A., England, Canada, and Australia. U.S.A. and Canada have perhaps influenced the minds of the constitution makers most. That is as it could be expected, seeing that conditions in India in many respects, such as the problem of racial minorities, linguistic and religious divisions, strong feeling of local patriotism and consequent jealousy of concentration of authority in the Centre, resemble those obtaining in the U.S.A. and Canada at least in the days when their constitutions were drafted. Of course, India has many problems peculiar to herself necessitating the introduction of many innovations and the Committee has also done that.

As regards the basic character of the Constitution it was defined by the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in January, 1947, as being a "Sovereign Independent Republic" which was necessarily binding on the Committee. The Committee has, however, thought fit to make a slight verbal alteration in the phrase by replacing the word "Independent" by "Democratic." The Committee justifies the change on the ground that as independence is usually implied in the word "Sovereign," the addition of the word "Independent" becomes superfluous. The argument appears to us to be plausible. Moreover, the insertion of the word "Democratic" in the preamble of the constitution is particularly welcome as laying emphasis on India's faith in democracy and her determination to put democratic principles into practice in her government at a time when democracy seems to be at such a discount within the country as well as in the world outside. The use of the phrase "Sovereign Republic" does not mean necessarily withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth system, as the precedent of Eire eliminating the Crown from her constitution shows that there is nothing incompatible in a Republic continuing as a member of the British Commonwealth. The question is left open for the present. The Chairman of the Drafting Committee in submitting the Report pointed out that the question of the relationship between the Democratic Republic of India and the British Commonwealth of Nations was to be decided later by the Constituent Assembly.

The objectives placed before the nation and as embodied in the preamble of the Draft Constitution are justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation. All these except fraternity were already in the

Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly. The fraternity clause was added by the Committee in the perspective of the poisoned atmosphere of communal discord and hatred to bring to a focus emphasis on "the need for fraternal concord and goodwill in India" which, they pointed out, "was never greater than now." These have been further developed in the chapters on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State policy, i.e., Parts III and IV of the Constitution which we shall discuss presently.

As for the general structure of the Indian polity recommended by the Committee India is to be a "Union of States," that is, a federation of a number of constituent units which, although described by a common appellation are classified under three distinct categories to mark some differences that are to exist as between them, viz., those which were known under the previous constitution as Governor's provinces. Chief Commissioners' provinces and the Indian States. The recommendation for a federal constitution is suggested by the compulsion of events. It is the logical consummation of the process of constitutional evolution since the assumption of administrative responsibility by the Crown. The prevailing conditions of India, its vastness, variety in local conditions, linguistic, religious and racial heterogeneity of her population, point inexorably to a federal solution of the Indian problem. So perhaps no one will find fault with this feature of the Draft Constitution. That measure of agreement will, however, not be forthcoming in regard to the scheme of distribution of legislative powers between the Union and the units and their administrative relations. Following the model of the previous constitution subjects have been classified into three lists-"Union," i.e., federal, "Concurrent" and "State." The "Union List" comprises those subjects in respect of which the Union Parliament has exclusive jurisdiction to make laws. The "Concurrent List" consists of those matters in respect of which the Union l'arliament and the Legislature of any State which was formerly a Governor's province have concurrent legislative jurisdiction. The "State List" comprises those matters in respect of which the Legislature of a State that was formerly a Governor's province has exclusive power to make laws. So far it is all right. The matter of real consequence in connection with the distribution of legislative powers as between the Centre and the Units in a Federation is the location of residuary or unenumerated powers. Federations have followed two prevailing patterns in this respect—usually known as the American and the Canadian model-according as the residuary powers vest in the Units or the Centre. The real significance of the device lies in the fact that it determines in a way the centre of gravity in the federal system-whether it should be in the Centre or the Units. Those who are champions of autonomy of the constituent units would view with misgivings the

provision in the Constitution* allocating residuary powers in the Union Parliament. At one time it seemed that the pattern of the Indian federation would take after the American model, because of the suspicion and jealousy of the Muslims of a strong Hindu-dominated centre. But after the concession of Pakistan by the Congress, the urge for such a scheme of distribution disappeared and the emphasis was shifted to the need of a strong Centre symbolising national unity. The case for a strong Centre rests both on economic and political grounds. The fissiparous tendencies purposefully fostered in the country by British imperialism can be held in check only by a strong Central authority. Communalism has been put an end to once for all by the declaration of India as a secular State and equal treatment of all irrespective of religion, caste or creed.

But although communalism is showing signs of decadence a new centrifugal force with no less potentiality for evil is rearing its head, viz., provincialism. If it is to be combated, the Centre must have an overriding authority in some matters at least and to step in to set matters right when anything goes wrong between any two provinces.

There is also a strong economic urge towards federation in the urgent need for the country's economic regeneration. If independence is to mean anything real to the common man, it must secure him two square meals a day, adequate clothing and shelter, education and medical aid. That requires harnessing the economic resources of the country as a whole on a co-ordinated plan and not piecemeal by provinces. That can only be done by the Central Government equipped with sufficient powers to that end. A strong Centre vested with residuary powers is also dictated by that urge. It has, therefore, been wise of the framers of the constitution to make the Centre strong by vesting residuary powers in it. Moreover, the way provincialism is developing in the provinces makes it imperative to give more powers to the Centre to overcome the centrifugal forces rather than to make the units independent of the Centre. Otherwise there is every chance of the provinces and States cutting away from the Union and India already truncated by partition being Balkanised with all the evil consequences of such fragmentation both for the people of India and also the world outside. Such a catastrophe should be averted by all means particularly in the context of the world situation today. If India is to rebuild her warshattered economy and achieve ordered progress she has urgent need of complete unity and solidarity among her people and of team work among the different constituent units. Of course, this need not mean domination of the units by the Centre. Each province and State has its local peculiarities, its distinctive culture and tradition which requires cultivation on distinct lines. The Draft Constitution in its scheme of distribution of powers and administrative relations between the Centre and the units has left enough

elbow room to the Provinces and States for the purpose while making possible the due discharge by the Centre of such functions and obligations as can in the nature of things only be discharged by the Centre. Some discrimination has been allowed to be made in this respect as between the Provinces, Indian States and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces in view of the difference in their respective positions as a result of their historical growth, (vide Sections 217(4), 224, 225 and 236).

So far as the Chief Commissioners' Provinces are concerned the Federal Parliament has been given power to make laws with regard to the subjects mentioned even in the State List. (Section 217(4)). Restriction has been imposed on the power of the Federal Parliament to make laws with respect to some matters falling within the Union List, such as Posts and Telegraphs, Telephones, Wireless, Broadcasting and other like forms of communications in any of the Indian States except so far as the right of the States to legislate in these matters is specifically ceded by agreement between the Government of India and a Indian State or group of States, although this restriction will not apply to making laws for the regulation and control of such matters. (Section 224).

Generally speaking, the power of Union Parliament to make laws for an Indian State or Group of States will be subject to the terms of agreement entered into between the two parties and the restrictions contained therein. (Section 225). The Government of India may also by agreement with an Indian State take power to itself to exercise executive, legislative and judicial functions vested in the State. (Section 236). This apparently privileged position of the Indian States as compared with the Provinces is dictated by historical necessity and is expected to disappear in course of time, as the States coming more and more under democratic control are likely to be assimilated steadily to the Provinces. For the present without the offer of such concessions the States could not be induced to accede to the Union and Indian leaders could not afford to add to the complexity of an already complicated problem. This is also one of the vicious legacies left by British Imperialism which was purposefully created by the latter to perpetuate its hegemony. The Federal Parliament has also been armed with extraordinary powers in the sphere of the States in certain contingencies, such as when it is necessary in national interest. in the event of a proclamation of emergency in a State or when a matter affects more than one State. (Sections 226, 227 and 229).

It is only natural that Federal Parliament should exercise jurisdiction in these matters. On the whole, it may be said that the scheme of distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units and adjustment of their administrative relations is satisfactory in the present state of things, but it will require revision and readjustment from time to time as circumstances change.

(To be continued)

^{*} Section 238 of the Dents Constitution.

POTTER: THROUGH THE POT'S EYES

By Dr. BAL D. KALELKAR, B.E. (Bom.), M.Sc. (M.I.T.), Ph.D. (Cornell)

Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make
—OMAR KHAYYAM

WHENEVER I unroll the canvass of memory in an attempt to have a fresh glimpse of the pictures painted thereon, like a child presented with a basket of fresh apples, I am unable to pick and choose. There are pictures still rich in colours, there are others which are hazy and indistinct; and yet, each one of them is so sweet—on occasions bitter-sweet—that it seems almost impossible to make a deliberate selection. This is particularly so with regard to my recollections of Bapuji, spread over a period of over twenty years. I am using the words 'twenty years' to be correct historically; if I were to go by my mental impressions, I should say I have been under Bapuji ever since I can remember, to this very day. However, it would be quite correct to say that I came under Bapuji's discipline right since the days when buttoning and unbuttoning my shirt was for me a complicated mechanical operation, too difficult for my manual skill.

Although hailed as the champion of South African Indians Bapuji was not quite an international figure in those days of my early childhood. Being a firm believer in teaching by example rather than by precept, and being less preoccupied with public activities in those days, Bapuji used to spend most of his time in organising and sharing the Ashram activities which also included keeping imps like us out of mischief. To what extent he paid attention to the details of our training can be easily understood if I tell the readers that one afternoon at lunch, he systematically taught me how to crush a well-baked chapati into fine powder and prepare a kind of pudding out of it. No work was too insignificant for busy Bapuji. Sabarmati Ashram was a wild place then; one couldn't say it was exactly in a jungle, but it certainly was not far away from it; the Ashram ground was covered with shoulder-high grass—or so it seemed to my tiny eyes—infested with snakes and other animals. Tents, huts and other improvised dwelling-houses gave the little commune not very comfortable shelter. Verily Bapuji was giving the inmates practical training in bringing order out of chaos! From clearing the ground for open-air prayers, to digging ditches for movable latrines, there was nothing that Bapuji did not personally supervise and actively participate in. His special attention to personal and civic cleanliness, and his insistence on everyone learning and meticulously observing rules of hygiene left a deep and lasting impression on my mind.

Bapu of those early days was much more strict and exacting with his associates than Bapu of today. But his keen sense of humour and his angelic love for children were no less pronounced then. How can I forget how immensely pleased I used to be when at disner time Bapuil quistly passed a big chunk of raw

sugar (gur) to me as a kind of socialistic recognition of 'to every one according to his needs'; it was notorious that I had a sweet tooth!

During my teens, I acquired a special position in Bapuii's heart, and it used to be said by some of the veteran Ashramites that Gandhiji was pampering and completely spoiling Kanti (Gandhiji's grandson) and myself. My elder brother, now Principal of the Commerce College in the Nagpur University, used to tease me by saying that we had learnt the art of 'fooling' Bapuji by observing his impossible discipline and then wringing concessions out of him! Kanti and myself were practically the first inmates in the Ashram 10 learn all the 700 verses of the Geeta by heart; we were able to create records in spinning-even in nonstop spinning for twenty-four hours; so on and so forth. Bapuji was very pleased with all this, and I might frankly confess that we were quite conscious of having been 'Bapuji's pets.' Poor Bapu | he thought he was building model Ashram-youths out of us! Little did he know that the young boys who, he hoped, would renounce all the material pleasures, would one day fly out, one taking to engineering and the other to medicine. And yet, just when he was preparing us for a life of renunciation, he was constantly impressing on our minds that we were like little birds and that when we had grown enough feathers and strength, the most natural thing for us to do would be to fly alone in God's free air. It is this quality of deliberately encouraging the independent spirit in the hearts of his followers that has made Gandhiji the idol of the modern youth that hate idolatry.

Kanti and myself, it is hardly necessary to add, fully exploited Bapuji's attachment to us. I remember how one evening we carefully planned and prepared a 'sound' case to be presented to Bapuji for a special grant of money towards our expenditure on photography which we were just learning. We 'convinced' Bapuji, to our entire satisfaction, that Swaraj would not come unless we mastered photography. And to our great joy and much to the chagrin of some of the orthodox Ashramites, each of us was sanctioned a monthly allowance of five rupees from that very month. Oh, what a triumph it was! On another occasion, I was responsible for winning a point and getting an order cancelled by him. Bapuji had decided to make a slashing cut in the supply of washing soap to the Ashram inmates on the ground that we had no right to the luxuries which the poor villagers were We youngsters who used to vie with each denied. other in washing our clothes snow-white and dressing immaculately, resented this new order very much. I took up the case and made a special appointment with

Bapuji to argue it out. He said, that the poor villagers had never even seen a piece of soap and that if they could get along with khar (a yellowish-white alkaline deposit left on the banks of rivers) which was a good substitute for soap, why couldn't we? My immediate answer to this was that it was wrong to want us to adopt the same dirty habits of villagers and that clothes could never be washed so clean with khar any way. He now changed his strategy. Why, he asked me, I alone of all the boys had resented the order which others had accepted without demurring? I retorted that the others felt the same way about the order, but that they were dumb! He challenged me to get the signatures of 70 per cent. of the boys to prove my contention. I very nearly accepted; but the next moment I saw no triumph in all this. I therefore pretended to be angry with his demand: I told him frankly that I was tired of arguing with him, that he was always obstinate in his pre-conceived notions, and that I would accept his challenge only on condition that he would grant my request if the necessary 70 per cent. signatures were produced; I was not interested in merely proving my contention. I knew only too well that Bapu the democrat would never reject this condition. Within a couple of days I produced signatures of 90 per cent of the boys and the order was rescinded. What a victory! We, mere kids, we had 'convinced' the great Mahatma and brought him round to our view! And when do you think we taxed his time in this unthoughtful manner? It was when the Simon Commission had agitated the whole nation, when Bapuji's advice was sought by politicians of all shades of opinion, and when he was busy studying the Nehru Report on the future constitution of India. But that is how Bapuji treats all those who come in contact with him; he has learnt to be patient with the most ignorant and this has given him the miraculous power of correctly feeling the pulse of the nation.

My 'childish' accusation that Gandhiji was obstinate reminds me of similar charges made by some of our leftist Congressites who see in Gandhiji an They mistake his insistence on impossible dictator. being convinced about his stand being wrong for obstinacy; and they dismiss him as an impossible dictator autocratically imposing his views on others when Gandhiji refuses to budge an inch from a position which he has taken on point of principle. Those who have watched him from closer quarters know how deeply he ponders over the opponents' point of view,. not only studying their criticism but actually inviting it. Gandhiji is too much of a democrat to forget that criticism is the pillar of democracy. Why, even we youngsters in the Ashram got an audience with him to air our views about what he had said or done in the political field! He used to be quite patient with our comment and spent considerable time in meeting our criticism. Truly has an old Chinese proverb observed: "The sea is great not because of

its size, but because it retains its humble level giving chance to rivers and rivulets to aspire into it."

During the preparatory weeks before he led us as a batch of 80 volunteers to break the salt-laws at Dandi, we were given permission to ask questions in public after the evening prayers every day. One evening I asked a moot—and therefore, perhaps unnecessary—question of him: "Which would you rather have, the Indian mill cloth or the British hand-made cloth?" Not willing to waste time over a most point, he dropped the question and asked me not to raise such unhelpful points. I felt very much hurt at that time, but I received his answer in another form some four years later. It was at the time of his 21-days' fast in the Parna-kuthi at Poona. I had the proud privilege of being his full-time nurse all through that fast. One day when he saw that the bottle of vaseline which he was using for enema was nearing exhaustion, he asked me to purchase a new one. Critical about every little detail, he asked for an explanation when he did not see a new bottle of vaseline on the following day. I told him that I had tried hard to purchase one in the Cantonment area which was nearby, but had found that bottles of English manufacture alone were available there. I had therefore postponed the purchase and that I was going to make a special trip to the city area that very evening to purchase a bottle of Indian make. He listened to my explanation with his usual calm and pondered over the discrimination I had practised for his sake. I could -read all this on his face; it is quite easy for those who have come in intimate contact with Bapu to read, from his forehead as it were, or from his pronounced veins, the thoughts that pass through his mind. He told me in gentle but firm tone that the principle of Swadeshi which had actuated me was quite correct and that he hoped I would practise it in my future life; but, he said it quite unequivocally I was not to discriminate between British goods and other goods as far as his personal purchases were concerned. He added that perhaps it would be difficult for me at that stage to grasp the deeper significance of his apparent inconsistency, but that I was to follow his instructions all the same. But I knew I had received an answer to the question I had put to him four years previously.

Surprising as it may sound, this happened at the very time when Bapuji was busy persuading such of the A.-I. C. C. members as were out of jail and preparing them for giving a fresh fight to the British Rai by reviving the Civil Disobedience Movement! Leaders like the late Satyamurti with their clever dialectics and forensic skill would put their point of view with all the force at their command and it was a pleasure to us young followers of Bapu to watch him demolish their case and win them round to his own view. The very man who would refuse to discriminate against the Britishers a tough fight. But there has

Gandhiji's inner greatness and strength; he is, in spite of what the fashionable 'internationalists' say, essentially an internationalist; if there ever was a man with a deep sense of universal brotherhood, it is Gandhiji.

My most intimate contact with Bapuji for almost a quarter of a century and my study of his philosophy of politics prompts me to say with full confidence that he is nothing if not a man of international outlook; indeed he is something more than that; he is a Messiah working for the liberation of entire humanity. In the thick of the national movement his mind is always working out plans of action that have bearings on human welfare transcending narrow nationalism. And it was this man who, in 1942, was being systematically maligned throughout America as a confirmed pro-Facist and Anglophobe; he was even called an astute opportunist! The Britishers were spending huge amounts of money on this kind of anti-Gandhi propaganda, and they were doing this with the help of the Indian agent and fifth-columnists like Raman and others. We Indians who happened to be in America then, were helpless witnesses to this shameful orgy of lies in which agents of British imperialism were indulging. It is hardly necessary to add that I tried my utmost-how insignificant it was before the barrage of systematic propaganda of a mighty empire!-whenever and wherever I got an opportunity of doing so, to dispel doubts and disseminate truth about India among the Americans. It used to pain me beyond words to see intellectual giants of Britain and America not raising their little finger against this vile and shameful propaganda; it seemed as though every Britisher was an imperialist under the skin if you scratched him. What an irony of fate it was that the only statesman of repute who openly gave the lie to this false but formidable propaganda was General Smuts, an erstwhile 'enemy' of Gandhiji. The conspiracy of silence which I witnessed among the intellectuals of Europe and America made me wonder whether the Western civilization had not been tested and found bankrupt after all. Would it ever be that the West awakens one day and finds that there is no hope for humanity except through the Gandhian philosophy? The East is wide awake from her slumber and having found a new orientation is anxiously beckoning the straggling West which is heading for a dangerous precipice. If only the West could take the hand that is stretched out in a spirit of universal brotherhood!

As a student of science and as a budding engineer I try my best to wean the villagers away from their belief in miracles and supernatural agencies which, in my opinion, has wrought havoc with India, breakthe very backbone of her culture and civilization. Not for a moment would I subscribe to Gandhiji's that the Bihar earthquake of 1934 was a divine bunishment for the sin of untouchability. But then, I have the sin of untouchability and marrate an

incident to which I was an eye-witness and which would appear nothing short of a miracle to a layman.

It was at the time of the Rajkot agitation in 1938 when once again Gandhiji had to resort to fast. This time also, I had the privilege of acting as one of the nurses who attended on Gaudhiji. Miss Chanduben Parekh who had just returned from America and who later was to marry my elder brother, was also one of those who helped nursing Gandhiji. The atmosphere, with all the filth that an Indian native state can produce, was extremely tense; the agitation had already assumed all-India proportions; this was very much resented by some of the high-ranking state officials and landlords of the place. They thought they could intimidate the public who were backing the agitation by creating panic among them at the time of open-air prayers which Bapuji used to hold in those days and which were attended by mammoth crowds. They engaged a gang of thug hirelings and arming them with lathis and batons let them loose on the congregation after the prayers were over. The Congress volunteers, with their usual non-violent methods tried in vain to hold back the goondas who were now pushing their way towards Gandhiji. Use of sticks made their way clear to Bapuji who was on his way to the waiting car which used to whisk him off from the admiring crowd after prayers. But on that day, before he could reach the waiting car, the hireling thugs rushed the cordon of Congress volunteers and surrounded him from all sides. I saw the seriousness of the situation; pushing and jostling, shoving and elbowing was producing frayed tempers and it was a matter of minutes before serious violence would break out. I cannot say how far I could have remained non-violent in the face of danger to Bapuji's person, but I at once plunged in the fray. I elbowed my way close to Bapuji through the unmanagable crowd which was now divided into small parties exchanging blows. As I was watching with a mixed feeling of anxiety and curiosity the behaviour of the crowd, I suddenly noticed that Bapu's whole body began to shake violently. It was not out of fear; his face could tell how free from fear he was; the physical reaction was his revolt against the disgusting atmosphere of violence. I became extremely anxious for Bapu's safety; he was in none too good a health and I thought he might collapse any moment. Suddenly Bapuji closed his eyes and started praying; I could hear him saying Ram-nam with an intensity of devotion that could never be surpassed. I joined him in his prayer and to keep time to our chanting of God's name I started patting my hand on his back. Half out of child-like faith and half out of silly egotism, I thought I was giving him a prop to retain his faith! Perhaps it was forgivable; when the house is on fire even a child may help its grandfather by bringing water in its tiny bucket. To my great astonishment and greater relief, the prayer worked. When Bapuji re-opened his eyes there was a new

strength that had appeared there like magic. In a firm tone Bapuji asked all the volunteers including Ashram boys to quit the place at once and leave him absolutely alone at the mercy of the hired goondas. He would not, he said, return home in the car which he usually did; he would walk the distance! Then he called the leader of the gang who was busy breaking up the congregation and told him that he was absolutely at his disposal if he cared to argue out his point; if not, would he tell what he proposed to do next? To everyone's amazement, the thug's violence melted like ice before the warmth of love and nonviolence. The leader of the gang stood before Bapuji with folded hands begging of Bapuji to rest one of his hands on his shoulder for support and promised to escort Bapu as far as he cared to go. That evening Bapu walked all the way home with one hand on the shoulder of the leader of the gang that had come to break up the prayer and terrorise the general public.

I will never forget that memorable evening which has given me faith of a life-time in the efficacy of prayer. But I would not like to call it a miracle. There have been cases when ablest mathematicians and engineers have solved most difficult and complicated problems by sheer intuition, but these are hardly miracles. Intuition after all is an inner directive that flashes into one's mind when it attains a certain critical temperature; it is as though some past experience speaks from within. The incident narrated above only proves that one who leads a life

of intensity for some noble cause may bank upon the power to prayer which would enable him to relieve the past struggles and get renewed confidence to march onward to Truth.

What we Ashram boys owe to Bapu is beyond calculation. For the last thirty years Bapu's kind but stern hand has tried to mould the precious but plastic youth of us Ashram boys into a life of duty and dedication. The master engineer has aimed at moulding according to the specifications of his inner voice. But each one of us acquired a shape according to our diverse plasticity of moulding sand. The defects in casting are entirely due to the presence of dry sand in the green mould; the master engineer is in no way responsible for these defects, just as he is not responsible for the loss of stature in the final casting which too is attributable to the plasticity of the material used.

The other day*, when I returned from America after my higher studies in engineering and still higher experiences of life extending over five years, I was feeling a little diffident—how foolish it was—about my reception from Bapu. But the same depth of love and affection were waiting for me when after landing in Bombay on the Diwali Day of 1945, I went to the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona and once more received his blessings on the Hindu New Year's Day. It, indeed, was a New Year's Day for me.

 The article, unpublished so far, was written by the author in 1945.

CRUCIAL INDIAN PROBLEMS

By Prof. K. K. BHATTACHARYA, MA., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.), Barristem-At-Law,

Dean of the Faculty of Law, Allahabad University

THERE are certain vital problems which brook no delay. Immediate solution is urgently called for. They are: (1) The Hyderabad question. The civilised government has ceased to function for several months. The Razakars have indubitably taken control of the governmental machinery and dictating terms to the people of Hyderabad. A reign of terror envelops that state and the majority party is in deadly peril of their honour, life and property. The honour of the women belonging to the majority community has almost ceased to exist, and robbery, dacoity, arson, brutalities are the order of the day perpetrated against the majority community. The Nizam is following the policy of delaying settlement with the Indian Union as long as possible. He, it seems, is being ruled by the Razakars. Either, therefore, he must control the Razakars ruthlessly, and establish law, order and justice or he must abdicate. There is no other alternative. The India Government can no longer afford to allow the perpetration of deadly crimes against humanity. It is the ' - Just of the Indian Union, therefore, to assert. its position and since misrule and disorder of a wild type have been prevailing at Hyderabad, the Indian Union will be completely justified in giving an ultimatum to the Nizam in the shape of reducing the Razakars and other lawless elements of the state to submission and of giving Hyderabad full responsible Government under the aegis of the Indian Union.

Hyderabad is the last citadel of feudalism where sits entrenched more firmly than ever the privileges of the feudal lords and vessals and the people's voice remains muffled. Hyderabad is the Bastille of India and just as Fox states on the fall of Bastille, "How much the best and the greatest event in the world has happened," so the people of the whole of India, nay the civilised peoples of the world, will acclaim with joy the establishment of full responsible government is Hyderabad State, which is today the Augean Stable of repression, disorder and misrule.

The inalienable birth-right of the people to make its voice felt in the Hyderabad State cannot be ignore even for a moment and with the recognition of the sovereignty of the people the gangrene in the state policy of Hyderabad will disappear. Let the Nisam establish a democratic rule and be guided by people's representatives who shall hold the reins of office after a democratic constitution has been framed.

The second vital question is regarding Kashmir. The Government of India is doing excellent good work in quick expulsion of the raiders from Kashmir and that work must continue with unabated fury against the raiders till the last raider has taken his exit from Kashmir. The Security Council must be once more told about the real state of affairs, namely, that the accession to the Indian Union by Kashmir did not spring from coercion or undue influence but was the outcome of a spontaneous desire of Kashmir to be linked up with India. Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir and accredited leader of the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir, who is participating in the struggle for freedom of Kashmir from the raiders' hand, has unequivocally stated many a time and oft that Kashmir would remain within the Indian Union. Almost the whole population of Kashmir is under the freedom banner of Sheikh Abdullah, most popular and beloved leader of the people therein. The raiders had not the slightest justification according to any tenet of International Law or of public morality in trespassing on Kashmir territories and the creation of terrible havoc and bestialities there. The Pakistan Government has been shown to be palpably siding with the raiders and there is no vestige of justification for Pakistan State for the attitude taken by it. Pakistan has flagrantly violated its fundamental responsibility to the Indian Union. Sheikh Abdullah's Government which is sustained and nourished by the entire population of Kashmir is really the only representative, popular and democratic government imaginable there, the entire population thereof owing willing allegiance to him and his government.

The third vital issue is whether India is to remain any longer within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Only a straight answer can be given to this question and it is this that India must not in her own interest and also in the interest of international peace and security remain fighting with politics and economy of Britain. There is no fascination for India to be linked up with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The fate of the Indians and the natives of Africa is

well-known. They are treated as helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water, as it were, with fundamental civil liberties and human rights denied to them. Australia does not allow Indian immigration. The Indian settlers in Africa and in other parts are not treated with any amount of self-respect and dignity. In Africa, the Indians are treated by the European settlers as veritable plagues. And the tragedy today is that we all are regarded as members of one Commonwealth. Now the association of the British Commonwealth will be gall and wormwood for India. Politically, economically and, above all, morally India must be a completely sovereign state divested of any association with Britain except friendly relations but by no means remaining member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The fourth problem is whether the Government of India should recognise the Jewish state in Palestine. Justice, fairplay, humanity and love for democracy, all point to one direction, namely, that the India Government should recognise Jewish state in Palestine. Britain's attitude is highly suspicious and Britain wants to keep both the Jews and Arabs weak fighting with each other so that Palestine may be a playground for many years more of the continuance of British colonial or semi-colonial policies.

Ever since the Balfour Declaration was propounded and accepted by Britain, Britain had encouraged the Jews to migrate to Palestine, and now when the zero hour has come, and when the Jewish homes are burning and Jewish quarters are presenting scenes of terrific spoliation and devastation, Britain is siding with the Arabs! Britain can say that consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds but India is not to be duped by British Government's policy. India knows to her cost the British game for power politics which shattered the economic and political future for well-nigh 200 years, and India, therefore, without a loss of a moment in her own interests and also out of the desire for stabilising the future peace of the world and in concord with a sense of justice and maintenance of world peace must at once cast her lot in this matter with the USA and USSR which have adopted the right attitude towards Palestine issue and not with Britain that is following a dubious, callous, suspicious and unwarranted policy.

2nd June, 1948

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NAI TALIM

By NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA, MA.

NAI TALIM or New Education originated by Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian Nation, has been engaging the serious attention of the people as well as of educationists.

It is a happy augury that thawing in the age-long frozen indifference to the matter of educational reconstruction has begun in West Bengal. The Government of West Bengal have taken up the matter in

right express. Education is one of the most potent nation-building factors. And it is in the fitness of things that new orientation should be introduced in the system of education and a proper ideology instilled in view of the changed political, economic and social conditions of the country.

Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the first Premier of Independent Bengal, took the initiative in respect to educational reorganisation. He accepted the principle of introducing Basic Education, and as a preliminary to the introduction of the scheme, training of teachers was begun and other necessary arrangements were taken in hand.

Basic Education propounded by Gandhiji as early as 1937 did not find favour with the Muslim League Government in Bengal though it was accepted on experimental basis by the Congress Provinces. With the exception of a few small centres of such education in the district of Midnapore, the people of Bengal, therefore, did not have an intimate idea of the working of the new scheme. On the eve of the momentous change in the educational policy of West Bengal, we should do well to understand the ideas and ideals inherent in the scheme and assess the results achieved by experiments in several provinces.

IDEALS OF NEW EDUCATION

The main features of Basic Education are the imparting of instruction up to a certain standard (present Matriculation Standard minus English) through a basic craft and the attainment of economic self-sufficiency in the process of education. Nobody had greater and more intimate knowledge than Mahatmaji of the economic and sanitary condition of the 7 lakhs of Indian villages, none had been more pained at the distress of the villagers and none more sincerely interested in their welfare and more eager to raise them from the squalor of poverty and insanitation, forced inactivity and superstition. As a remedy to most of the ills of the village-folk Gandhiji suggested adoption of Nai Talim. It is one item in his 18-point Constructive Programme held out before the public for the realisation of Swaraj and all the good envisaged by it.

Nai Talim is in complete consonance with Gandhiji's philosophy of life. The author of the scheme wishes to rear up an India where class-prejudices and inequity of wealth will not spread disparity and discontent among the inhabitants, where dignity of labour will be recognised, where full employment will bring health and happiness, peace and prosperity.

The Zakir Hussain Committee, which was entrusted with the drawing of detailed syllabus for Basic Schools, commented on the craft work in elementary educational institution thus:

"Modern educational thought is practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This mathed is considered to be the most effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all-sided education.

"Psychologically it is desirable, because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest. Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated in by all the children of the nature, will tend to break down the existing barriers between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both. It will also cultivate in the only possible way of true sense of the dignity of labour and of human

solidarity—an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance.

"Economically, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously.

"From the strictly educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life and its various aspects will be correlated with one another."—Basic National Education, pp. 9-10.

SARGENT SCHEME AND BASIC EDUCATION

The Report of the Central Board of Education popularly known as the Sargent Scheme accepted the main principle underlying Basic Education, vis., learning through activity but it was unable to endorse the view that the Basic schools should be self-supporting. The most which can be expected in this respect, says the Report, 'is that sales (of articles produced by the pupils) should cover the cost of additional materials and equipment required for practical work.'

The Sargent Scheme has drawn up a colourful plan for National Education on the pattern of British educational system. The cost estimated to rear up the mighty machinery and have it on the run is stupendous. Bengal, according to this scheme, will need Rs. 57 crores annually for her educational system. Out of this sum 40 crores will be spent for Primary education.

As a result of the partition, West Bengal has shrunken to about one-third of undivided Bengal in land. Her revenues have naturally been curtailed. Besides, as a new-born state she has other important and pressing obligations to look to, e.g., defence, agriculture, irrigation, public health, communication and the like. So if we have to augment Revenues we have to do it mainly by taxation. For the estimated cost of education alone West Bengal public may have to pay 1900 per cent of their present taxes. How can any same man propose such a demand on the public without previously enhancing their present income by at least 2000 per cent? A vicious circle has been created: No comprehensive project of universal national education, as of any development scheme, can be worked out without money and no sufficient money can be had as a result of people's affluence without public education of the right type and all-round development of national resources.

The realist in Gandhiji realised that if elementary education for the masses had to wait for big accumulation in the public exchequer the dumb millions would have to wait in the gloom of ignorance and misery 'till Domesday.' So Mahatmaji had to evolve a plan of education that would ease the financial stringency of the public funds and not be pathetically dependent on public money. His New Education has, therefore, the touch of a practical thinker.

Associated with the name of the political leader of the people and the greatest political party in India— Congress—Basic Education had to share the vicinitudes NAI TALIM 31

of fortunes of the freedom-fighter. With the assumption of power by Congress the scheme got encouragement in the Congress-ruled provinces and when Congress went into wilderness the new system had to stand on its own intrinsic merits. The Congress Governments of Bihar, Orissa, Bembay, C. P., U. P., and the State of Kashmir along with several independent organisations introduced Basic Education in selected areas on experimental basis.

Occasionally the educationists engaged in connection with the new education met at conferences to appraise each other of the results obtained as also to suggest modifications, if any. The second such conference of Basic Education was held at Jamianagar, Delhi. It was inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and presided over by Dr. Zakir Hussain. In a three-day session discussions centred round three main problems in the practical working out of the basic education, viz., (1) syllabus of basic education at work, (2) the technique of correlated teaching, and (3) the training of teachers. One of the important findings of the conference runs thus:

"This conference records with satisfaction that the reports on the working of basic schools by the Governments, local bodies and by private enterprise are almost unanimous that general standards of health and behaviour as well as intellectual attainments are very encouraging. The children in basic schools are more active, cheerful and self-reliant and their power of self-expression is well-developed; they are acquiring habits of co-operative work and social prejudices are breaking down, considering the difficulties inherent in the initial stage of a new scheme of education, involving a new ideology and a new technique; the progress reported holds out the promise that even better results can be expected in future."—Seven Years of Work: Eighth Annual Report of Nai Talim, 1938-46.

The results of experiments in 27 basic schools in Bihar were carefully assessed by an expert committee, of educationists. Their observations are interesting and illuminating. From the clearly-defined objectives of the New Education we get an idea of Basic schools as a man-making factor—as an influence in unfolding the nobler and manly traits of the pupils.

The educationists expect development of the following qualities in children educated in basic schools: (i) skill and efficiency in the handling of craft work, (ii) sense of discipline through work as opposed to discipline super-imposed, (iii) development of intelligence, (iv) formation of alert and active habits, (v) habit of systematic and thorough work, (vi) development of interest and sense of pleasure in good work for its own sake, (vii) stimulating of curiosity, development of the spirit of enquiry and power of observation, (viii) awareness in the children of their social and natural environments, (ix) growth of a spirit of co-operation and service.

The observers were pleased to note that they found most of these qualities in the basic-school pupils—some were well developed, while others in the slow process of growth. Superiority of basic schools

as an educative institution was further proved by a comparative test of the attainments of pupils who got instruction in basic and ordinary primary schools for four years in the same area under similar environments. Comparative tests were held only with regard to school subjects common to both, viz., reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, general science and hygiene. Prof. U. C. Chatterjee of the Patna Training College, who conducted the test, concludes thus:

"Thus my study makes it clear that the achievements made by the basic school children during the period of four years are superior to those made by the children of ordinary primary schools in the same locality in the same time—the superiority being highly marked in oral reading, elementary science, hygiene and social studies but not so in other subjects."

The scope of Basic Education was widened by the father of the scheme, Gandhiji, who when he came out of jail in 1945 extended Nai Talim or New Education to the whole span of life of children from the moment of conception to the hour of death. According to him 'Education must become literally the education for life.' Mahatmaji said:

"This Nai Talim is not dependent on money. The running expenses of this education should come from the educational process; whatever may be the criticisms, I know that the only true education is that which is self-supporting. The idea is new; it is revolutionary. But I am not ashamed of it. If you can work, if you can prove that this is the true way for the development of the mind, those who mock at us today will become our admirers. Nai Talim will become universal and the seven lakhs of villages which indicate our all-round poverty today will constitute our prosperity. That prosperity cannot come from without, but must be evolved from within. This is the objective of Nai Talim nothing less than this."

It has to be recognised that basic education offers a solution to the educational impasse in the sphere of universal primary education for rural children. If basic education is adjusted to the educational system in such a way that children capable of profiting by higher education may be provided with easy avenues for the development of their latent abilities to the benefit of the country, it is sure to revolutionize education and usher in a new era in the domain of learning and living.

Sri P. Banerjee, the present Assistant Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal, who visited Sevagrams and observed Nai Talim in action there, says:

"Nai Talim is capable of bringing a revolution in the field of education. But it is extremely difficult to harmonise the new method and outlook with the old ideas of the present system."

It is up to the educationists and other men of ideas and lead to help re-organisation of the educational system and thus bring about a regeneration of the nation. By so doing they will be rendering a noble and patriotic service to the country as upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends.

LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM OF HINDI

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

In the first week of January this year (1948) Clement Attlee, the British Premier, charged Russia with pursuing a policy which threatened other nations "with a new form of Imperialism—ideological, economic and strategic." Of one imperialism Russia has not been accused to be guilty—of the linguistic imperialism, of the attempt to impose its own language over others.

But the framers of the Constitution of the Union of India, almost all of them experienced Congressmen, are going to impose Hindi as the Rashtrabhasa or State language of India. The first Resolution of the Constituent Assembly declaring its determination to establish a 'sovereign, independent, republic' in Indiapassed actually in English—has been translated into Hindi and issued as a poster to be hung up at all Government offices and Courts and rail-stations, etc., at Government expense. The debates of the Constituent Assembly are being translated into Hindi and published as official documents. They are out to establish Hindi as the lingua franca of India. There was hardly a debate or scarcely a protest as to the suitability or otherwise of Hindi as the State language, because some day in the recent past, when it was merely an agitating body and had not to face realities, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution adopting Hindi, or Hindusthani to be more accurate, as the Rashtrabhasa.

The genesis of adopting Hindi as the Rashtrabhasa was this. Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, challenged the Indian politicians, who were vociferously clamouring for more political power, to produce an agreed constitution; and taunted them that they cannot speak with or address each other except through the medium of the language of the much-hated and much-maligned Englishmen. The results were the Dead-sea fruit of the (Motilal) Nehru Report, always talked of with respect but never followed, and the adoption of Hindusthani with Nagri and Urdu as its two scripts as the Rashtrabhasa.

When it is a question of adopting Hindi as the State language, a past resolution of the Indian National Congress is sufficient with the Hindi-speaking President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and the Hindi-speaking (rather Urdu-speaking-for he speaks Urdu better than Hindi) Premier of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But when the question is of amalgamating the Bengalispeaking areas of Bihar, Orissa and Assam with West Bengal, resolutions passed by the self-same Congress, both before as well as after the one adopting Hindusthani as the Rashtrabhasa, do not count. The recommendation of the Nehru Report to that effect, penned by Pandit Motilal Nehru, is thrown to the winds by the son Jawaharlal Nehru. The Premier of India pleads that

"The present time is quite inopportune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa."—(See his Reply to the New Bengal Association in March 1948).

And he goes on reiterating it whenever an opportunity occurs. (See his speech at Octacamund on the 2nd June, 1948). One almost hears the Morleyan ring of "time is not yet ripe" for self-government, that one was used to hear when the Liberal John Morley was the Secretary of State for India. And Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly as well as of the Indian National Congress, criticises the *Hindi Prachar Samity* (Society for the Propagation of Hindi) of Bihar for not attempting to Hindi-fy vigorously the Bengali-speaking areas of Dhalbhum (which contains the iron and steel manufacturing centre of Jamshedpur) and Manbhum (which contains the richest soal-bearing area in India).

So much for consistency or adherence to principles often formulated by themselves, of the big guns of the Congress, in whose hands the destiny of India has been placed accidentally.

In the Draft Constitution of the Union of India, English has been put as the alternative State language to Hindi. [See Article 99(1)]. So apparently the stigma that it is the Conqueror's language no longer attaches to it. For maintaining world contacts and international relations we must learn English. Pakistan is adopting English and Urdu as the State languages. For speaking to Pakistan, we must either learn English or learn Urdu. It is easier and better to learn English. French and English have been the official languages of the League of Nations. The same is the case with the United Nations. Its publications are in English and French. In Europe French is the traditional language of diplomacy and English that of commerce.

The Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 14th edition, says:

"Greek, Latin and Arabic have had at various times the status of international languages. French occupied a similar position, particularly in the 18th and early 19th centuries, in diplomacy, social life and literature; it is still the usual international language of Europe and the Levant. English, however, has come to share the prestige of French in diplomacy, while in the Orient the normal international language is English."

The Japanese understand it, study it and publish researches in it. The Japanese Journal of Botany, for example, is in English with brief resumes in Japanese. This was long before the war. The same is the case with China; and many of the official publications of Siam are in English. The Filipinos are almost all English-knowing. Burma and Ceylon and Malaya understand English, but do not understand Hindi.

English has become the most important of the

world languages. Dr. Otto Jespersen, himself a Dane, in his Growth of the English Language says:

"Nowadays, no one would overlook English in making even the shortest possible list of the chief languages, because in political, social and literary importance it is second to none (italics ours) and because it is the mother tongue of a greater number of human beings than any of its competitors." (P. 232).

No other European language has spread over such vast regions during the last few centuries, as shown by the following figures, which represent the number of millions of people speaking each of the languages enumerated. Where the authorities disagree the lowest figures are given and in the parenthesis the highest figures.

| Year | English | German | Russian |
|------|----------|----------------|---------|
| 1500 | 4(5) | 10 | 3 |
| 1600 | 6 | 10 | 3 |
| 1700 | 81 | 10 | 3(15) |
| 1800 | 20(40) | 30(33) | 25(31) |
| 1900 | 116(123) | 75(80) | 70(85) |
| 1926 | 170 | 80 | 80 |
| Year | French | Spanish | Italian |
| 1500 | 10(12) | 84 | 94 |
| 1600 | 14 | 81 | 91 |
| 1700 | 20 | 8 1 | 91(11) |
| 1800 | 27(31) | 26 | 14(15) |
| 1900 | 45(52) | 44(58) | 34(54) |
| 1926 | 45 | 65 | 41 |

Increase during 44 centuries: English 424 or 34 times; German 8 times; Russian 27 times; French 44 or 34 times; Spanish 72/3 times; Italian 9 times.

Whatever stigms there might have been attached to English in our eyes as being the language of our conquerors or subjugators is now wanting because the Englishmen have gracefully retired leaving us independent and because so many more Americans speak it than Englishmen that it has virtually ceased to be English and become American. For every Englishman three Americans speak it. H. L. Mencken in The American Language says:

"First, let us list those to whom English is their mother tongue. They run to about 112,000,000 in the continental United States, to 42,000,000 in the United Kingdom, to 6,000,000 in Canada, 6,000,000 in Australia, 3,000,000 in Ireland, 2,000,000 in South Africa, and probably 3,000,000 in the remaining British colonies and in the possessions of the United States. All these figures are very conservative, but they foot up to 174,000,000. Now add the people, who, though born to some other language, live in English-speaking communities and speak English themselves in their daily business, and whose children are being brought up to it—say 13,000,000 for the United States, 1,000,000 for Canada, 1,000,000 for the United Kingdom and Ireland, and 1,000,000 for the rest of the world—and you have a grand total of 191,000,000."

Mencken gives the figures for Spanish as 100, for Russian as 80, and for German as 85 millions, and adds:

"Thus English is far ahead of any competitor. Mersover, it promises to increase its lead here-

after, for no other language is spreading so fast or into such remote areas....Altogether, it is probable that English is now spoken as a second language by at least 200,000,000 persons throughout the world."

The World Almanack and Book of Facts (1946 edition) puts the number of English-speaking people at 270 millions; and the further number of those who use English speech in barter, trade, exchange or other manner of communications at 47 millions.

The large number of speakers and its rapid spread are not the only advantages of English. Its vocabulary is copious, richer and more varied than that of any other European language. In Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language 5,50,000 words have found place. In the New English Dictionary on Historical Principles edited by Sir James A. H. Murray 4,12,825 words (including about 52,000 obsolete forms) have found place. In the Dictionnaire de L'Academie Franchaise published by the celebrated French Academy in 1932-35, we find about 3,00,000 words. In another French Dictionary -La Rousse du XXme Siecle published in 1928-1933, 2.36,000 words have been listed and defined. In the latest edition of the German dictionary—Deutche Worterbuch not more than 2,50,000 words have found place.

No other language is more suitable or more suited to our purpose for maintaining world contact. In 1931, the number of Literates in English was 31,22,491 males and 3,67,169 females. For a population of 338 millions this may seem small. The smallness is mainly due to our general illiteracy. The progress and proportion of literacy and literacy in English at the different censuses are shown below:

| | | ion per mill | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------|--------|
| | 1901* | | 1/911† | |
| | \mathbf{Male} | Female | Male | Female |
| Literates Literates in | 98 | 7 | 140 | 13 |
| English | 6.8 | 0.7 | 10.9 | 1.2 |
| | 192 | 31† | 19 | 31† |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |

23

1.8

174

21.2

31

2.8

It will be evident that while literacy has increased by 25 per cent during 1911-31, or by 76 per cent during 1901-31, literacy in English has increased by more than 94 per cent during 1911-1931 or by 312 per cent during the thirty years 1901-1931. The progress of English is four times faster, thus showing that given sufficient opportunity all the races of India can acquire English rather easily.

We must learn English for international purposes and for maintaining world contact. It is the open sesame to modern science and modern technical processes. Besides

161

16.0

Literates

Literates in

English

^{*}Figures are for all ages.

[†]Figures for Literates are for ages over 10; those for Literates in English are for ease over 5.

opening to us the vast wealth of one of the grandest literature with richest poetry, it is the key to English Law. For layman's information we say that two systems of law—the Roman and the English—govern the modern world. We, in India, have so long been governed by English law; and why should we discard it in favour of the Roman law and break our link with the immediate past?

If we are to learn English for world contact, why can't we use it for maintaining inter-provincial contacts? As a matter of history and actual reality, we are maintaining inter-provincial contact through English. Why the same process cannot be continued in future and if necessary, more effectively?

It has been urged that while we must learn English for international purposes, the number of men required for such purposes is very much smaller than that required for inter-provincial contacts. Why then waste our energies for learning English on a wider scale for inter-provincial purposes? English is much more difficult to acquire than an Indian language. Hindi can be learnt more easily. Taking Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi together, which are regarded by linguists like Dr. Sir George Grierson to be two distinct languages, it is spoken by about 30 per cent of India's population. It is easily understood by probably a further 15 to 20 per cent. This is the main reason for choosing Hindi as the Rashtrabhasa, the other being our pride.

But in choosing the Rashtrabhasa the criterion should be not whether it is easily understood by a large percentage of people in the form of bazar-chaloo or market-place Hindi; but whether is rich in vocabulary with a developed literature and capable of expressing nice shades or differences in meaning. It is admitted that Hindi literature is not as developed as Marathi or Bengali. Not to speak of Rabindranath Tagore, Hindi has not produced either Bankim Chandra Chatterjee or Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. None of its living authors can come within a mile of Tarasankar Banerjea. Its vocabulary is not as rich as that of Bengali. The Nagri Pracharini Sabha of Benares has published a seven-volume dictionary of Hindi of over 4,000 pages, entitled Hindi Sabda Sayar or Ocean of Hindi Words. In it 1,02,575 words have found place. But in the two-volume Bengali Dictionary compiled single-handed by the late Jnanendra Mohan Das more than 1,15,000 words (after excluding many Sanskritic words as not being strictly speaking Bengali) have found place. Judged by these standards Hindi lacks the qualities of being the Rashtrabhasa.

In a democratic country the State language should be either equally advantageous or equally disadvantageous to all. Both English and Sanskrit fulfil this condition admirably. Why not make Sanskrit our State language, as suggested by H. E. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju. Its vocabulary is richer, its grammar the most scientific; besides it is the language of our common culture and religion. Pakistan has solved its language problem by making Urdu the State language. It is not native to any of its five provinces—although a considerable portion of its vocabulary is derived from Punjabi. Prof. Wahiduddin Saheb of Hyderabad (Deccan) has given the number of words in the Urdu language with their origin as follows:

| 21,661 | Hindi (Punjabi and Purabi) Words belonging to other languages | | | | |
|--------|---|--|--|--|--|
| | but which are considered as be- | | | | |
| 17,505 | longing to Hindi | | | | |
| 7,584 | bic ··· | | | | |
| 6,061 | sian | | | | |
| 500 | zlish | | | | |
| 554 | * | | | | |
| 181 | er languages | | | | |
| | QUEI 10 | | | | |

Total 54,029

A similar classification and almost the same number of words are given in another Urdu dictionary, Farhang-Asajia by Syed Ahmed Dehlavi. The principle adopted by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah seems to be of equal disadvantage to all.

The absence of a common language or a lingual franca in Europe was keenly felt during the middle of the last century. It was proposed to make Norwegian the common language, as it is spoken by a few lakes only, in fact, the smallest number speaking a welf-developed language. But the proposal was rejected as it would give the Norwegians an undue advantage, especially in the matter of carrying trade. So several artificial languages, like Volapuk (1879), Esperanto (1887), Universia (1893), Novilatin (1895), Ido or Esperanto Reformed (1907) were created for the purpose. None excepting Esperanto had any success in any large measure.

If Hindi is made the State language, it would give those, whose mother-tongue is Hindi an undue advantage over the non-Hindi-speaking peoples. One cannot address an all-India Congress meeting in any language other than Hindi, without meeting with cries of Hindi me bolo or speak in Hindi. Although All-India Hindu Mahasabha has not adopted any formal resolution about language, a speaker in non-Hindi meets the same difficulties. The adoption Hindi as the Rashtrabhasa by the Congress has added to the insolence of Hindi-speaking people. At the Kankinarah railway waiting-shed, the writer asked Behari gentleman to move off a little to make room for him several times; but he turned a deaf ear. On exclaiming whether he is deaf, he replied, "You should have addressed me in Rashtrabhasa." The man who has come to Bengal for earning his bread, and knows the language, refuses to speak it, because his mothertongue, Hindi, is the Rashtrabhasa.

We fail to understand why our sons should be put to the trouble of learning Hindi, while Dr. Rajendra Prasad's son is busy perfecting his English. A Bengali Ambassador to the U.S.A. shall have to address them in English; and write out his despatches or instructions in Hindi for the benefit of Pandit Nehru. Are the Hindi-speaking people more patriotic than the non-Hindi-speaking ones? For equalising the accidental advantage they are gaining, let the Hindi-speaking people pay, say 10 per cent, more taxes by way of surcharge, which sum is to be spent among the non-Hindi-speaking peoples for their benefit. Otherwise it would be sheer coercion on the part of the

Congress Hindi-ites to force down Hindi upon the non-Hindi-speaking people, specially those who speak Dravidian languages.*

*Although the writer's are not necessarily on all fours with that of this paper, we there are points which the writer has made, that deserve the nature insideration of those on whom the question of adopting the vertacular of one language group as Rastrabhasa has devolved.--ED., M. R.

I PEEPED INTO NEW ENGLAND

By B. SAIKIA

Ir was a fine morning. The mild winter sun was reflected back from every angle of the snow-covered Columbia campus. It just occurred to me why not spend a few days way out in New England. It would be an escape from the noise of the ever-humming metropolis. I decided to start for New England. My pilgrimage, yes it was a pilgrimage, started at a point where I boarded the streamlined Yankee in the Grand Central station. The moment I went inside the great railroad terminus the awe-inspiring glamour of the New York sky-scrapers was no longer visible. I went underground and continued my journey for quite a few minutes when the famous skyline of the great metropolis again came into my view just to recede away within the next few minutes. The Yankee blazed its way through fields of white shining snow under a bright and mild winter sun. My destination was Boston, the very center of New England.

New England is the collective name given to the six eastern states of the United States of America, e.g. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut comprising an area of 66,000 square miles with about seven million people. It is quite a small place compared to the whole of the United States which is double the size of India and Pakistan taken together. Yet it is the most famous spot in the whole of the country. It is the center of American culture. Here was planted a new nation which grew to its present towering size within a period of two hundred years. It can well be said it is the very heart of the U.S. If anyone should ask "where is New England" the answer might well be "in the bodies and minds of men everywhere in the nation."

It might look a long distance off from New York to New England. No, it is not. New England just borders New York State. Yet I covered this distance by various means of travel by car, by railroad, on bicycles, by plane and on foot. Except for the pleasure of hiking I could as well avoid the last means of conveyance in this and of automobiles. Anyway I did it. The straight line distance I covered was hardly a couple of hundred miles.

The moment I saw the skyline of Boston there came flying to my mind things like the famous Boston Tea Party, the Appleys and the Bostonian Brahmins with their Bostonian state of mind. Even

three hundred years back in this area there were nothing but a few settlements, if I may say so, of the real aboriginal Americans who are named after the people of my own country. Here is a people stirring with life, full of vigor, enthusiasm and always in a hurry to do something. That is their national characteristic. Boston is the center of the flowering of New England. It was here in this area the Pilgrim Fathers-one hundred and two of them who broke away from the Church of England and came to America in search of religious freedom--first settled and helped raising the present American civilization. Here in Boston is the oldest American university, Harvard, the very first and the most reputed in the country. Even today Harvard towers the rest of the educational institutions of the country. Boston with its suburb of Cambridge, separated from the main city by the winding Charles river has the famous M. I. T.—the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the very last word in American technical institutions. It is the pilgrimage of technically minded people all over the world. Bostonians are very proud of their public library which is one of the finest in the whole of America. Boston has a fine museum too with a notable collection of art. The Indian collection in the Boston museum is said to be the best. The credit for this superb collection goes to the late Indic scholar Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. It was in this museum for a while that I felt quite at home amidst the really representative Naga and other Assamese collections. Another piece of collection for which the Bostonians are really very proud is the Blaschka glass models in the Botanical Museum of the Harvard university. The models, called the Ware Collections, represent the artistic and scientific effort of two men, Leopold and Rudolph Blaschka, father and son. They are so natural that even after somebody tells you that they are really glass models and not live specimens you are still left with all the doubt in your mind as to the authenticity of the statement. It appears as though the whole section of the Harvard Museum has been planted with live fruits and flowers. The city itself is typically American. Being a comparatively old city it is a little bit dirtier. People are predominantly of Irish origin. But what's of that. The "Yankee land" is no more "Yankeeland." Besides the Irish, you will see the French, Canadians, Germans, Italians and possibly a

score of other nationalities all being fused in that great "melting pot" of New England. All these immigrants have made themselves good citizens of the country. Their children go to American public schools and speak the American language. This is the characteristic of the country as a whole. After all who are these Americans? Is not this country an offshoot of Europe? But the clime and soil of the country is such that it turns out good and loyal citizens. Bostonians, whatever their parental linkage might be, are very proud of their ancestry. Possibly, given a chance, every one of them would take the task of tracing their ancestry back to the Mayslower pilgrims. Bostonians in general are quite witty. It was in one of Boston's big hotels that over a drink of beer I had to take help of my poor algebra in answering an witty waiter over the bar as to the age of Marry when she was just double the age of Ann. Of course, the present age of Marry was supplied to me as a piece of helpful data. About Boston I shall ever remember the drive I had to take in an airline limousine through the dark and dirty half tunnelway and half slumway to the air port. It reminded me of a similar drive I had to take once through Chandnichowk and the rest of my way to the Willingdon air port in Delhi.

I spent quite a while in Connecticut. Those days I was studying at Yale. Yale is also a very old and reputed university, possibly only next to Harvard. The university is in the city of New Haven, facing the Long Island Sound, an inlet of the Atlantic. Beyond the sound, the island can be seen at a distance almost at the horizon. It is a hilly town and has a number of lovely spots worthwhile going on a Sunday hike. From some of the hill-tops, the city looks very beautiful. The university gymnasium and the Harkness Hall along with the engineering building tower all the rest of the city structures. Yale has a very good reputation throughout the country. As quoted by Gunther "they teach better in Yale, but Harvard is more cosmopolitan and it spreads a richer feast." The President of Yale, Charles Seymour, is a distinguished historian. In the faculty of both universities are distinguished and seasoned professors. The Yale University Press is one of the most-discerning in the country. Yale has got one of the finest and biggest university libraries along with a nice museum of natural history, the Peabody Museum. In size, according to the number of students, Harvard is bigger than Yale but Yale boasts of having more teachers in comparison to Harvard. In Yale you cannot escape the individual attention of the teachers who are very kindly and helpful. This is not possible in mighty institutions like Columbia University. Of course, these great universities do not belong to New England alone. They are national universities, Their influence is nationwide. It is through the influence of these great institutions that New Engand is intellectually the most influencing area. Besides these, there are

several other famous institutions. The Wellesley College for girls is only a few miles from Boston. Besides M. I. T., Harvard, Yale and others New England can well be proud of her industrial research laboratories. The one I visited is that of the American Cyanamid Company at Stamford, Connecticut, only an hour's ride from New York. Here is an industrial laboratory of the present-day-a combination of a large group of research and development laboratories of various types which controls the operation of various projects under the America Cyanamid Company all over the country. Besides these, there are factories and manufacturing concerns of various sizes and types in New England, generally surrounding Hartford, Connecticut, midway between Boston and New York City. Hartford, the state capital of Connecticut, is one of the leading manufacturing, railway, insurance and distributing centers of the Atlantic coast. Hartford is noted for its fine residential districts, extensive parks and notable buildings including the two and a half million dollar state capitol. Other industrial concerns to begin with the Singer Sewing Machine Company goes all the way to the giant E. I. du Pont whose Nylon is a magic word in fabric production.

The ever-vexing problem of color bar which is a big blot in the bright face of America is not so prominent in New England. Of course, the Negro lives as a secluded community everywhere. But in these New England states I did not see any particularly marked theatres or toilet for colored people. Neither buses nor other conveyances have any reserved hind seats for the Negroes. But the fact is there. The colored people are a colored people. The privileged classes enjoy food catered by the colored people and music and other entertainments by them are alright but simply they are kept at a distance which guarantees freedom from pollution by touch. I remember on one occasion I was asked by a friend of mine to go to one of their churches in Springfield in Massachusetts. It was a Negro church although there were a few white men. I liked the way I was welcome there, possibly they are a very kindly and hospitable people. Generally, the standard of living of these people in the New England area is much better than that of their kinsmen down in the south or in the densest concentration of the Negroes in Harlem in the city of New York. Harlem gives you the impression of a 'Bhangi' colony, compared to the other surrounding places like the Morningside Heights on one aide encompassing the Columbia University and the fashionable Fifth Avenue area on the other. In Springfield you could not say that you are entering the localities of a less fortunate people. As they say, whoever could move started moving north to escape the discriminating tyrang by their fellow citizens. This is to the credit of the New England people. I think every one of the enlightened New England people felt relieved if not rejoiced over the death of the late defender of colour bar, Senator Bilbo.

The last of the New England cities I visited was Providence. It is the capital and largest city of Rhode Island, situated on the head of the Providence river, 44 miles southwest of Boston. Providence is noted for its jewellery and silverware. It was when I came to Providence that I suddenly discovered that my classes were to start from the next morning. I had to hurry up and took the next available plane back to New York—to the midst of the ever-humming Columbia Campus. I came back to my alma mater.

Columbia University, N. Y. C.

SRI-RANGAM

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By SWAMI RITAJANANDA

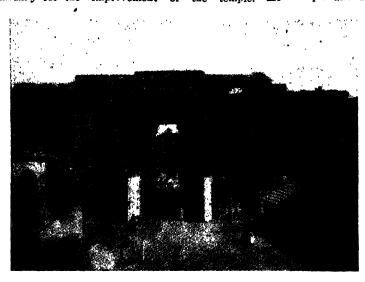
TRAVELLING along the Madras-Dhanushkoti line in South India, we reach the important station of Trichinopoly. The rock temple visible from a great distance stands with a majestic grace, inviting the tourists for an easy climb to its top from where the lovely view of the surrounding country may be enjoyed. With no high hills in the neighbourhood, we can see the vast plains slowly merging into the blue hills near the horizon. The stretch of the green rice-fields and plantain-groves are broken only by the rugged sides of the few boulders scattered here and there. On one side we see the silvery waters of the river Kaveri flowing close by with a picturesque island in its bosom and there the cluster of gopurams or towers shooting up to the skies amidst the tall palm trees arrest our attention. We soon learn that it is the famous Sri Rangam, which has rightly carned the name of Bhu-vaikuntham-the abode of Vishnu on earth-for its grand natural setting combined with architectural magnificence. Rarely do we come across a pilgrim in the South, who has not heard about this holy place and its presiding deity Sri Ranganatha. Being associated with the lives of many Vaishnava saints from ancient times it has become a place of pilgrimage for all devotees of Vishnu. Of the three important shrines dedicated to Vishnu in South India this place has been mentioned as the 'Kovil' or temple. (The other two shrines are at Conjeevaram and Thirupathi). This has been the apostolic seat of Vaishnavism, even earlier than the period of the famous Ramanujacharya.

The exact date of the foundation of the temple cannot be ascertained easily, since tradition takes it as far back as to the times of the Ramayana. It is said that Sri Rama, after his coronation, distributed presents to all his friends and followers. The devoted Vibhishana, king of Lanka, also had his share. The gift he got was the precious family-deity of the Ikshwakus, worshipped by them from time immemorial. This is mentioned as the Kuladhana in the Valmiki Ramayana* and is identified as the deity Ranganatha. With this sacred gift in his hand Vibhi-

shana started for his distant capital in Lanka. While he was passing through South India he came to Sri Rangam. There, seeing a beautiful tank called Chandra Pushkarini-now shown in the temple enclosure-he desired to have a bath. He placed the treasure in his hand on the ground and finished his ablutions. When he tried to lift it after his bath, he found to his great surprise it was immovable. Sorely grieved at this sudden mishap, he began to cry bitterly for his carelessness. The Lord, taking pity on him, appeared and said that He desired to stay there Himself in that enchanting atmosphere, where there were many devotees. But Vibhishana was not consoled and so in order to please him. He agreed to face the direction of the South, the direction in which lay the kingdom of Lanka and assured him His grace, even if he worshipped Him at Sri-Rangam only once a year. In the innermost shrine we can see an image of Vibhishana and one night every year all articles for worship are kept inside and the doors are closed. It is believed that Vibhishana. one of the Chiranjeevis (immortals) actually performs the worship on that particular night. Another tradition about the establishment of the Lord here, with a touch of humour, is that Vibhishana gave the precious gift to a boy to hold it till he finished his bath. But the mischievous fellow placed it on the ground from where it could not be lifted. Annoyed at the naughty trick, Vibhishana began to chase the boy. The chase went on for a long time and at last the boy got up on the Trichinopoly rock and disappeared behind the Ganesha image. This provoked Vibhishana all the more but he could do nothing else than to express his anger on the Ganesh image; and even to this day we can see his finger-prints on the head of the stone image.

The main temple is undoubtedly of a very ancient period judging by its simple structure. The first temple might have been of wood before the use of stone for buildings. The ancient records say that Dharma Varma of the Chola dynasty constructed the first prakara or enclosure. Historically it is difficult to ascertain who he was and what was his period. The second is ascribed to Mahendra Varman of the seventh century A.D. and the third one to Thirumangai Alwar, who, though born of a low caste has

been raised to the status of a saint for his devotion. Various Hoysala, Pandya and Vijayanagara kings were responsible for the other prakaras, gopurams, and mandapams or halls. Particular mention must be made of Jitavarma Sundara Pandya, who spent very lavishly for the improvement of the temple. He



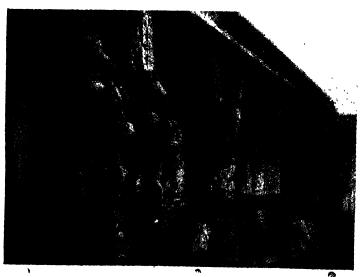
Rayar Gopuram or the first entrance to Sri-Rangam

celebrated his victories over his enemies by offering his weight in gold and this was done in the special halls, which have later earned the names of 'Tulabara mandapams.' Many parts of the inner shrine, walls and flag-staff were covered with sheets of gold. A large variety of iewels, gems and diamonds were presented to the deity. But shortly after this, there was Malik Kafur's invasion over the South and the temple shared the same fate with other shrines. Many of its structures were damaged and precious things were looted and had it not been for the timely removal of the important treasures and the chief deity 'Alagai · Manayalan' the loss would have been very heavy. The Vijayanagara kings who began to rule the country later on renovated those structures

as far as possible and did many substantial improve- at Sri Rangam but he could not complete the work, and ments. It being a very ancient temple, the pious kings it is left in that condition. His aim must have been to could not do much to the main temple and consequently many enclosures began to grow with huge towers at the four entrances. Gradually the area of the temple began to increase and now we find it occupying nearly 156 acres.

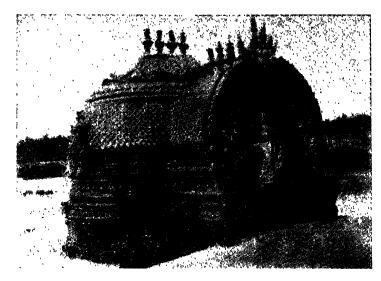
four sides with gates in the middle leading to the temple. In between the outer enclosures we find a busy town, where people carry on their normal walks of life and a brisk trade goes on with various curios of the country. There are seven prakaras to the temple and the number of Gopurams are twenty.

They are all of various shapes and the beautiful workmanship on these and the mandapams have won the admiration of many eastern and western architects alike. It is difficult to come across a second temple with such a masterpiece of architecture. It is really a great marvel, how the ancient builders could plan such huge columns of masonry without any of the modern conveniences and materials and at the same time take sufficient precautions against the ravages of nature. These monuments are representative of the high level of our ancient culture and we begin to wonder at the perfection of their arts and sciences. The first Gopuram the visitor sees on entering is an unfinished one and is generally known as the Rayar Gepuram. Achutaraya of Vijayanagaram dynasty is said to have begun the work during his stay



Seshagiri Rayar Mandapam with carved pillars

build the most magnificent Gopuram in the whole of South India. It has a base of 130 ft. by 100 ft. and comparing the existing structure with the other ones, we have to conclude that the Gopuram would have reached a gigantic height of 300 ft! Although only the This extensive ground is divided into sections by first floor has been completed it is still one of the huge walls which go round the main temple on its most imposing masses in South India. The other Gopurams are of different sizes and of different designs. Of these the Vellai Gopuram is the tallest one reaching a height of 164 ft. and stands as a fine specimen of workmanship. The rules of the Silpa Sastras have been closely followed and this huge pyramid maintains a uniform proportion in its sections up to the



The Golden Vimana of the main temple

top. The elaborate decoration on it fills us with admiration and we try to understand why there should be so much of minute workmanship and such wealth of decorative borders and what is the need of fine tracery work in stucco in a huge structure like this. Perhaps the architects could never delight in plain surfaces even in tall buildings and the pyramids of Egypt might have never appealed to their tastes. . Even on the modest estimate of the engineers the whole Gopuram will weigh about 25,000 tons and really it is a great marvel, how its foundation was laid in this island with the river-bed close by and no rocks in the vicinity. The temple proper is only in the fourth enclosure beyond which there are no dwelling houses but only a number of shrines dedicated to various gods, like Sri Rama, Parthasarathi, Vasudeva and also the Alwar saints and Acharyas. Sri Ramanujacharya, who has been responsible for the spread of Vaishnavism is installed in a temple and people say that his image is made up of the garua clothes used by him. Here and there we come across a mandapam or hall which is the place where the Utsava Vigraha of the Lord is kept and numerous devotees gather. One of these is the famous Seshagiri Rayar Mandapam where the pillars are covered with sculptured horsemen and lions. All the stone pillars have elaborate carvings and if it was not for this there would have been only unshapely huge pillars supporting the heavy roof.

Admiring these beautiful pieces of architecture, we slowly march into the sanctum sanctorum, where the

chief deity Sri Ranganatha is kept. Here what a contrast we find! There are no highly decorated walls or pillars to greet our eyes, but a very small shrine as we see in any village. Its roof or vimuna is also a small one very insignificant in stature compared to the tall Gopurams around. Although it was the custom later

on to have the biggest tower over the main shrine, as we see in the Tanjore temple, this ancient shrine has its Vimana as it was thousands of years ago. But it has a special shape with a projection on one side and the whole is covered with elaborately carved gilded metal as can be seen in the picture. In the projection we find an image of a deity who is known by the name of 'Paravasudeva.' Tracing the origin of the temple, it is said that Sri Narayana came down to the earth on a Vimana in the shape of Pranavakshara in order to teach Brahma the mysteries of that sacred syllable. Later on His image and the Vimana became the property of the Ikshvakus and was afterwards handed over by Rama to Vibhishana.

All the gigantic structures outside and the tastefully decorated halls



Thai car. Car festival at Sri-Rangam

have prepared us to be introspective and we soon realise the fact that we are not walking through a museum of sculptured monuments, but a holy temple. The mind slowly leaves the externals and becomes contemplative, seeking that Beauty from which all Art springs. The 'holy of holies' is a very small room, where a dim light burns to illumine the dark interior. Perfect calmness prevails all around and the devotce is left to himself. The glimpse of the reclining Ranganatha, which he gets by the burning of camphor by the priest, gives the final lift to the realm of the divine. The association of the temple with the Alwar saints, who intensely felt the living presence of the Lord, rushes along through his mind. This is the place, where the untouchable Thirupana, won the grace of the Lord and was carried into the shrine by the Brahmin priest and it is here where the beautiful Goda, who chose the heavenly bride-groom got herself merged in the image. The repentant Vipranarayana was also redeemed by the saving grace of the Lord at this place. Numerous accounts are there about the devotees, who experienced the Lord's presence in this holy shrine. Their out-pourings of devotion have found expression in their grand compositions and they occupy a very high position in Tamil devotional literature. No wonder that the Vaishnava Acharyas gave these pieces a place along with the Vedas and the recital of these songs in the temple forms part of the regular worship in all Vishnu temples of the Tamil country.

A stay at Sri-Rangam will make us feel that there is a round of festivals going on throughout the year. Ekadasis are the special days and the Vaikuntha Ekadasi that comes in the second half of December attracts a huge crowd from distant places. On this day a special gate of the temple is opened. People who follow the image of Sri Ranganatha through the gate believe that they will go to Vaikuntha. The narrow gate and the huge rush of people trying to pass through that gate makes us realise how deep-rooted is their desire for salvation. On special occasions the Utsava Moorti of the Lord is taken out bedecked with all its jewels, with all the pomp and pageantry of ancient kings. These festivals help the devotees who are unable to visit him in the shrine; and it represents the eagerness of the Lord to save His devotees. The town spread round the temple typically represents that the life of the community has its centre in religion, which has been the ideal of the Hindus for ages.

:0:----LONDON CRAFTSMEN The Plaster-worker

By JEANNE HEAL

In little odd workshops scattered throughout London is an army of skilled men, men whose hands and eyes have been trained through many years; until now their skill is unequalled. These are the craftsmen of London, the men with delicate sensitiveness of touch and sight, cherished and fostered by training and tradition.

A visitor to London's artists' quarter may come across a little cobbled courtyard, between houses that sheltered ostlers of great families long ago, with a steep iron staircase, in the far corner. At the top of this staircase is the studio of the man who is probably the best plaster-worker in England.

Many famous figures have climbed these stairs before. The Duke of Connaught laboured up them when a very old man, protesting that he was more used to "companion ways"; and more recently Lord Halifax has made many visits.

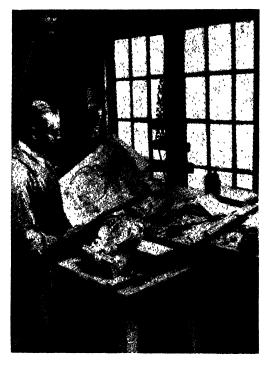
In the time of King Stephen, in the early twelfth century, these studios were a Manor House. Then law courts were built next door, and the judge and sheriffs used a secret passage under the building. Later, the house was turned into stables and coach houses. It is still possible to see where the loose boxes and hay lofts were, and where the coachman and groom lived before the artist converted it to its present use. The old skylights give an excellent light for working, and the long rows of casement windows admit plenty of the necessary north light into the rooms.

Though it is for his plaster-work that this artist is most famed, he also models in clay, sculps in stone, and carves in wood. The walls, and even parts of the ceiling are hung with sketch models and works in preparation. In the



Mr. Burton, a master in the art of handling plaster, clay, stone and wood

main studio, a man is chipping a final finish on a stone statue for Ripon Cathedral, and he explains that a clay model was first sent to the Cathedral to see how it would look in the niche. Certain alterations were made, and then an exact copy was fashioned in stone with the aid of an instrument rather like a great pair of compasses, which marks not only exact surface reproductions, but depths as well. Finally, this figure will be painted and gilded.



Mr. Burton comparing a stone heraldic emblem with the original sketch

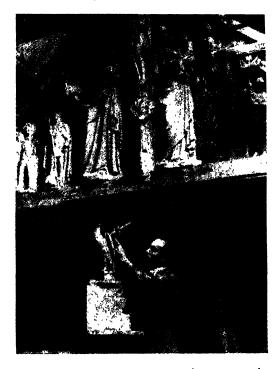
The sculptor picks up samples of stone, explaining that English stone is among the most varied and famous in the world. Here is a specimen of Rutland—it is very hard; and Portland stone, which weathers so well, and, being very acid-resistant, is ideal for city work. Somerset "doulting" stone is ochre, and goes silvery grey outside; and here is Hopton Wood, from Derbyshire, in whose quarries a great variety of different coloured stone is to be found.

But plaster is the artist's favourite medium. There is a panel now hanging on the wall depicting a beautiful fully-rigged ship sailing along on conventional waves with silly little fishes flipping up for air around it. On another wall there is a plaque of a wild boar, accurate in every detail, which somehow manages to convey a reminder that, for an inexplicable reason, all members of the pig family look faintly ridiculous.

The artist probes back into his experience, and reminiscences about his work. There were the sketch models sent out to serve as guides for the builders of State Buildings in Delhi—and a fine job they made of

it. There was an old window at Winchelsea, blocked up to form a strong point at the rebellious time of the Reformation, which the sculptor restored; the memorial to Octavia Hill, Britain's first woman housing expert; and a tombstone high up in the Welsh mountains.

Levely Wells Cathedral contains work by this sculptor, and he has designed a wooden stool for Quebec Cathedral, as well as wooden candlesticks,



Mr. Burton finishing off the model of an eagle gilded and burnished solid, for the royal parish church of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London.

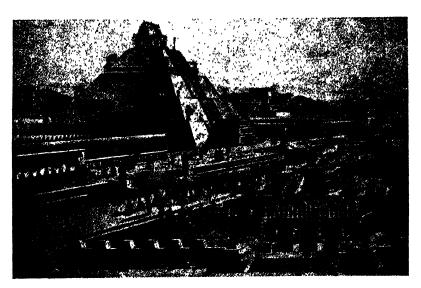
There are so many lovely things to examine and admire: an organ case designed in squares, with a figure connected with the church carved in each panel; a chandelier in bronze and carved wood; a photograph of a plaster ceiling modelled on the spot; and designs for plaster-work in the dining room of a country house famed for its shooting, in which the four seasons are depicted by appropriate animals.

As the visitor picks his way across the light, dusty room, the artist brings him back to the world of today with two observations. The first is almost a miracle, for he points out where the south wall of his studio was scorched red-hot by a fire which somehow was prevented from burning his highly inflammable workshops. The other is a very old wooden chest of drawers which he found lying in the street one day outside some bombed buildings. No one claimed it, and it was about to be burnt on a huge bonfire, when he recognised under a layer of filth a really fine old piece, and undertook to restore and preserve it "for the duration."

THE INCAS OF PERU

By CHAMAN LAL

In this article it is my intention to give a brief sketch of the great Inca civilisation of South America by means of a series of quotations from the best authorities, especially Garcilaso de la Vega (who recorded first-hand the story of the Incas in the sixteenth century), Hyatt Verrill, author of Old Civilisations of the New World, Mrs. Nuttal, the most energetic American woman-scholar and some Peruvian witnesses of Inca glories.



The great temple in Mexico (Photo fr m a reconstruction of a model by Maudsley)

MESSENGER OF CULTURE

"The best authorities agree that the inhabitants of the country, now known as Peru, lived in barbarism until civilisation was introduced amongst them by the Ineas. One tradition designates an island in the Titierea lake, another Tiahuanco, as the place where, 'after the deluge,' a man or deity appeared, divided the land int four parts and distributed these to four brothers.

"Four being the sacred number of the Hindus was strictly adhered to by the Hindu emigrants to foreign countries, and we find the 'order of four' in Greece, Egypt, Syria, Indonesia and America. The centre of the Inca capital, Cuzco (Kush-ko) consisted of a great square whence four roads radiated to the cardinal points. In the centre of this stood a gold vase from which a fountain flowed. The Spaniards also found in Cuzco a large, beautifully-polished stone-cross (Swastika) which evidently symbolized, as in Mexico, the four quarters and must have been appropriately placed in the square. Garcilaso de la Vega states that the capital formed an actual image of the whole empire, 'for it was divided into four

quarters' and an extremely ancient law rendered it obligatory that representatives of each province and of each class of population should reside there in homes, the location of which precisely corresponded to the geographical position of their respective provinces. Each lineage was thus represented and occupied separate dwellings, assigned to them by the governors of the quarters. All persons were obliged to adhere to the customs of their forefathers and also

wear the costumes of their ayllus or tribes (Cieza de Leon, Cronica, Chap. XCIII). For the Incas had decreed that the dresses worn by the members of each tribe should be different, so that the people might be distinguished from each other as, down to that time, there had been no means of 'knowing to what locality or tribe an Indian belonged. In order to avoid confusion, the modes of wearing the hair were rigidly prescribed, and the bands worn on the head by the vassals had to be black or of a single color only. The higher in rank a person the more his costume resembled the Inca, without, that of however, approaching it in length and richness. 'Thus,

even in an assemblage of 100,000 persons it was easy to recognise individuals of each tribe and of each rank by the signs they were on their heads.'

"It was obligatory that each should permanently live in the province he belonged to. Each province, each tribe and in many parts each village, had its own language which was different from that of its neighbours. Those who understood each other by speaking the same language considered themselves as related to each other and were friends and confederates....."—(Mrs. Nuttal).

INCAS' PRIVATE LANGUAGE

The Incas employed a private language of their own,* which none but members of the royal lineage presumed or dared to learn.

Gurcilaso de la Vega, who claimed royal descent, stated that unfortunately no records remained to enable one to form an idea of what the Inca language was like.

. UNIQUE CASTE SYSTEM The autocratic, though questionable way, in which

* Must be the language of their mother-country-Sanskrit.

the novel scheme of government was imposed upon the inhabitants of Peru by the foreign chicftains is best proved by the following passages from the Rites and Laws of the Incas (page 77) and Garcilaso de la Vega (pp. 9 and 10).

"With a view that each tribe should be clearly distinguishable and after assigning a different costume to each, they were ordered to choose their respective pacariseas, a word meaning, literally, their birth and origin. They were told to choose for themselves whence they were descended and whence they came, and as the Indians were generally very dull and stupid, some chose to assign their origin to a lake,



Thousand-columned temple in Yucatan, It corresponds with the famous sahashra-stambha temple of Madura

others to a spring, others to a rock, others to a hill or ravine. But every lineage chose some object for its pacarisca. Some tribes (subsequently) adored engles because they possted to have descended from themothers adored fountains, rivers, the earth, which they call Mother, or air, fire.....snow-mountains, maize, the sea named mother-sea."

According to Garcilaso de la Vega:

"The Peruvian tribes subsequently invente, an infinity of fables concerning the origin of their different ancestors....An Indian does not consider himself honorable unless he can trace his descent from a river, fountain, lake or the sea, or from some wild beast like the bear, puma, occlot, eagle, etc."

A 3,000-MILE EMPIRE

"When the Spaniards arrived on the west coast of South America, they found the country from Ecuador to Chile inhabited by vast numbers of highly cultured and civilized people under a king or emperor known as the Inca. At that time the ruling Incs, Atahualpa, had recently been victorious in a civil war and had taken his brother, Huascar, prisoner. According to the Incan tradition, there had been up to that

time thirteen Incas reigning over the empire, the first Inca and the founder of the empire having been Manco-Kapac, who with his sister-wife, Mama-Ocllo, appeared on the scene from Lake Titicaca and declared themselves the Children of the Sun. At the spot now known as Cuzco (Kush-ko),† they established their capital and laid the foundations for a vast confederation that eventually extended for more than three thousand miles north and scuth and from the pacific coast to beyond the Andes, an area of more than twelve hundred thousand square miles, containing upward of twenty million people,—the largest area and the largest population under one govern-

ment existing in the New World prior to the Spanish conquest.

"Whatever may be the truth regarding Incan history, whether the empire had been in existence for six hundred or six thousand years prior to the European invasion, there can be no question regarding the heights it had reached. Fortunately for us, the Incan Empire was still flourishing at the time, and innumerable accounts of the people, their customs, life, government, religion and other matters were written by Spanish priests and others who recorded their personal observations, and whose invaluable works are still in existence."-Hayatt Verrill, Old Civilisations of the New World.

INCAS -- FATHERS OF COMMUNISM

"To students of sociology they are of the utmost interest, for nowhere else in all the known history of the entire world, has there been such a complete and successful communistic society. Individuality and freedom of thought, life and action were all subservient to the community. From birth to death, the lives, actions, tasks, social status, homes, marriages of the people, and even the destinies of the offspring, were planned, regulated, ordered and carried out according to inexorable laws. Every individual, other than those of royal blood or the priesthood, was a mere cog in the mighty wheel of the empire, and every individual was a numbered, tagged unit of the whole. At birth a man's or a woman's place in the scheme of things was ordained. At five years of age every child, male or female, was taken over by the government and reared and trained for the occupation, the position or the task to which his or her entire future life was to be devoted. A man was forced to marry when he reached the age of twenty-four and eighteen years was

[†] It may have been named after Kush, son of Emperor Rama, like many other places in different parts of the world,—C. L.

the age limit for spinsters. Once married, neither husband nor wife had any say as to the future of their children."—Hyatt Verrill, Old Civilisations of the New World.

NEW WORLD'S RICHEST TEMPLE

The Incas had the richest temple of the New World at Kushko (Cuzco). The temple was converted into a church.

"Architecturally this Temple of the Sun is one of the most remarkable buildings in the entire world. It is built of immense blocks of amazingly fitted stone, no two of which are exactly alike in size or shape, but which are so accurately designed and cut that the circular interior with its radii is mathematically and geometrically perfect. No engineer of our times, equipped with the most delicate of instruments and the most modern appliances and mathematical tables could excel the work of the long-vanished designers and artisans who constructed this remarkable temple.

"In the days when the Incas held sway, the temple presented a sight which would have made Aladdin's cave look tawdry by comparison. The walls, outside and inside, were completely covered with plates of burnished gold. The gardens were filled with trees, shrubs and plants of silver and gold. Among the leaves and branches of precious metals were birds, animals and insects of gold and silver, and even the fountains, the tools and the implements of the gardener's trade were of the same metals. But dazzling and marvellous as was this amazing garden, the interior of the temple was a thousand times more wonderful. Upon one wall, above where the Christian altar now stands, was an immense sun of massive gold studded with jewels which flashed and scintillated in the sunlight until the eyes of the marvelling Dons were blinded by their brilliance. Opposite this glorious sun was a huge representation of the moon wrought of polished silver, while about these two chief luminaries were the stars of silver and gold, with an arching rainbow of gold tinted in some remarkable manner to imitate the natural prismatic colors.

"Beneath the wondrous image of the sun were seated the mummies of the Incan emperors wrapped in their robes and mantles of tapestry and feathers, their false heads adorned with golden crowns, golden masks representing their features, gold and jewelled ornaments upon their breasts, and with ornate staffs and symbols of office before them. And opposite them beneath the silver moon were the mummies of their queens and princesses, attired in all their most prized robes and richest jewels together with twelve life-sized solid gold statues of the dead Incas. Golden and silver images of deities and mythological beings were on every side. Priceless ceremonial and religious symbols, utensils, vessels and ornaments filled the immense room. Marvellous draperies and textiles covered floor and walls and gorgeously attired priests offered up prayers and sacrifices to the sun-god.

"Even the hardened Spanish campaigners (why not robbers and murderers), satiated with wonder, glutted with treasure, stood gazing with incredulous awe when they first entered this Temple of the Sun. For a space they could not believe their eyes. Before them were greater riches, more gold than they had ever imagined in their wildest dreams. But they were there to rob and despoil, not to admire. Ruthlessly the precious symbols were torn from their places; the regal mummies were thrown down, hacked to pieces



The Astec Calendar (Monolith). The Sun is in the centre

and their regalia and ornaments torn off. Holy vessels were battered and smashed. Priceless tapestries.were wantonly ripped to bits and destroyed. Magnificent rugs and textiles, such as the world had never seen, were cut and hacked to pieces with swords and daggers, and were used as wrappings in which to bundle up the golden loot. Struggling, fighting among themselves, each striving to gain the lion's share of treasure, the mail-clad soldiers trampled jewels and images, battered and hammered gold utensils into shapeless forms to be more easily carried, and stripped the temple and its marvellous garden of every vestige of precious metal and precious stones. Heedless of the beauty, the art, the incalculable value of their loot, the contents of the temple, the golden plates which had covered its walls, the amazingly wrought trees, birds and other objects in the gardens, were cast into

the melting pot and transformed to bullion. Of that vast treasure of the Temple of the Sun, all that remains intact today are a few bent and battered plates of thin gold that once formed part of the covering of the outer wall, and which were dropped, trodden into the earth and overlooked by Pizarro's men.

"Throughout the immeasurably ancient capital of the Inoas, and everywhere throughout the empire, it was the same story. Every object of intrinsic value was seized by the Dons. Everything that hinted of paganism and that could be destroyed was destroyed by the priests. Countless palaces, temples and other buildings were torn to pieces to provide material for erecting Spanish churches, the cathedral and other structures."—Hyatt Verrill, Old Civilisations of the New World.

BELIEVED IN FOUR YUGAS

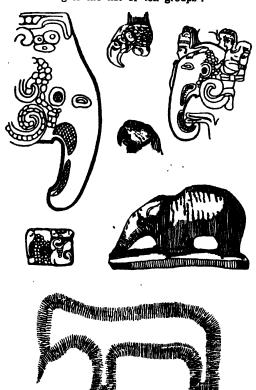
"The Incas had a perfect calendar similar in many respects to those of the Mayas and Astecs (who believed in four Hindu Yugas—epochs). The Incan year consisted of twelve quillas of thirty days each, with five days added at the end of each year. As the quillas were computed from the moon's rotation, instead of from the sun's and as the monthly moon rotation is completed in three hundred and fifty-four days eight hours and forty-eight minutes, the Incan months or quillas of thirty days, plus the additional five days, brought their year very close to the solar year, and to make it exactly coincide an extra day was added every fourth year, precisely like our system of leap-years."

INCA ASTRONOMY

"As far as is known, the astronomical instruments and devices of the Incas and pre-Incas were of the simplest character. By means of a sun-dial-like arrangement, or Intihuatana, consisting of a cone surmounting a large rock on which were cut marks dated as the sun festivals, the sun's course, the hours and all important dates were determined by the position of the shadow cast by the cone-shaped gnomon. For determining the solstices, the equinoxes and many other dates, stone columns were used. These were arranged in four groups of two each and were known as the Panchacia unanchac. (Note the resemblance with panchanga-Sanskrit for calendar). They were set perpendicularly upon high hills, two being placed toward the east and two to the west. By marking the extreme variations of sunrise and sunset, the declination of the sun could be measured, and the solstices determined whenever the sun passed beyond the central pair of columns. Probably the pre-Incas and Incas possessed various other means of obtaining astronomical data; the instruments and devices of which we know nothing, and which may have been utterly destroyed by the Spanish priests, who regarded them as devices of the devil, or which may have been lost during the centuries that have passed."-Hyatt Vergill.

TEN AGE DIVISIONS

"Besides the scientific caste system (call it guild system), the lncas had divided the people into ten groups by age in order to have a complete record of the nation's manpower, industrial wealth and the number of old and disabled people to be looked after. Following is the list of ten groups:



Indian clephant symbols in Mexican temples

1. Mosoc-aparic: baby, "newly begun," (just born);
2. Saya-huarma: child, "standing boy," (age 2-6);
3. Macta-puric: "child that can walk," (age 6-8);
4. Itanta-requisic: "bread receiver," (boy about 8);
5. Puellac-huarma: "playing boy," (age 8-16); 6. Cuca-pallac: "Coca pickers," (age 16-20); 7. Ymahuayna: "as a youth," light service, (age 20-25);
8. Puric: "able-bodied," tribute and service, (age 25-50); 9. Chaupi-rucca: "clderly," light service, (age (50-60); 10. Punuc-rucca: "dotage," no work, (60 upwards).—Mrs. Nuttal gives the above valuable information.

IMMENSE MONUMENTS

The Surya-Vanshis were great builders of temples, palaces, roads, rest-houses, etc., whether in India, Rome or Peru. "In several places in Peru, and even in Bolivia, there are immense monuments and images formed of a stone which, as far as is known, does not occur within hundreds of miles of their present sites, the nearest deposits of the rock being in Ecuador, fully fifteen hundred miles distant. One such monolith is

Sayunin or La Piedra Cansada near Ollantry. This immense stone, known also as El Monolito Abandonado (the Abandoned Monolith) measures nearly seventeen feet in length, ten feet in width and three feet in thickness. It is of a peculiar rock identical with the formation about Chimboraso in Ecuador, and which, it is claimed does not exist anywhere in the vicinity of Ollantay. According to the Indians and to Incan tradition, the Sayunin was quarried at Quito, and the monolith saddened at being carried so far from home, wept blood, which still adheres to it (it is marked with a red



Sculpture in Mexico

piroxene oxidisation) and at last exclaimed: 'Saycunint I am weary!' At this manifestation of its supernatural character, the cacique, Urcon, dropped dead, and the stone was left, abandoned by the terrified Indians, at the spot where it still rests about a mile north of Ollantay.

"Of course, this is a purely fanciful and allegorical myth invented by the Indians or their snoestors of Incan days to account for the immense stone with its blood-like stains lying by the roadside. As a matter of fact, there are several similar monoliths of the same material which also were abandoned in the vicinity: But there is no denying that they are of a stone unknown even to the Indians of the district, but identical with formations in Ecuador. Possibly the pre-Incas who cut these stones knew of a nearby quarry which has not yet been rediscovered, or perhaps they exhausted the supply of that particular mineral. But there may be a basis of truth in the ancient legend, and it would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that these immense monoliths actually were cut in distant Ecuador and dragged overland to Peru. It would have been a herculean task, it is true, a task that would have required many years to accomplish, and yet it would have been no more difficult, no more astonishing than many of the feats which we know these ancient Peruvians actually accomplished."

MARVELLOUS ROADS

"Among these was the construction of the marvellous Incan road, a splendid highway stretching from Quito, Ecuador, to southern Chile, a distance of over three thousand miles in a direct line. No race, not even the Romans, ever equalled this feat of pre-historic road-building. The highest ranges of the mighty Andes, the deepest, most impassable canyon, the most fearful precipices, the widest deserts, the snow-capped peaks and the foaming torrents were treated as though nonexistent. Vast abysses were spanned by suspension bridges, their immense cables of fibre and hair ropes fastened in holes cut through solid rock. Gorges were filled with masonry to form immense causeways. Mountains and cliffs were pierced by tunnels which are still in use. The loftiest ranges were surmounted by the most perfectly computed gradients and hair-pin curves, and throughout much of its length the roadway was paved and surfaced with asphalt, and to this day some portions of it are still used as a motor highway. At intervals side roads branched off to east and west as far as the Amasonian jungle and the . seacoast. Here a second 'King's Highway' ran north and south along the seashore."

REST HOUSES EVERYWHERE

"At regular distances of about twenty miles spart were rest-houses or stations for messengers, while every forty miles there were 'Imperial Inns.' These served as store-houses for food, supplies and equipment for the army or for relief of villages in case of famine; as eating-places for the army when on the march; and as stopping-places for the Inca when travelling. There were also a series of sentry stations, watch-towers and forts, as well as a system of signal fires or lights by means of which the men on watch could transmit messages from one terminus of the road to the other in an incredibly short time. At the time of the revolt of the Caras at Quito, word was sent by means of these signals, and news of the uprising was received at Cusco four hours after the rebellion broke out. One of the duties of the watchers at these beacons was to signal an eclipse of the moon. The Incas believed that during eclipses the moon was suffering the agonies of childbirth and, as soon as the signal of an approaching eclipse was sent out, everybody beat drums and shouted prayers and supplications to aid the planet in her trouble." (A Hindu custom, no doubt).

TRANSPORT SERVICE WAS UNIQUE

"Throughout the entire length of the road, there were mile-posts showing the distance to the next rest-house, and transportation over the road was as rapid as over the railways to-day. Fresh fish caught on the coast reached Cusco within thirty hours—six hours sooner than by way of the Mollendo-Cusco Railway (Southern Railroad of Peru). From Lake Urubamba, fish caught in the morning reached the Incan capital the same afternoon, and the fruits and vegetables of the coastal districts reached Cusco within fifteen hours."

Wonderful Textiles

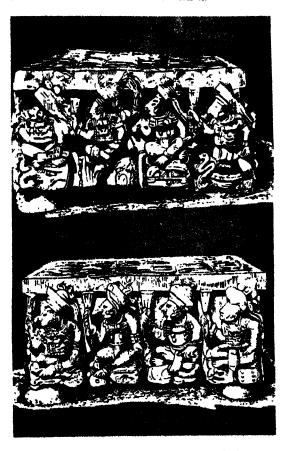
"Their textiles were wonderful, although the true lncan textiles never equalled or approached those of the pre-Incas. Many of these are more finely woven than would be possible on any machine loom to-day, and examples are known in which there are three hundred threads to the inch. The types and weaves of these textiles are practically numberless. They vary all the way from the heaviest, coarsest blankets, rugs and ponchos to the finest, most delicate fabrics as thin and soft as silk. Many, were of the tapestry class, others were tied or knotted, and others were direct wrap-and-woof weaving. The dyes used have never been equalled, and to-day after having been buried for centuries in the desert sand and in stone tombs, the colors on these remarkable-fabrics are as sure, clear and bright as on the day they were first woven."-Hyatt Verrill.

HOW INCA EMPIRE VANISHED?

The story of the tragic end of this glorious culture is told by Prescott on the authority of the Spanish historians of the 16th century. He describes the treachery of the Spanish embassy (invaders) to the Inca ruler in the following moving words:

"The treatment of Atahualipa (Inca Emperor) from first to last forms undoubtedly one of the darkest chapters in Spanish colonial history. There may have been massacres perpetrated on a more extended scale and executions accompanied with a greater refinement of cruelty. But the blood-stained annals of conquest afford no such example of cold-hearted and externatic persecution, not of the enemy, but of one whose whole deportment had been that it is friend and a benefactor. From the hour that Pilance and his faillowers had entered the kingdom, the hand of friendship had been extended to them by the hand of friendship had been extended to them by

was to kidnap the Emperor and massacre his people. The seizure of his person might be vindicated by those who considered the end as justifying the means, on the ground that it was indispensable to secure the triumphs of the Cross. But no such apology can be urged for the massacre of the unarmed and helpless population—as wanton as it was wicked.



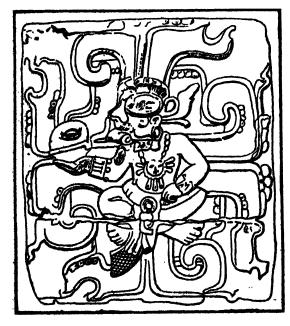
Turbans and ear-rings of Mexican gods in a palace at Palenque (South Indian imprints in Mexico)

"The long confinement of the Inca had been used by the conquerors to wring from him treasures with the hard grip of avarice. During the whole of this dismal period, he had conducted himself with singular generosity and good faith. He had opened a free passage to the Spaniards through every part of his Empire; and had furnished every facility for the execution of their plans. When these were accomplished, notwithstanding their promise to release him, he was arraigned before a mock tribunal, and under pretences equally false and frivolous was condemned to an excruciating death." Prescott.

That lack of diplomacy and too much faith in truth led to the utter ruin of the mighty Empire of the Incas will be evident to the reader after going through the detailed account of the treachery played

by the Spanish gang who visited the Emperor as guests.

While the simple-hearted host offered the best hospitality to the invaders, they planned his capture and the trap was well laid in his own palace, where he had agreed to give them audience. The chief of the bandits saw that arms were in order, says Prescott, and that the breast-plates of their horses were garnished with bells, to add by their noise to the consternation of the Indians.



Ganesha in America

Prescott says: "These arrangements being completed, mass was performed with great solemnity invoking His help to spread His shield over the soldiers who were fighting to extend the Empire of the Cross." They posed like a company of martyrs, about to lay down their lives in the defence of their faith; but instead, they were a licentious band of adventurers, meditating one of the most atrocious, acts of perfidy in history!

"At noon the Emperor marched in a huge procession with oriental splendour. Numerous people just sweeping every particle of rubbish led the procession. Within a mile of the city the Emperor wanted to have his camp, but Pizzro, determined on his murderous intention said he was waiting to dine with him and that he must come to the palace the same evening. The Emperor agreed and advised his general to leave the army behind and enter the palace with only a few of them and without arms (non-violence and etiquette). The Spaniards were overloyed to hear that he would spend the night with them. The Emperor reached the square which was bigger than any in Spain. The attendant nobles were leaded with

gold and silver ornaments; the Emperor was carried on a sedan, a solid throne of gold of inestimable value.

"Not a Spaniard was to be seen and still the Emperor did not suspect any trap and he surprisingly asked his people, "Where are the strangers?" Then came Valverde, a Spanish missionary. The missionary told the imprisoned Emperor to accept Christianty and become tributary of the Emperor of Spain, who had been commissioned by the Pope to conquer and convert the natives of the western hemisphere. The eyes of the Indian monarch flashed fire, and his dark brow grew darker as he replied: "I will be no man's tributary! I am greater than any prince on earth. Your Emperor may be a great prince; I do not doubt it. when I see that he has sent his subjects so far across the waters; and I am willing to hold him as a brother. As for the Pope of whom you speak, he must be crasy to talk of giving away countries which do not belong to him. For my faith I will not change it. Your own God, as you say, was put to death by the very men whom he created. But mine," he concluded, pointing to his deity-then alas! sinking in glory behind the mountains—"my God still lives in the Heavens, and takes care of His children."

"He then demanded of the priest by what authority he had said these things. The friar pointed to the book (Bible). The Emperor taking it turned over the pages a moment, then recalled the insult, he threw the Bible down and demanded an explanation for the misdeeds of Spaniards committed on his people during their journey from the coast.

"The Emperor was then arrested by his Spanish guests and his people murdered and then robbed. And soon the Emperor discovered that the Spaniards were not messengers of Christ, but they had a lurking appetite for gold. As we hear in proverbial Hindu stories, the Emperor offered his captors that if it was gold that they were after, he could undertake to fill up gold in a hall (17 × 20 ft.) and then they could take. it home and release him. The Emperor actually carried out his promise but the Spaniards cheated him again and executed him in a ruthless manner."

INCA TREASURES

A Spanish writer of the 16th century writing of the Inca treasures said:

"It is a well-authenticated report that there is a secret hall in the fortress of Cuzco, where an immense treasure is concealed, consisting of statues of all the Incas, wrought in gold. A lady is still living, Bona Maria de Esquivel, the wife of the last Inca, (perhaps a relation of the Inca who served as Spain's puppet) who has visited this hall, and I have heard her relate the way in which she was carried to see it.

"Don Carlos, the lady's husband, did not maintain a style of living becoming his high rank. Maris sometimes reproached bim, declaring that the had been descrived into marrying a poor Indian under the holds."

title of the Lord or Inca. She said this so frequently that Don Carlos one night exclaimed, 'Lady' do you wish to know whether I am rich or poor? You shall see that no Lord or King in the world has a larger treasure than I have.' Then covering her eyes with a handkerchief, he made her turn round two or three times, and taking her by the hand, led her a short distance before he removed the bandage. On opening her eyes what was her amazement! She had gone not more than two hundred paces, and descended a short flight of steps, and she now found herself in a large quandrangular hall, where, ranged on benches round the walls, she beheld the statues of the dead Incas, each of the size of a boy of twelve years old, all of massive gold! She saw also many vessels of gold and silver. 'In fact,' she said, 'it was one of the most magnificent treasures in the whole world." (The anonymous author of Antig. Y. Monumentos del Peru MS.)

Spain's Cultural Mission.—Let those who still believe in non-violence at all times read the gruesome tale of Spain's cultural mission in South America.

"The Kingdom had experienced a revolution of the most decisive kind. Its ancient institutions were sub-

verted. Its heaven-descended aristocracy was levelled almost to the condition of the peasants. The people became the seris of the conquerors. Their dwellings in the capital were seized and appropriated. The temples were turned into stables; the royal palaces into barracks for the troops. The sanctity of religious houses was violated, and thousands of matrons and maidens, who lived in chaste seclusion in the conventual establishments, were now turned abroad and became the prey of a licentious soldiery. A fabourite wife of the young Inca was debauched by Spanish officers."—Prescott, p. 298.

It is painful to note that excesses like those described above were perpetrated in the name of Christianity! But when religion prostitutes itself for proselytisation nothing better can be expected. Time has its revenges. Was it not the hand of fate which ordered that these same Spaniards, after full four centuries, should see themselves humiliated at the hands of the Moore!

Some of the illustrations refer to the author's previous article, "Aryan Rulers of America," published in The Modern Review for June, 1948.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

By ASOKE KUMAR MAJUMDAR

On 1st of April, the 'All Fools Day,' the Statesmon of Calcutta came out with an editorial on "Archaeology since Partition." The title was a bit misleading, for in fact it had little to say about Archaeology in India (except what was totally wrong) but a great deal about its present Director-General, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler. This fulsome eulogy of an otherwise obscure ex-Brigadier came at a very opportune moment, that is just when his term of office was practically over with his re-appointment under consideration. May be that was the reason for his being lauded sky high, and an otherwise sane editor had the temerity to declare: "Archaeological Survey of India especially under the energetic management of Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler regained and surpassed its former prestige." That a British editor writing in an Anglo-Indian Daily should ignore the works of Mr. R. D. Banerice. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Mr. K. N. Dikasit, Mr. Dayaram Sahni and others, is not to be wondered at. But why did he throw into the limbe of oblivion Cunningham, Vogel and Marshall?

In view of the mis-statements contained in the ever supported his appointment in the Assembly on Statement, some discussion of the present working of the specious plea that he knew about the methods the Department of Archimology seemed to be necessary. By I make a letter to the Editor of the to train the officers, so that when he would leave 4 the largest mature of the years later there would be no dearth of suitable

editorial. To this I received a prompt reply that owing to want of space my letter could not be published. Anybody who has been reading the letters to the editor of that paper since then, will understand what this reply really meant.

In 1938 the Government of India appointed Sir Leonard Woolley to investigate into the workings of the Department and suggest reforms. The Woolley Report revealed the scandalous manner in which the department had worked during the 'twenties and thirties.' The department was found altogether lacking in trained personnel for the necessary works, and pathetic instances of utter inefficiency, with which the work was being carried, were cited.

Apparently, the most important and probably the only result of the costly report was that Brigadier Wheeler was brought practically straight from the battle-front and became the Director-General of Archaeology in 1944. It was pointed out at the time, that he was a fresh man, and had no knowledge of Indian history or archaeology. The Government however supported his appointment in the Assembly on the specious plea that he know about the methods of suchaeological works and his many work would be to them the officers, so that when he would leave a reasy later, there would he me described supportant of suitables.

officers to supervise the branches of the Department. Dr. Wheeler also declared that, if after he retired India was forced to go outside for selecting his successor, he would have failed in one of his main tasks.

However, in May 1947 in a plan for the future development of official archaeology in India, Dr. Wheeler wrote: "It is not to be wondered therefore that the amount of research produced by the average officer of the Survey during a long career spent with some of the most important archaeological materials in the world is generally negligible. Instead, the prospect is too frequently one of combined ignorance and inertia." Again in the same report: "Without such further training, combined with systematic reading at home, it is useless to send them abroad, where they will serve as ambassadors of ignorance and will give a totally false impression of the true capacity of their countrymen."

his Apart from the propriety of describing colleagues, some of them eminent Indologists, graphists or numismatists, in the language he has thought fit to use, it should be noted that in spite of his being imported to train our officers, Dr. Wheeler admits that so far as training goes he has been a total failure. As he was never taking any steps to train even a single officer, the Advisory Board of Archaeology recommended that suitable officers should be sent abroad for regular training so that they might be put in charge of the Department as a whole or hold other responsible posts in its various branches. The necessity of such training was admitted by the Director-General and the proposal was unanimously accepted. But still, although his term of appointment is practically over, no practical steps have been taken.

Of course, the Director-General had opened certain classes for training students in the methods of archaeology, but the public is still unaware of the mode of teaching adopted in the different centres opened for the purpose and also the extent to which the plan has been successful. It is rumoured that, in most of these training centres the Director-General himself took but little part in the training which was mostly imparted by very junior officers. Although several attempts have been made to get details of the training, no detailed report has yet been submitted to the Advisory Board of Archaeology.

Thus, not only the Director-General has done any good but has been responsible for many evits. He started with the idea that the main work of his department is the preservation of antiquities and not its interpretation. As a matter of fact, he has discouraged all manner of research work and during the last few years that he has been at the helm of affairs, the officers of the department have given little evidence of critical study of epigraphic or numismatic material or other sources for reconstructing the history of India. Their efforts have been strictly limited to writing reports on the excavations undertaken by them.

Dr. Wheeler was very eloquent about the necessity of sending cultural missions abroad. One such mission was sent to Iran which consisted of Dr. Wheeler himself, his wife and his senior Muslim colleague. The report of this mission which visited Persia in November 1945 has not been made public. It is widely rumoured that the mission was more political than cultural and that the report contained a series of diatribes against the Russians and that major part of it was filled with observations about the military movements of the Russians on the frontier. Being a soldier, Dr. Wheeler was eminently suitable for this sort of work which probably the Russians in their characteristically blunt way would describe as espionage. Anyway the Russians refused this mission permission to visit the places under their occupation and turned it out. Next year the Director-General again accompanied with his wife, took Sir Norman Edgeley, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and the Curator of the Peshawar Museum on another of his peripatetic mission of Afghanistan. It is to be observed that in none of these missions was an Indian scholar of repute selected to accompany him and it may well be imagined that the result of such missions could not be of any benefit to India or to the countries which they visited.

Another plan of this ex-Brigadier was to establish a Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology. Curiously the Committee that was appointed to draw up a plan of the Museum consisted entirely of Government officials and with the exception of the Secretary, Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, there was not a single person on that body who had any knowledge of Ancient Indian History or Archaeology. The Chairman of this Committee was Sir Maurice Gwyer. The Committee recommended the appointment of a Director on a very high salary, Rs. 1750-100-2250 and the qualifications were laid down in such a way that a person without any knowledge of Ancient History or Archaeology, such as Dr. Wheeler, could be appointed to the post. In fact, it was generally believed at the time that Dr. Wheeler was applicus to secure the post for himself. But unfortunately for him, the All-India Oriental Conference passed a resolution that the Director of the proposed Museum should be a scholar conversant with ancient Indian History and Archaeology and that preferably he should be an Indian. As a result of some amount of agitation from outside, the recommendations of Gwyer Committee were not given effect to and the proposals have been put before the Archaeological Advisory Board.

Dr. Wheeler has done another mischief by creating communal feelings of a new type. He not only in season and out of season brings prominently to notice the difference between Hindus and Muslims but also between North India and South India, and in several places he has taken credit that it was he who has done justice to the South Indians.

Quite a large number of officers have been as

pointed during the regime of the present Director-General and most of these appointments have been far from satisfactory. As he is himself ignorant of Indian History and Archaeology, the recruitment has proceeded on the basis that such a knowledge is a disqualification. Again and again the Advisory Board of Archaeology emphasised the need for making these appointments through a special expert committee and though these recommendations were placed before the Government of India, nothing has been done so far. Once a brother of Mr. Casey, the ex-Governor, was appointed by Dr. Wheeler at very high salary to do some trivial work. Another very important appointment is held in the Department by a man whose ignorance, it is said, does not stop at Indian History but to all subjects taught at any University. This, I was told, was the reason why I could not find out the last mentioned gentleman's qualifications in spite of some searching enquiries. As this and most of similar appointments are permanent, the Director-General will indeed leave a very poor legacy to his successor.

In the Draft Constitution the preservation, protection and maintenance of monuments and places of national importance forms one of the forty 'directive principles of state policy.' Hence the Archaeological Department is bound to have greater prestige and importance in future as custodian of the rich national heritage of our past. We look forward to it to supply materials for the reconstruction of our ancient history and civilisation. As such, its progress and welfare should be a matter of great concern to those who wish well of the country. Unfortunately, the Indian public being too much absorbed in politics, have not devoted in the past that amount of care and attention to this Department which it deserves. At the present moment things have come to such a pass that permanent injury of a great character is likely to be inflicted upon the Department, unless prompt steps are taken to completely reform the department. I hope this article has given enough indication as to the reform which is most necessary and urgent.

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WINDSOR CASTLE

BY OWEN MORSHEAD, c.v.o., D.S.O., M.C.

Lonpon's river, the Thames, touches history at many points in its wanderings, but one of the most interesting must surely be the precipitous escarpment on which stands one of England's Royal Castles—Windsor. Rising steeply from the gentle embrace of the river, this site was chosen for the castle as long ago as the eleventh century, by the Norman King William I. Today it is still used as one of the homes of King George VI and Queen Elisabeth.

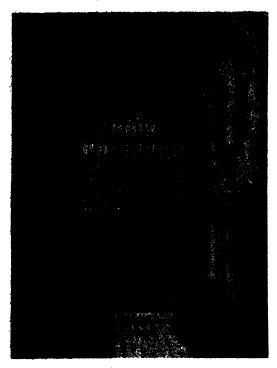
There is one date in English history which every child knows; it is "William the Conqueror 1066"-the last time that England was conquered. This William of Normandy, on first arriving in the country, at once looked to the defence of his capital, which had grown up on its present site, the point nearest to the sea at which the Thames could be bridged. He built the famous Tower of London to defend the approach up the river Thames from the sea and at a radius of about twenty-five miles (forty kilometres) he further erected a circle of strongholds, of which Windsor Castle was the most imposing. Not that even this was the first association of Windsor with the monarchy, for the Saxon kings had before him chosen it for their retreat on account of the hunting facilities afforded by the royal park and forest, which at that time was vastly more extensive than it is today.

The Palace of the Saxon kings had been situated in the low-bring area of the forest, conveniently near

the river Thames up which they would travel from London, and not far from Runnymede—that great riverside meadow where King John in 1215 granted the Magna Carta upon which Britain's social liberties still rest today. Some two and a half miles (five kilometres) away, however, the river has scooped out for itself a channel at the foot of an abrupt escarpment; and William the Conqueror, observing the strategic possibilities of this formation, moved the royal residence to its summit, and laid out the Castle very much as it is now. Its walls are extremely ancient; so are the various buildings which they contain, although naturally these have undergone alteration as the centuries passed and the standard of domestic comfort rose. The most extensive changes were those made by King Edward the Third in 1360, King Charles the Second in 1670, and George the Fourth in 1825. Such adaptations are to be expected in a building of such unusual autiquity.

Covering some fourteen acres (five and a half hectures) in all, the Castle lies along the top of the cliff, in form resembling an elongated hour-glass, or figure of eight. Where its two main courtyards join, at the waist of the figure, there rises the lofty and noble. Member Keep, on a green mound, constructed in 1984. This bars the approach to the royal apartments; restricting the entry to a single archway defended by massive walls and a portcullised gateway.

Up in the Keep, where formerly the Governor and the garrison had their quarters, are now housed the Royal Archives. From the summit, at the top of an immense flagstaff, flies the royal standard. From the battlements, to which the public are admitted, the eye travels far over undulating woodlands in every direction, returning to dwell upon the silvery Thames which divides the Castle grounds from the historic buildings and playing fields of Eton College in the yalley below.



The interior view of St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle

The Castle is approached from the South by a straight avenue three miles (five kilometres) in length flanked on both sides by double rows of tall elm trees; this avenue, the most spectacular in the country, was planted in 1684 by King Charles the Second. One of the quadrangles of the Castle is appropriated to the accommodation of the Sovereign, and on gala occa-

sions, when it is filled to capacity with Their Majesties' guests and the royal household, some 250 beds are occupied. This figure comprises only what may be called the migratory population of the Castle; in addition there are fifty separate families occupying independent houses within the precincts all the year round, whether or not Their Majesties are in residence. When to these is added a small army of workmen of all kinds of trades, whose professional life is passed within the Castle although they inhabit houses in the town, it will be seen that this ancient assemblage of buildings embraces a social community of considerable size.

Enclosed within one of the two courtyards is the equivalent of a complete cathedral establishment, clustering round the illustrious St. George's Chapel. Grouped about its quiet cloisters are the residences of the Dean and canons, the choirmen and the sacristans. This chapel, dedicated to St. George, the patron Saint of England, is one of the most beautiful ecclesiastical buildings in the country. Built just before 1500, its wide span is vaulted with a solid stone roof of matchless grace and loveliness; and the fretted canopies to the carved choir-stalls are surmounted by the banners of the Knights of the Garter. For this is the central shrine of that ancient and honourable Order; and here are to be seen some 800 heraldic stall-plates, executed in coloured enamels, which reach back in continuous sequence to 1348, the year in which the Order was founded.

Windsor Castle has long ceased to be a fortress, being now and for the past four hundred years one of the official residences of the King. It is so large that the Sovereign now-a-days prefers to inhabit a smaller house in the Great Park, as affording that occasional privacy which even a monarch needs. Nevertheless for several weeks in the year the Royal Family still reside within its august walls, notably in pease time for the famous race meeting at Ascot, when its courts are filled with a gay concourse and all its storied past comes to life once more in the glitter and gaiety of the present. Embosomed in trees upon its proud eminence, today, the Castle sleeps, to reawaken in happier days and resume the unbroken tradition of close upon nine hundred years.

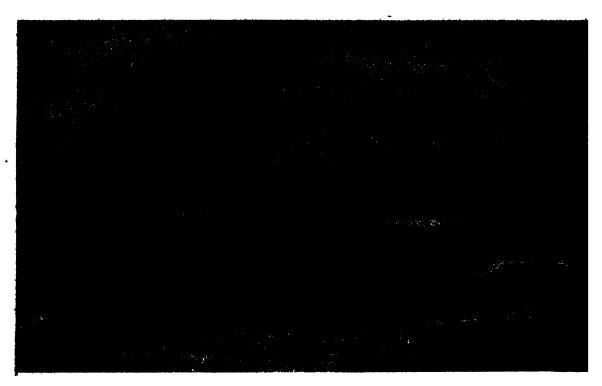




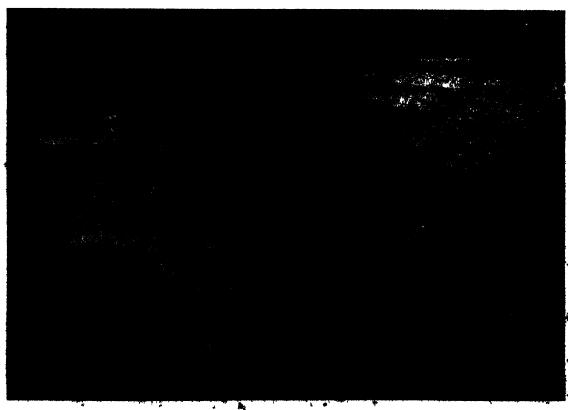
Windsor Castle



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The harbour of Harin, Palestine, terminus of the papeline which brings oil from the Mosul wells. It is now a Jewish naval base, the Arabs, outend to at



Alexandria, the whier port and city of Egypt in the Mediteriances Sea, which is one of the minters have not the Araba against the Jown of Palestine

LEADERS, GENIUSES AND THE HOME

By CYRIL MODAK

A frame country stands in need of the right leader and the best genius. Some feel that leaders like geniuses are born and not made. Others hold that a leader is made and so is a genius. Many believe that money not only makes the mare go, but also raises a man to the punnacle of leadership and makes the world recognize another man as a genius. But few indeed realize that the home plays a great and significant part in the making of leaders and geniuses. Probably the home is eclipsed behind a gray cloud of commonplace everydayness, while leadership and genius are fringed with the aura of glamour. That is why leadership and genius are not often associated together in most minds.

There is an enticing romance about being a leader or a genius. But a strenuous discipline is also involved and this discipline ought to start in the home. How many are willing to submit cheerfully to this discipline? Undisciplined leaders are either climbers, unscrupulously using other people to rise higher, or proxies wanting the kudos but not the labour; whereas disciplined leaders are men and women who have trained themselves for the eminently complex task of inspiring, toiling, suffering and leading their group through every valley of disappointment, every forest of prejudice, up the steep path of progress.

Undisciplined geniuses are like a leaking vessel put to sea, doomed to shipwreck; whereas disciplined geniuses are men and women who have educated themselves to express truth and beauty through the medium of their choice to refine, ennoble and inspire their group. They have infinite patience for they know that they are striving after perfection. If the leader expresses the will of the people, the genius expresses the ideals and emotions of the people. They are both made or unmade in the home.

There is a three-fold difference between one who can lead and those who wait to be led. The difference is necessary. Without followers, there can be no leaders. The leader has insight, and can percieve the signs of the times, and being aware of the goal, can decide what must be done, what risks taken and what course followed, while the others wait for a signal for something to happen. The leader has initiative and is never afraid to act as the changing situations demand, without the driver's whip, while the others wait to be urged on or driven to do their duty. The leader, has integrity, and is not influenced by personal considerations or sectional interests or social conventrons. He accepts the authoritative verdict of conscience and the logic of events, while the mob sways this side and that by this influence and that, cheering whoseever is in power. Thus when a leader surrenders his insight, initiative and integrity to the will of the

group, he ceases to be a leader and becomes a muchmoved pawn in a confused game that must end in calamity. Is this a Fascist stand? Is it opposed to the ideal of Democracy? Fascism, let us remember, demands that the leader be trained as a demi-god and the populace be made just so many mechanical men and women without the right to think. Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. A good leader is the representative of the people, the common, disinherited, down-troddeu masses, who is a leader because there is a historical nced for him to lead his people a day's march nearer the Promised Land. But it is he who must lead. If he follows the prejudices and superstitions of his people there is bound to be a shipwreck. A people can go astray for the want of a strong, animating and purposive lead.

This does not mean that a good leader must be an autocrat imposing his dictatorial will on the group. That would kill the potentiality of the race and the personality of each individual member. On the contrary, he must be so much better educated, cultured, refined, and inspired that he can be patient and patently enable his group to understand each situation and the reasons that determine the course of action that he thinks right. He must have abundant faith in his people and in the historical process. He must have a sterling character so that he can give a challenge when a challenge is mevitable, and command confidence and respect without ever having to stoop to demand them either by word or armaments. Thus alone can good leadership become not an imposition, but an exposition of the vaguely felt finer aspirations of the group through the chosen leader. For it is through the leader that the race comes to awareness of its own strength and shortcomings, of its own ambitions and needs, of its own progress and destiny.

The education for leadership must be in the Home. It is in the home that the child must learn to be independent, courageous, and large-hearted. But many Indian parents, mother and grandmothers in particular, scoff at an ambitious child who leaves the elder's fingers in a crowd or who stands in front of a full-length cheval-glass and acts the part of a leader. We seem to be lamentably unable to appreciate independence or the desire to stand on their own legs in our children. If the children assert their independence and wish to be adventurous and experiment with things the grown-ups are siways ready to throw a wet blanket on the enthusiasm of the children. How often have we not heard a dear grandmother my to a boy of twelve or fourteen, "No! No!....Darling! you must not go out swimming!.... You must not go

near a river!...Or...or....a lake...or...or any water...Be careful, darling!" Or she says to a younger boy, say of ten, "No, my pet, you must not go to that school picnic because...because...No! those boys going with you...they might push you into the river!"

One can appreciate the maternal instinct but one has to condemn the effect of such sentimentality. It turns out boys and girls lacking in self-confidence which is the very foundation of independence. Only moral cripples are turned out by this kind of sentimental insistence that the child should depend on his parents for everything, from serving his meals to choosing what he shall wear. This is certainly not the way that Jawaharlal Nehru or George Washington or Oliver Cromwell or Martin Luther was brought up. This is the way those children are brought up who are destined to uphold the horrible tradition of slavery.

If freedom of choice, independence of character, the spirit of initiative and courage of originality are smothered in a boy or girl between the ages of six and sixteen, what can they be but good slaves? Someone else must choose for them what is right or wrong. Someone else must tell them what to do. Someone else must set the example for them to follow. Someone else must create precedents which they may imitate. They dare not think or love or even do anything that is off the heaten track. In the home they have been broken in according to orthodox and time-honoured (or time-discredited?) prejudices Their minds and their hearts are put into strait-jackets and must continue to feel uncomfortable. But they cannot break open that strait-jacket and find release.

Another tendency in the home is to shield the child from the consequences of his actions. Mother and father discuss the matter. "Our son has done wrong. But you must support the child otherwise his prestige and the prestige of our respectible family yill be lost," says the mother. The father silently or with a grunt acquiesces. The urchin realises that his father is a title-holder and the Headmaster will not dare to cross swords with a Rai Bahadur. What is the ultimate result? The boy goes on becoming a worse urchin, a worse citizen and a worse character. He can never be a leader. He is only half a man. It takes brave and wise parents to let their children suffer the penalty for their wrong actions.

Seldom do parents inspire their children to respect other people, other people's property, other people's rights, other people's point of view. It is always, "O! what impertinence! Those low-born K's think so-and-so and expect our son to do this or that and our daughter to marry their good-for-nothing son!" And the children absorb this superiority-complex to suffer and through bitter suffering in later life try to get rid of it. It is in the home that our children, our girls and boys, should learn naturally and without coercion, that every-body's property is to be respected; that every-

body has the right to think and feel and believe as he or she does, provided it is reasonable. When children cannot do this, they cannot become leaders.

The home must not be the grave, but the cradle for those qualities which make men and women worthy citizens and some of them worthy leaders. Read the biographies and auto-biographies of the world's great leaders and it will be found that the home played a leading part in making them what the world later acknowledged them to be.

If parents let children grow up like plants and leave them to the mercy of the law of nature, the children will become selfish, wilful, uncivil and unworthy leaders, if at all. They may attract public attention by becoming goondas or gangsters but they will never attract attention as great leaders. The home and all that term connotes, parents, grand-parents, elder brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts must consciously shape children to become leaders.

And India desperately needs leaders in every field of activity, leaders capable of succeeding those who are stalwarts today, leaders capable of filling the breach where that exists. In science and industry, in literature and art, in social and political activities, we need men and women of insight and initiative and integrity to give a reasoned and bold lead to the country. The stalwarts of today may well become the immortals of tomorrow. Yet tomorrow they may not be in the flesh with us. Who will adorn their places worthily? Let us be quite sure that without leaders, or with incompetent ones, those who lack insight and are intolerant, those who lack initiative and are tied to the apron-strings of others, those who lack integrity and are self-seekers, a free country cannot prosper and must eventually fall on evil days.

Yet how many potential leaders are stunted and crushed by the eccentricities of the home and those who govern it! How many boys and girls develop all manner of complexes and psychoses because of maltreatment like Byron! Paroxysms of parental rage, the spirit of paternal domination, selfishness, indiscipline, discourtesy, back-biting, irresponsibility and the like on the part of parents and the senior members of the home are not likely to foster the qualities of leadership in a child, however, promising he or she may be.

All this implies that parents should be educated, whereas in India it is our misfortune that over 90 percent of the parents are illiterate. But in some cases the illiterate father and mother know by some instinct how to bring up a child while the semi-educated parents do not. It would be a great day when all the 400 millions of India and Pakistan would find the portals of education thrown open to them. But it would be a greater day when we would organise some sort of special education to create that kind of a home with Love and Beauty and Truth which touch the mind and heart of every child like the sunlight that makes the lotus open its petals.

Someone might well ask, "What is the school mount

for then?" Schools and colleges must continue the good work begun in the home. They give the students opportunities for the cultivation of those qualities of insight, initiative and integrity which are intrinsic qualities of leadership. Knowledge, of course, they must acquire. But they must acquire so much more than book-learning. Students who pass through our schools and colleges must be mentally vitalized not devitalized; must be morally enriched not made insolvent; must be culturally nourished not emasculated. They must learn to adminre the great men and women of the past and to emulate them. They must grow more and more conscious of the evils that need to be reformed, the task that wait to be undertaken, the problems that have to be solved, the pitfalls that must be avoided. It is not as if a man or woman can read through a book on 'Parliamentary Procedure' overnight and turn into a leader on the morrow. Leaders have to fill in the hard term of apprenticeship, and where can they do this better than in school and college? "Leaders are born and not made", is a convenient adage for escapists. But it does not absolve parents, teachers, or educational authorities from their share of the res-

ponsibility and their share of the blame. Children are born. They have to be *made* leaders. Some children may have inherited all the potentialities of leaders but may be crippled by the wrong kind of environment, the wrong kind of teaching, the wrong kind of punishment.

It is welcome news that a school to train leaders has been started in Naini Tal with the well-known educationist, Mr. Pearse of Gwalior as the Principal. The aims and ideals of the school seem to be praiseworthy. We have confidence in Mr. Pearse and in those who are on the governing body of the school.

Yet no school and no college, no matter if the Angel Gabriel or even Saraswati, the patron-deity of learning, herself took over charge, can take the place of the home. Nor can one expect schools or colleges to become mental hospitals to remedy and treat and cure defects and maladjustments and damages caused by the home. The home is the kindergarten for leaders no less than for geniuses. It is the earliest training-ground for all that greatness, heroism and moral grandeur that makes nations great, glorious and triumphant.

THE PLACE OF ENGLISH IN FREE INDIA

BY USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

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Now that the political freedom of India has been achieved, what should be the place of English in independent India is one of the big problems that confront the country. So far English has occupied a very important place in the cultural and intellectual life of India, as a result of which our mother-tongues have been relegated to the background. As a matter of fact, in our schools and colleges, much more time and attention are devoted to the teaching of English than to that of our mother-tongue, which is usually neglected. English is still the medium of instruction in the higher courses of study. We set so much store by English that a sound knowledge of it is very often considered to be the criterion of one's efficiency in one's official career even, and serves as a passport to cultured and enlightened society, so to say. Many of us are the products of a hybrid education and culture, which we pride ourselves upon. A good deal of the present importance of English may be mainly attributed to the fact that it was until recently the language of the ruling nation. But now that India has shaken off the foreign yoke, all the sensible people of the country feel that things should not be what they are at present, and have become rather intolerant of the undue importance that has been attached to English so far. The pressing need of the reoriestation of the entire educational policy of the country on national lines has come home to us all, and has set us autonaly tainling as to how to evolve a system of advertion that will be more in keeping with the

changed condition in our motherland, brought about by the attainment of freedom. At the present moment, we all realize the folly of assigning such an important place to English in education as well as in our everyday life, and are fully alive to the fact that it is derogatory to our national prestige and dignity to neglect our mother-tongue, and deprive it of its rightful place. Apart from all this, there is no denying the fact, also, that to-day the average Indian student is being intellectually cramped, being compelled to learn all subjects and express his thoughts and ideas through the medium of a foreign tongue which he naturally finds it hard t master. He cannot be expected to be able to express himself as freely in a foreign language as he can in his mother-tongue, over which he has got a far greater command.

Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude to the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. It was he who first included the vernacular in the higher courses of study. In Bengal until recently English was the medium of instruction in schools. It still forms an important part of the school curriculum, and is one of the principal subjects to be taught. The pupils are debarred from promotion to a higher class if they fail in English. In colleges English is still the medium of instruction, all the subjects being taught in English. The University question papers are set in English, and the candidates are, willy-nilly, required to answer them in English. Very often they find it difficult to pass the examinations, even if they happen to be thoroughly

conversant with the subject-matter unless they have a fairly good command of English. In a good many cases they fail in the examinations only because of their inability to express themselves correctly in English. Sometimes the students also fail to grasp the subject-matter properly, if they are weak in English, all the books being written in English. This really constitutes a serious stumbling-block in the passing of the examinations as well as in the acquisition of knowledge, in the present state of affairs. Besides, there seems to be very little point in overtaxing the brains of the children of tender age by thrusting a foreign language on them.

Up till now English is the State language of India. All the correspondence at the Government and mercantile offices is carried on in English. All the proceedings in the courts and legislatures of the country are also conducted in English. A good command of the language therefore stands us in good stead in our public and official career.

English also constitutes the lingua franca of India, which is inhabited by a variety of people, speaking different languages and dialects. We are unable to make ourselves intelligible to the people of our sister provinces unless we possess a fairly good knowledge of English. There are so many languages and dialects spoken in India that it is really impossible for the people of one province to learn and master all of these. So all intercourse—social, political, intellectual and commercial—between the different provinces of India will be rendered impossible unless there is a lingua franca understood by all.

Apart from all this, the great cultural value of English cannot also be overlooked. It has forged out a link between the cultured countries of the world and has helped to provide a bond of unity and intellectual fellowship between them. Through a knowledge of English we have been able to keep in touch with the most advanced trends of world thought. Through English we have become acquainted with the great literary achievement of the whole world—the masterpieces of the world's best literature. Had we been ignorant of English, we would have been denied the enjoyment of the immense wealth of English literature. So the cultural value of English, as an international language, should by no means be under-estimated. It is quite in the nature of things that at the present time a knowledge of English is looked upon as the sine qua non of education in our country. While stressing the cultural value of the English language and literature, I am not, at all, belittling the greatness of our Bengali language and literature. Tagore's invaluable contributions to Bengali literature, even barring the literary achievements of other eminent Bengali poets and authors—the unparalleled beauty, music, and lift of his diction—have served to enrich the Bengali language and literature so much that it can claim a place, second to none, among the world's best literature. But it is a pity that at the present time, Bengali or any other Indian language is spoken and understood by an infinitesimally small fraction of the whole population of the world. English holds a unique position as the international language of the cultured nations of the world. So even if English is replaced by Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India, the importance of English as an international language will remain as it is to-day.

It has been decided by all the Provincial Governments of India that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction, so far as primary and secondary education is concerned, and that the change in University education should be effected by stages. without impairing the standard of education. The suggestion of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that "the change-over" should spread over a period of five years seems to be a very sound one. An immediate replacement of English in collegiate education is sure to lead to a good deal of serious inconvenience on the part of both the teachers and the taught. Besides, some practical difficulties will also have to be solved before the scheme can be carried into effect. It has been proposed that in the sixth year the mothertongue should be made the medium of instruction up to the highest standard. English will not, however, be abolished altogether. It will continue to be taught as a second language in schools and colleges, and will be a subject of study for the post-graduate students. Thus it is only those who have a special taste for the language will go in for it, and will learn English for the sake of English. Although so much stress is laid on English, which is a compulsory subject in our schools and colleges at the present time, only a small number of people really learn the language. So if the present artificial importance of English is thus done away with, it is expected to secure its true place in the academic life of the country.

Two recent decisions of the Government of West Bengal mark the beginning of a new phase in the educational policy of the day, which is expected to have far-reaching effects on the entire system of education. The first of these is that the teaching of English should be stopped in all primary schools and the primary classes of all middle and high schools of West Bengal. The second decision is that the candidates for the I.A. and B.A. Examinations (including I.Com. and B.Com.) may, if they like, answer the question papers in Bengali. It appears from a notification issued by the Government of West Bengal that the decisions are to be implemented immediately. These are certainly a move in the right direction, and should be appreciated as such by all. But at the beginning, these proposals are sure to be looked upon with some suspicion, and to meet with some opposition, as all new measures are. As for the abolition of English at the primary stage, English is only an optional subject in the primary schools of the Pre-

vince. As a rule, the subject is so badly taught at the average primary school that it had better not be taught at all. To my mind, it is no use teaching a subject unless it is well taught. There are very few teachers, capable of teaching English well in the primary schools of the Province. But so far English has been a compulsory subject in the primary classes of the secondary schools. In the course of my inspection I have always insisted that the English lessons should be mainly oral and conversational these classes and that too much stress should not be laid on reading and writing English at this stage. In my opinion, it is a more rational mode of teaching a language. A child first learns to speak a language before it knows how to read and write it. But in the event of English being started from Class-V, as has been proposed, the present prescribed English readers should be replaced by easier ones, more suited to the needs of beginners. In that case, the standard of teaching needs also to be lower, and the text-books, too, should be written accordingly. The beginners will really find it hard to follow the present. English text-books prescribed for Class-V. As for the other decision of the Government of West Bengal, at the beginning some difficulty is sure to be experienced in making Bengali a really effective medium of instruction. None can deny that there are certain initial difficulties which will have to be overcome in doing so. The pre-requisite of the implementation of this decision of the Government of West Bengal is the writing and publication of books in Bengali on all subjects. The task will probably prove a tremendous one for the authors and publishers of the country. But the work should be undertaken in no time. In collegiate education English cannot therefore be immediately replaced by Bengali as the medium of instruction. The proposal that a maximum period of five years should be fixed as the deadline for the retention of English as the medium of instruction in higher University education seems to be a very sensible one. In the meantime the recent option allowed to the candidates to answer the question papers in Bengali at the University examinations is expected to go a long way towards the achievement of the desired object. So it is an experiment worth carrying out, although the candidates who have been used to studying a certain subject in English may not find it easy at the beginning to express their ideas in Bengali. To my mind, Bengali can hardly be turned into an effective vehicle of instruction in colleges, unless and until the books on all the subjects including scientific ones are either composed in Bengali or translated into it. The writing and publication of the necessary books in Bengali is, therefore, the crying need of the day. Co-ordinated efforts should be put forth by all the eminent scholars and educationists of the province to put the scheme into practice, as soon as possible. This will probably be an uphill work for them. Perhaps they will be

hard put to it to find out appropriate Bengali words for certain scientific and technical terms. Attempts should be made to enlarge and enrich our vocabulary on these lines. Some new words will have to be coined, and certain terms will have to be borrowed from other foreign languages, The foreign words which will thus find their way to Bengali will probably be gradually absorbed into it. As all students of Philology know, this is not quite a new and unprecedented thing in the history of a language. It is not unlikely that it will take us at least a few years to get the necessary books written in Bengali.

There is talk of the adoption of a Provincial language in place of English as the court or official language in each province. The present set-up of things, consequent on the attainment of freedom, has rendered such a measure absolutely necesasry. But certain practical difficulties are to be encountered in the event of the replacement of English, which has bren in vogue for such a long time. At the present moment all the correspondence and report work at the Government offices, all business transactions in commercial concerns, and all the proceedings in the law-courts and legislatures of the provinces of India are being conducted in English, which serves the purpose of the lingua franca of the country. The sudden imposition of a provincial language is sure to occasion a good deal of inconvenience on the part of such people and employees as hail from other provinces and are not well-acquainted with the language of the province in question. Let alone other provinces. Bengal, for example, is a cosmopolitan province, which is inhabited by the people of all nationalities-it is not for the Bengalees alone. The Government and mercantile offices of the province are also staffed by the people of various provinces So in case Bengali is adopted as the court or official language, the non-Bengalees must be allowed a reasonable time for the purpose of acquiring a workable knowledge of the language. Besides, the problem of supplying an adequate number of Bengali typewriters for the offices of the province should also be solved, as otherwise copying in manuscript will entail a good deal of waste of time and labour.

Now the question is what should be the interprovincial and State language of India, in case the vernacular is adopted as the court and official language in each province, there being a variety of languages spoken in the different parts of this sub-continent. It is quite impossible for the people of one province to pick up the languages of all the sister provinces. So there must needs be an inter-provincial language, which should be understood by the people of all provinces. It has been suggested that Hindi should replace English as such. In that case also, the change should be gradual. At the present time, the people of all the provinces do not know Hindi. It will take them at least a few years to master the language, so as to be able to speak, read and write it fairly correctly.

WHAT THE WAR WROTE ABOUT

By RAM SARAN SHARMA

Never before did so many write so much about so unimportant a subject as India, as they did during the last war. Almost everybody who is anybody, or was, created a book about this country. It almost seems that if actual blood could not flow over India, ink was surely not spared. And these books and writers spoke for India and against her, ridiculed her and revered her, analysed her and put her together again; no personality was spared, no institution was let off, no story or suggestion was too fantastic for the printed page.

Of course, the main reason was either justification of British rule in India or its exposure as an untenable system. In between everything was pushed in.

We shall remain perennially indebted to those great and noble souls who championed our cause, raising it to its real and lofty level, at a time when the whole world had turned against us. The reader will surely recollect that at one stage the entire Indian nationalism was considered enemy-inspired and India's demand for freedom a 'stah in the back.' It is to the untiring efforts of our dear friends in Allied countries, specially the U.S.A., that our cause did not suffer in public esteem. There were no Indian leaders at the moment free to advocate her cause; whoever passed as a representative of India was guided by sheer opportunism.

I propose to recapitulate the better known of our friends and enemies, so that we may forget none. Of course it is not possible to include those number-less men and women who contributed to our fight for freedom or opposed it through stray articles in the press.

The first two names that come up for honourable mention are those of Louis Fisher and Pearl Buck. Fisher's book *Empire* created a furore, because it was written so brilliantly and forcefully. While in India he had seen her on the very eve of the 1942 revolution, had been in intimate touch with the leaders preparing for the struggle, and had become the great ambassador of Indian militant nationalism. Naturally his book stirred the Tory mouthpiece, The Times, into a passionate justification of British Imperialism. Said Kate L. Mitchell:

"I believe Imperialism is no accident but a product of definite and powerful economic forces.... Mr. Fischer would have served his purpose better had he sought to probe deeper into the real nature of Imperialism....."

John MacCormac angrily wrote:

"But if Mr. Fischer's object is to persuade England to free India, it is doubtful whether he has furthered it.......To assert dogmatically that they (Indians) will make good use of it (freedom) is another matter. Freedom and unity like many other precious things are generally born in the blood. If India had not been under the British four years ago, she would have been under the

Japanese to-day. Who will hold the ring for her blood-letting tomorrow?"

I wonder what poor MacCormac has to say today. Sorokin, whom we seem to have forgotten, wrote a book entitled The Crisis of Our Age in which he discussed with remarkable power and precision "the bloodiest crisis of the bloodiest century." While discussing the agonising evils and terrors of the present age, as portrayed by Sorokin, John Haynes Holmes reproduced the news-despatches from India and compared them to the news-items from Nazioccupied Europe. They proved to be the most convincing condemnation of British rule in India, specially their methods of crushing her demand for freedom.

It may not be out of place to point out that any such comparison suggested by any Indian writer those days would have surely landed him in prison.

The Indian author Kumar Ghoshal published a book in America—People of India. The writer sought to prove that the root cause of India's trouble was her economic misery, which in its turn was the result of her political slavery. Apropos the August Resolution he said:

"If the British Government really considered the defence of India and the preparation for war as its major concern, it could have at least bent to the degree of opening negotiations.....but it resorted to arrests....The Congress actually hoped to avoid civil disobedience but were not given a chance. The violence which broke out was the result of the arrests of the Indian leaders and was not according to any pre-arranged plan."

And then there came that sensational book One World by that equally sensational person Wendell Willkie. It was the result of his hurricane tour round the world, from which despite the best will on the part of Mr. Willkie, India was excluded. It is generally believed that the India Office prevented his seeing India, because they feared that what he might have seen here would have so enraged him as to forget the Nazis and remember the British only.

In that book Willkie said:

"If we believe in the ends we proclaim and want the stirring forces in the Middle East to work with us towards those ends we must cease trying to perpetuate control by manipulating native forces by playing off one against the other for our own ends."

An obvious reference to India.

Please remember that India had been excluded from his tour, so he could not put it in his records. But India troubled him all along the journey. He says that from Africa to Alaska he was asked only one question—"What about India?" And China's wisest man told him:

"When Indian aspiration for freedom was put aside to some future date it was not Great Britain that suffered in public esteem, it was the United States." I have always wondered what would have Mr. Willkie written had he seen India of those days with his own eyes. He might have published a separate book under the title Dark World or One Dungeon.

Mr. Panikkar also wrote a book which was published in the U. S. A. by the Institute of Pacific Relations. In it he insisted on a free government of India, declaring it as essential for the future of the country. Surprisingly enough the learned author advocated a sort of diluted Pakistan, perhaps indicative of a very cautious and apprehensive mind.,

One of the most breath-taking surprises of the war-literature about India was the book Strangers in India written by Penderel Moon, an officer of the Indian Civil Service till the year 1943. The reader will recollect that Mr. Moon lost his job for being sympathetic towards that graceful political prisoner Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. After losing his job Mr. Moon went and became an author, a very brilliant and understanding writer on India. How this gentleman could remain so long in the stultifying and rotting atmosphere of the I. C. S. must remain a puzzle, and I personally feel quite thankful to Amery and Linlithgow for having given the world an author.

Naturally Mr. Moon—an odd name suggestive of supineness—cannot get rid of his foreignness in approaching the Indian problems. That needs a Fischer and a Pearl Buck. But, he has done some quite daring thinking. He says:

"Nevertheless Englishmen will perhaps do well to remember just who the men are who have gone to gaol in India. Whatever may be thought of them, they are and are likely to remain national leaders; and only a few years ago they formed the Governments of seven of India's provinces."

About Pakistan, he has stated something remarkable in support of the attitude taken up by Congress leaders.

"Once we have firmly made up our mind," he declares, "and also made it unmistakably clear to others that India is to be independent, Congress and the League will at last be forced to attempt to reach agreement. Congress will not deny this, for they have repeatedly claimed that a settlement with Britain must precede a communal settlement. We have said that it must be the other way round. This rather than the communal conflict itself was the real cause of the deadlock during the first three years of the war."

This by a man who had been grounded for years in the British Government's view of putting the cart before the horse in India.

Mr. William B. Ziff, the author of that best-seller of 1942—Coming Battle of Germany, was yet another American to take up cudgels on our behalf. What the costly and treacherous British propaganda was doing in the U.S.A. must have been pretty futile, seeing that author after author stood up to speak out for this ignored, tortured, insulted land.

In his book Ziff sounded a warning and came out with a scathing condemnation of British rule. He declared that

"A phenomenon of great importance to the world which is eventuating from this troubled situation (Indian) is this: India is turning her back on the West......Out of the inconceivable poverty, ignorance, degradation and festering rancour which has gripped the population, there is rising a radicalism, which gains in strength daily. The tide has turned away from such moderate men as Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and even the socialist intellectual Nehru, who, but a few years ago, was considered a firebrand."

He named his book—Gentlemen Talk of Peace. Almost everybody who was anybody in the world of letters pleaded that Britain should reopen negotiations with India, but all that advice fell on deaf ears, although it contributed materially towards the downfall of the clique then in power in India and Britain. Among those who served India with their pen in those dark days was Mr. Dewill Mackenzie who argued in his book India's Problem Can Be Solved that a peaceful India at that stage would have enormously strengthened the Allies.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford's splendid book Subject India received fulsome praise here us well as abroad, and it deserved it every bit. This Englishman has always been one of those who have given their services unstintedly for the just cause of this country. And India remembers all that. In his book, Brailsford very rightly suggested that if India decided to leave British protection, Britain should give her a parting gift—a dowry—of capital equivalent to £100 million and complete freedom, the gift being to set her on her way to economic recovery.

Considering that Britain has ruined our economic life, making us primitive and poor, the idea of the gift was not a bad one. In fact it should be called token compensation, for the systematic impoverishing and emasculation of an entire nation cannot be adequately compensated for.

Subject India created a furore in the U.S.A. too because of its outspokenness and determined bitterness against the British handling of India. Great attention was focussed on the ten suggestions made by the author. Perhaps these will interest the reader even now. They were: United Nations' joint offer of independence to India in a Pacific Charter: transference of control of India from the India Office to the Dominions Office; political amnesty and the transformation of the Executive Council by Lord Wavell into a National Government; simultaneous with this action, Congress to call off the revolt; Viceroy to see that the princes agree to enter the Indian Union and concede civic rights to their subjects; coalition governments in all the provinces immediately; Congress and League to negotiate on Pakistan, if necessary with the help of a mediator; the Viceroy to summon the best man to form a National Cabinet chiefly to conduct the war and prepare a draft constitution for India; new elections as soon as hostilities cease, both in the provinces

and the states; and lastly a treaty between the Indian Union and Britain.

Unfortunately all this was not done to the eternal detriment of Indo-British relations.

And then came out two books, the purpose of one was to vilify India and of the other to provide facts to the British and American troops present in the country. The authors of Introduction to India, F. R. Moreas and Robert Stimson, said that their book was an attempt "to give the British and American troops now in India a quick and balanced survey of the country." The author of the other book This is India, Peter Muir, claimed that he went to India wholly unprejudiced—a usual claim of the usual class of national black-mailers and pen-prostitutes. The book spat forth venom against the Hindus and the Congress. It was an ugly attempt, full of spite and venom against an unoffending people; obviously somehody had paid Muir to write that muck, else he had a perverted vision.

One of the most fascinating books to come out during this period was Professor Laski's Reflections on the Revolution of our Time. It is full of forthright condemnation of British rule and methods in India. In addition it contains some very illuminating reflections on world-conditions and trends of the time in general. He said that the demands made by Indians were neither "impossible nor made at an impossible time" thus disposing off the usual excuse of the then rulers of India. He also condemned the way the Cripps negotiations were conducted, and he had a lot to say against what had been done to India by the British. He said:

"In both the material and the intellectual realms Indians have made less progress in a century and a half than the one-time subject nationalities of the Soviet Union in 25 years."

There is no doubt that the book must have profoundly influenced the outlo-k of the Labour Party on India.

Mrs. Francis Gunther, said to be one of the most eloquent advocates of Indian freedom in America, also wrote a scintillating book—Revolution in India. In it she sought to enlighten the American public about the real position in India and to stimulate their interest in the country. Needless to say, it succeeded admirably.

She appealed to all thinking men and women of the United Nations, in passages that are lit up by her enlightened sympathy and understanding of our problems and misfortunes, to think seriously and sensibly about the incongruity of the British rule over India. It is really impossible to quote passages out of this 120-page book, for the whole of it is quotable. India should feel proud of finding such a sealous advocate of her cause.

The writings of all these people, along with

world events and the growing resurgence of Asia, finally made even the ruling circles of the U.S.A. realize the urgency of a just solution of the problem of entire Asia. Mr. Sumner Welles, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State, wrote a book, Time of Decision, wherein he pleaded that a new recognition must be made of the colonial problem, and that a readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe was essential. Writing of India he said, "Obviously the ideal method of a solution is through direct negotiation between the British Government and the leaders of India..... However should these methods continue to fail, an executive council of the international through its agencies, should stand organization, ready to assist in composing the difficulties....."

One of the most talked of books about India was written by Professor Coupland, Future of India. It was widely discussed and commented upon and to an extent can be said to have provided the basic idea of the present plan of redrawing the map of India. Coupland rejected the Pakistan of the League's conception, and suggested regionalism, drawing his inspiration from the Swiss model of government.

Yet another book which was even more talked of, for quite different reasons of course, was Beverley Nichols's Verdict on India. It has been so widely and uniformly condemned, quoted and answered that to write anything at all about it is redundant. In any case a drain-inspector's report does not deserve more than a hurried mention. My only comment was and is: Nichols overdid his job so that it boomeranged on the head of his sponsors.

The Curtis Plan was elaborated in the two pamphlets *Decision* and *Action*. The Plan was an apologia for the continuation of British rule in India as it is. Curtis said:

"No serious thinker would propose to entrust the safety of the British Commonwealth, and indeed the peace of the world, to any electorate of which three-fourths would be people who have still to acquire the art of governing themselves...."

No serious thinker paid much attention to the Curtis Plan.

The last book on my list is the one written by Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, a former Governor of the Punjab. The ex-panjandrum spoke the language of the die-hard Tories and the book went almost unnoticed. However he declared pompously:

"The efforts and sacrifices of the people of India in the two great wars on behalf of the Empire are reasons which, apart from any other things, alone make any weakening on this point the gravest betrayal of the sacred imperial trust..."

It seems that the King Canutes of the world never die out. They may be swept off wholesale, but they never give up. And they never know how foolish they look.

INDO-PERSIAN RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By SATYA PRAKASH, M.A.,
Superintendent, Archaeology and Museum, Jaipur

THE connection between India and Persia can be traced from the early times when the ancestors of the Hindus and the Persians formed an undivided branch of the Aryan stock. Though the separation of these two kindred peoples took place more than 3000 years ago, there remained a certain community of interest which had a bearing upon the early history of Northern India. The sway exercised by Persia over North-West India is described in detail by Herodotus in his book *Historica* but the knowledge of the ancient Persians about India is revealed in some of the texts of the Zend and Pehlavi literature.

The relationship between the Hindus and the Persians through ties of common Aryan blood, close relationship and affinities in matters of religious beliefs, ritual observances, manners and customs is evidenced in the Vedas and the Avesta, which are the earliest literary monuments of India and Persia. For instance, a certain relationship is acknowledged to exist between the Vedic Divinity Varuna and the Avestan deity Ahur Mazda (mazd), the supreme God of Zoroastrianism. Equally well-known are the points of kinship between the Indian Mittra and the Iranian Mithra and in no less degree between the victorious Indra Vritrahana of the Rigveda and the all-triumphant Verethraghna of the Avesta. Again, the parallel existing between Yama (Vedic) and Yuna (Avestan) or between the sacred drink Soma (Rigveda) and Haoma (Avestan) points to the long-established connection between India and Persia in ancient times.

There are certain passages in the Rigveda, which contain allusions, direct or implied, to Persia in a broader sense. Thus the Parthavas in the Rigveda (Mandal VI) are to be understood as referring to the ancestors of the Parthians in Iran. Under the designation Parshavas in the Rigveda (Mandal X), the Persians seem to have been referred to. The name Balhika (Atharvaveda) has been interpreted by some Indian scholars as containing some allusions to an ancient Iranian tribe of the Bactrians. Such examples are very common in the Vedas and in the Avesta.

Linguists have found that the language of the Rigveda shows its affinity in forms of grammar and roots of verbs to Persian, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic and Slavonic as if they were descendants of a common ancestor. They have in common words expressive of primary relationship, such as those for father, mother. etc. (For instance, Sanskrit Matri, Latin Mater, English mother, Persian madar: Sanskrit pitri, Latin pater, English father and Persian pidar and so on).

The linguistic evidence is the evidence of some important primitive history. The language thus related points to their common origin from a common language spoken in a common home by the ancestors of the present speakers. The speakers of these languages became separate peoples migrating from their original

common home but their ancestors were one Aryalpeople whom we may call the *Wiros* after the word *Wiros* for men occurring in the majority of the
languages in question.

We are here concerned with the Persians only so far as they play their part in the history of our culture. When we look to the records relating to the Aryan migration we find that they had visited Persia by the road between Tabriz and Tehran or proceeded towards Mashad, Herat and Bactria in search of fresh fields and pastures new and got ultimately settled down in the land of the Aryavarta.

As has already been illustrated above, the Aryans who were the ancestors of the Indians (referred to in Sanskrit as 'Arya') and the Iranians (referred to in the Avesta as 'Ariya') lived in the region referred to above in a scattered and unsettled manner. Their respective religious books, the Rigveda and the Avesta show closer affinity in language and thought than with Greek, Latin or other Indo-Germanic works.

"Not only single words and phrases but even whole stanzas may be transliterated from the dialect of India into the dialects of Iran, without change of vocabulary or construction."

This may be illustrated by the following example:

AVESTAN VEDIC

Tat thwa persa ers moi vacha Ahura.

Ta Chit Masda Vasmi Ta chit medhishtha anya cha vidye.

VEDIC

Tat tva prichha riju ma vacha Asura.

Ta chit medhishtha vasmi anya cha vide.

It will thus be seen that the ancestors of the Hindus and the Pe, sians had lived longer together than their other Aryan kinsmen who had migrated towards the West. They were probably the last to leave the original Aryan home because their language carried off the largest share of the common Aryan inheritance, as traced in roots, grammar, words, myths and legends.

It is interesting to note that both Indian and foreign evidences corroborate one and the same thing in fixing up the age of the Rigveda. An unexpected light comes from a source outside India. Some inscriptions of about 1400 B.C. discovered at Boghaz-koi in A-in Minor recording contracts concluded between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitani mentioned some gods as protectors of these contracts. Their names are: Itaru Mi-it-ra as-si-it (irani), U-uru-w-na as-si-it (ilu), In-dar (itani) na-sa-a (t-i-ia-a) n-na.

The names are considered to correspond to the names of the Rigvedic gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatyau. As these gods are also known to Avesta, some scholars think that they were the common gods of the undivided Aryan people prior to their separation as Indians and Iranians. But the spelling of the names in the Mesopotamian inscriptions points clearly to their Rigvedic origin. In that case we must assume that Rigveda and its culture must have been established

in India much earlier than 1400 B.C. so as to be able to influence the culture of the Asia Minor at that time.

Of the same time as the Boghazkoi inscriptions are the famous letters from Tel-el Amarna in which some Mitani princes are mentioned with names of Sanskrit form, such as Artatma, Tueratta and Suttarna. Some of the princes of the Kassites who ruled over Babylonia between C. 1746 to 1180 B.C. also have Sanskrit names like Shurias (Surya). Marytas (Marutas), etc. In the library of Assur-banipal of about 700 B.C. was found a list of deities worshipped in Assyria which includes the name Assara Mazas equivalent to Avestan chief god of Ahura Mazda, although the form Assara is nearer Sanskrit Asura than Avestan Ahura.

The same antiquity of the Aryan migration to India and of the Rigveda is pointed out by literary evidence. If Buddhism originated in C. 600 B.C., the Brahminical literature and culture it presupposes must be of earlier age. We have to allow adequate time for the growth of such different types of Brahminical literature as the Sutras, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads, the Brahmanas, the four Vedic Samhitus preceded by the original material which was later edited in the Rigveda Samhita. Thus on the basis of both the evidences I ereto weighed, we come to the conclusion that the age of the Rigveda falls between 2000 B.C. to 2500 B.C.

From the Iranian sources available evidence seems to be stronger in favour of Persian influence upon India and modifying control over the northern part of the country. Throughout ancient history Persia was the more aggressive power of the two, yet it is uncertain how far the sphere of Iranian power and authority in India may have extended prior to the time of the Achaemenid Empire. The sphere of Persian activity does not appear to have extended to the limit of the Indus. There are different lines of evidence testifying to the inclusion of the Trans-Indus Provinces into the Persian Empire and these we find in the Avesta as well as in the history of Herodotus. There is also inscriptional evidonce bearing on this point. The knowledge acquired by the ancient Persians seems to have been meagre and imperfect. They knew only about a few rivers of the Punjab and remembered the sixteen regions alleged to have been created by Ahura Muzda. The fifteenth of those provinces according to Vendidad was Hufta Hindu (Sapta Sindhavah—seven rivers).

The region in question was more comprehensive than the modern Punjab and the land of the five rivers must have included the lands watered in the north and north-west of Hindustan by the river Indus and its affluence answering apparently, to the Vedic Vitasta (Jhekum), Oshikini (Chenab), Parushni (Ravi), Vipashah (Bias), Shatudrih (Sutlej), the latter being the easternmost stream but the geographical conception of the northern India of the Persians seems to be more comprehensive and accurate when the Sassanians were in power. This is borne out by a passage in l'asht which may be translated as follows:

"The long arms of Mithra sieze upon those who deceive Mithra, even when in Eastern India it catches him, even when in Western India he amites him down, even when he is at the mouth of the Ranha (Nile) river and even when he is in the middle of the earth. . ."

The same statement is repeated in Yashna or Yasna regarding the power of Sraosha—the guardian genius of mankind as extending over the wide domain from India on the east to the extreme west, even when in eastern India he catches his adversary, even when in western India it smites him down. The ancient Persians knew either the Hindukush or the Himalayas, the name Ush-Hinduwas meaning, "Beyond or above India," but it may also mean the mountain from which the rivers rise.

There are some inscriptional evidences which need consideration for purposes of constructing the Persian rule in India.

The Cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I of Persia record the names of some of the provinces which were held by him. This fact has been mentioned in the following inscriptions: (a) Bahistun Rock Inscription (C. 520 to 518 B.C.), (b) the second of the two old Persian Black tablets sunk in the wall of the platform of Persipolis (C. 516-515 B.C.), and (a) the upper one of the two inscriptions chiselled round the tomb of Darius in the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustam (C. 515 B.C.). In the last two inscriptions there is a mention of Hindu, i.e., the Punjab territory as a part of the realm, Scholars are of opinion that the conquest of the Indus Valley was completed in about 518 B.C. In this connection the history of the Achamaenian Empire of Darius as described by Herodotus is also to be considered.

Herodotus, the father of history, in his monumental work, the Historica, gives a list of seventy Satraps established by Darius and expressly states that the Indian realm was the twentieth division. Some inferences regarding its wealth and extent may further more be gathered from the tribute which it paid into the treasury. Thus Herodotus says: "The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people we know and they pay a tribute proportionally larger than all the rest, the sum of 360 talents of gold-dust." This immense tribute is equivalent to nearly a million sterling and the levy formed about one-third of the total amount of the sum imposed upon the Asiatic provinces.

There is another passage in Herodotus which gives further proof of Persian connection and control of the valley of Indus from its upper post to the sea. Some time about 517 B.C. Darius I despatched a naval expedition under Skylax to explore the Indian basin. The squadron embarked at a place in the Gandhara country somewhere near the upper post of the river Indus, the name of the country being Kaspapyros (Kashyapapur)—the exact location of which is still a matter of controversy. The fleet succeeded in making its way to the Arabian Sea and ultimately reached Egypt two and a half years later from the time the voyage began.

The dominion of the Persian authority is, therefore, clear from the *Historica* of Herodotus and the inscriptions mentioned above.

Regarding the Indus regions towards the south we have an express statement of Darius that these were never subject to him. By the south Herodotus means the sandy western portion of Sindh and Rajputana. How far westward Persian dominion may have extended over the Punjab cannot be ascertained but it is significant that Herodotus never referred to the Gangetic valley or the famous Magadhan Kingdom. V. A. Smith says:

"Although the exact limit of Indian Satrapy under Darius cannot be determined, we know that it is distinct from Herat, Gandhara and Kandhar. The Persian dominion must, therefore, have comprised of the course of Indus of the Kalabar to the Sea including the whole of the Sindh and perhaps the considered portions of the Punjab."

In this connection we ought to refer to the evidence furnished by the Persian inscriptions as well as by Herodotus regarding the sway exercised by Darius over the people of the Indian borderland. Of the twenty-three provinces, the names of which appear in the Bahistun rock referred to, as also with some slight variation on the platform of the tomb inscriptions, the three provinces, namely, Bakhtri (Bulkh), Hariva (Herat) and Zaranka (Drangiana) formed part of the present Afghanistan but some are remoted from the Indian frontier. The four that were directly connected with the region of Indus itself are: (a) Gandirsi (Gandhar), the region of the Kabul valley as well as Poshawar; (b) Tathagu (either Ghilsai territory and Ghazni or Hazara country); (c) Harahavati (district round Kandhar); (d) Maka (Makran) southern part of Baluchistan). Herodotus mentions in his list teople who were subject to Darius (some of whom may be identified as having occupied districts in or near the present Afghanistan and in some cases adjoining the Indian frontier); thus the Sattagydi corresponds to the people of Tathagu mentioned above and Gandrio to the people of Gandhar.

An interesting piece of information has been preserved in the Apocryphal, the Greek version of the book of Esra, known as Iesdras, relating to the limit of the Persian Empire under Darius where a reference to India has also been found. The passage runs as follows:

"Now the King made a great feast unto all his subjects and unto all that were born in his house and unto all the princes of Media and Persia, to all the Satraps, Captains and Governors that were under him from India to Ethiopia in the hundred and twenty-seven provinces and also to the Indian Embassy from the Magadhan King."

This passage is very important as it preserves the extent of Achaemenian Empire under Darius and also to the ambassadorial appointment in those days. The reign of Xerxes which followed Darius I and which means the continuance of Persian domination of India is testified to by the presence of Indian contingents

consisting of both infantry and cavalry among the troops from the subject nations drawn upon by that monarch to augment the vast army of the Asiatios which he marshalled to invade Greece. Herodotus in the course of his description of this army of Xerxes makes the following remarks:

"The Indians clad in garments made of cotton carried bows of cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped with iron, and thus the equipped Indians were marshalled under the command of Pharnazathras, the son of Atabrates."

Regarding the Indian cavalry, Herodotus says:

"They were armed with the same weapons as the infantry soldiers but they brought riding horses and chariots, the latter being drawn with horses and wild asses."

The commander of these forces was a Persian as his name suggests. We may conclude from this that the ancient domain of the Persian Empire was much the same in its extent under Xerxes in 480 B.C. as it had been in the reign of his father. It may be noted that an immense number of Indian dogs followed the army of Xerxes in his Grecian invasion according to Herodotus. After the defeat of Xerxes by the Greeks, the decadence of the Achaemenian power in the East really began. For this reason, it is easy to understand that there was no forward movement on Persia's part in India. Iranian sway in that territory endured for a century or so. Among other proofs of this close and continued connection may be mentioned the fact that Ctsias who was a resident physician in the Persian Court about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. could hardly have written Indica without the information regarding India from envoys and embassies sent as tribute-bearers to the Persian Emperors or from Persian officials as ambassadors visiting India on state business as well as from his intercourse with the travellers and traders of the two countries. With the same amount of certainty it may be said that the Persian supremacy in India prevailed up to 330 B.C. when Darius III, the last member of the Achaemenian dynasty was able to bring Indian troops for his final stand at Arbella to resist Alexander the Great, Thus according to Arrian, this contingent of mountainous Indians was under the command of the Satrap of Arachosia. According to the same authority, the Sakai (the Scythian army) was supplemented by more forces of elephants belonging to the Indians, who lived on this side of Indus. With the defeat of Darius III, the last vestige of Persian domination disappeared from India. With the downfall of the Achaemenid rule the trans-Indus provinces of the Persians passed into the hands of Alexander but cultural and political relations were maintained by the Indian monarchs later on as well.

We are told by Chanakya and Arrian that the Magadhan Empire maintained a department of embassy (Rajduta Vibhap) and exchanged embassies between India and Persia in addition to other countries.

Such an embassy was continued up to the time of Asoka the Great, with the difference that he used this embassy as a means for the propagation of Dhamma in the distant countries like Persia. According to Nagarjuna, we find that Kanishka also maintained such relations with Persia and full-grown Buddhism met the nascent Christian and other faiths in the academies and market, of Persia and Egypt and it was under these influences that the Mahayana School of Buddhism developed. Besides embassies, Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya main-

tained both cultural and economic relations with Persia through waterways. The most interesting embassy was arranged by Pulkesin in the 36th year of his reign (625-26 A.D.) with Khusru II, the then king of Persia. The courtesy was reciprocated by a return embassy from Persia which was received with due honour at the Indian court as is testified to by a fresco painting in cave No. 1 at Ajanta. This representation, according to a foreign authority, suggests that the Ajanta School of pictorial art drew its inspiration from Persia.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ZOROASTER

By Prof H. C. PAUL, M.A.

SPITAMA ZARATHUSHTEA, commonly known as Zoroaster, was the first and foremost poet and philosopher of the ancient Iranians. And by the testimony of its own scriptures, the Iranian religion was with the fullest right styled the Zoroastrian. There were thinkers before him, no doubt, but he, by his excellent expositions on the conception of God and the ways of life, had become immortal for so many generations to come. His sacred book, the Avesta, which was counted as a revealed one, was one of the most prominent which had formulated the religious beliefs of the ancient world, by reason both of the influence which it had exerted, and of its own intrinsic character.

"It was, indeed, never propagated by missionary labours beyond the limits of Iran; we know of no people not of Persian origin who accepted voluntarily, or upon whom it was forced; but its position on the eastern border of the Semitic races allowed it to affect and modify the various religions of Semitic origin. The later Jewish faith is believed by many to exhibit evident traces of Zoroastrian doctrines, borrowed during the captivity in Babylonia; and the creeds of some Oriental Christian sects, as well as of a portion of the adherents of Islam, have derived essential features from the same source."

Of the systems of the Aryans and of the Greeks, it was found that they flourished side by side with the system of Zoroaster. And they had so many similar and contrasting ideas of the conceptions of God and their ways of life which might well be compared with the philosophy of our Prophet. The Iranians were a sub-stock of the Indo-Iranian Group coming down from the larger Indo-European Group. And we could easily, by the aid of the Vedas of the Indians, trace out with some distinctness the form of the original Aryan faith, held before the separation of the Indian and Iranian nations. It was also well-known that Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher of the sixth century B.C., after his return from Iranian lands, expounded his religious views in the same tune with those of the Zorosstrians that God was Light and His Soul was Truth,

and the way to meet Him was through the path of Truth.

Zoroaster, flourishing during the sixth or seventh century B.C., was the author of the Gathas, the Celestial songs, the earlier portions of the whole of the Avesta writings. It was he who first advocated the religion of Monotheism, and his predecessors, the Saoshyanto, the 'Fire-worshippers', seemed to have worshipped a plurality of gods, whom they called Ahuras, 'the living ones'—the various powers ruling the different aspects of life and the universe, in almost the same spirit as that of the earlier thinkers of the Vedas. Spitama, not satisfied with this narrow conception of the Divine Being, declared at last that the Supreme Being was Ahura Mazdao, (Mazdao is compared to Vedic Medhas, meaning skilful, able to make anythic.) who is

"the Creator of the earthly and spiritual life, the Lord of the whole universe, in whose hands are all the creatures. He is in possession of all good things, spiritual and worldly, such as the good mind (vohu-mano), immortality (ameretad), health (haurvotad), the best-truth (asha-vahishta), devotion and piety (armaiti) and abundance of every earthly good (khshathra-vairya.)"

He is not only the preserver of all good things, but the punisher of the wicked at the same time. All that is created, good or evil, fortune or misfortune, is His work, as we find again in Yasna:

"He who created by means of his wisdom, the good and the evil mind in thinking, words and deeds, rewards his obedient followers with prosperity. Art Thou (Mazda) not he, in whom the final cause of both intellects (good and evil) exists?"

Thus Ahura Masda is the originator of both the good mind and the evil mind (ekam mano) which are found in every human being. And these two final causes are called Spenta-Mainyush (beneficent spirit')

^{2.} Yesna, XLVII, 1. Translated by M. Hung in his Language, Fritings and Religion of the Parsis, p. 167.

s. 1644, XLVIII, 4.

and Angro-Mainyush ('hurtful spirit') through which Ahura-Mazda, the Supreme Lord of the Zoroastrians, reveals the creation of the world. These two spirits are inseparable, though opposed to each other.

"The beneficent spirit appears in the blasing flame, the presence of the hurtful one is marked by the wood converted into charcoal. Spenta-Mainyush has created the light of day, and Angro-Mainyush the darkness of night; the former awakens men to their duties, the latter lulls them to sleep. Life is produced by Spenta-Mainyush, but extinguished by Angro-Mainyush, whose hands, by releasing the soul from the fetters of the body, enable her to rise into immortality and everlasting life."

This is the great philosophy of our ancient prophet—the principle of good and evil conjointly acting through one another which wrongly interpreted by some to be the two Gods ruling independently, one the Ahura Mazda Himself ruling over the good and the other the Angro-Mainyush, commonly known as Ahriman, ruling over the evil. Thus arose the idea of God and the Devil ruling side by side which is really a later innovation as is apparent in Vendidad.

are the two spirits in every aspect of life, without them nothing can be brought forward. Thus there are two intellects (khratu)—the original or the spiritual intellect, asno-khratu or mainyu khratu (mino khird) and the secondary intellect or the intellect heard by the car (gaosha-sruta khratu), or the knowledge gathered through experience; two lives (ahu)—the bodily life and the mental life (astvat and manahya); and two stations-the heaven (vahishta-modern Persian bahisht) and the hell (duzhanha-modern Persian duzakh). The more appropriate name for heaven is garodemana, 'the house of hymns,' because the angels are believed to sing hymns there eternally and which is the dwelling place of Ahuramazda. There are the four stages of the soul here in this life or after death, advancing towards Eternity, the Home of Ahuramazda, as is found in Yasht:

"The soul of the righteous man first advanced with a step he placed upon humata (good thought); the soul of the righteous man secondly advanced with a step he placed upon hukhta (good word); the soul of the righteous man thirdly advanced with a step he placed upon huvarshta (good action); the soul of the righteous man fourthly advanced with a step he placed on the eternal luminaries."

Hell is also called druss demona, 'the house of destruction.' Between this and heaven there is the chinvat peretu (chinvad pul), the bridge of the gatherer, the nature of which has been described in lana (XLVI 10, 11):

"Whatever man or woman, O Ahuramasda! performs the best actions, known to thee, for the benefit of this (earthly) life, promoting thus the truth for the angel of truth, and spreading thy rule through the good mind, as well as gratifying all

those men, who are gathered round me, to adore (the heavenly spirits): all these I will lead over the bridge of the gatherer. The sway is given into the hands of the priests and the prophets of the idols (these refer to the devas or the poets and rishis of the Vedas of the Indians), who by their (atrocious) actions, endeavour to destroy human life. Actuated by their own spirit and mind, they ought to avoid the bridge of the gatherer, to remain for ever in the dwelling place of destruction (hell)."

The Avesta has also dealt on resurrection. How finely it has said of after-life:

"This splendour attaches itself to the hero of the prophets and to his companions, in order to make life everlasting, undecaying, imperishable, imputrescible, incorruptible, for ever existing, tor ever vigorous, full of power (at the time) when the dead shall rise again, and imperishableness of lite shall commence, making life lasting by itself (without further support). All the world will remain for eternity in a state of righteousness; the devil will disappear from all those places whence he used to attack the righteous man in order to kill (him); and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction."

The pair of good and evil is a necessary consequence of creation. It is only the human mind that possesses the capacity to create good and evil. As long as there is creation or expression of anything to the human eye, there must be good and evil, or rather scientifically speaking, positive and negative properties side by side. We have already found what to the rishis of India is a source of progress to goodness is an obstruction to the progress of the Zoroastrians. It may be so. And how excellently Khawja Kamaluddin clears up the matter in his scientific way:

". . . which of the two shall we call 'evil', when each of the pairs is a necessity in creating all that is going on in the world? Take the original pair of all, whose union creates not only a world of things, but whose comparatively recent discovery and use has contributed immensely to our happiness and comfort—nay, has galvanized the progress of our civilisation, I mean electricity, the union of the positive and the negative. Which of this pair, I ask, is evil, and which is good? Antagonistic and conflicting they may be to each other, in their properties; but they are complementary as well to each other, and that under 'the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knowing, under whose control they all 'float' in their respective 'spheres' without hindering the movements of each other—a chemical com-bination that produces a result far better than cohesion, as far as our comfort is concerned. But the former takes place only in things which are contrary to each other in their properties. In short, the whole heterogeneous mase is the bed-rock of universal homogeneity, and must consequently indicate Spents-Mainyush, and not Angro-Mainyush -the evil spirit."

And in support of it the following lines may well be quoted from the Quran*:

^{. 4.} M. Hang, Language, Wrisings and Raligion of the Parsis, 3- 404.

^{5. 1842,} Youks XXII, 15, p. 221.

^{6.} Ibid, p. 165.

^{7.} Ibid (Yarkt, XIX; 89, 90), p. 217.

S. "Islam and Zorosstrianiem." pp. 77-78.

^{9.} Chap. 26, 26-40.

"Glory be to Him, who created pairs of all things—of what the earth grows, and of their kind and of what they do not know, and a sign to them is the night. We draw forth from it the day, then lo! they are in the dark. And the Sun runs on to a term appointed for it; that is the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knowing. And (as for) the Moon, we have ordained for its stage till it becomes again as an old dry palm branch. Neither is it allowable to the Sun that it should overtake the Moon, nor can the night outstrip the day, and 'float' on in a 'sphere'."

These pairs of all things—the good and the evil, the positive and the negative—are like the waves of the sea which is apparent to us through its waves; and the moment a man reaches the ultimate, the final destiny of everything, he will realize that these contrary conceptions of the mind were the necessary consequence of the birth of a man, as is sung by Moulana Rumi in his Masnavi which is often called the Quran in the Persian language, 'Adam took a single step into the region of the enjoyment of animal spirit, his separation from the high seat of paradise became the punishment of his carnal soul." We find that the angels could not be brought before the world, for they are the emblem of purity; in the same way Satan also could not be given the vice-gerency on earth as he is the emblem of impurity: thus Adam is selected who is an admixture of good and evil. This is the theory of creation according to Muslim philosophers.

Now this universal homogeneity is the state of Ahuramazda, or that of the Supreme Lord of any religion. And the whole heterogeneous mass is composed of Spenta-Mainyush or the good spirit of any religion. For one who is proceeding towards the goal nothing will appear to him as bad, as Moulana Rumi says, "All thorns will appear beautiful like the rose, to the sight of the particular individual who is proceeding towards the universal."

Khar jumla lutf chun gul mi shuwad Pish-i-jazuyi ku suyi kul mi ruwad

Indian philosophy also declares likewise. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan says :

"Sin is the product of the shallow insight, breeding selfish egoism, that hugs its own narrowness and shrinks from all sacrifice. The Upanishads do not say that evil is illusion or that evil is permanent... Evil is unreal in the sense that it is bound to be transmuted into good. It is real to the extert that it requires effort to transform its nature."

In short, every religion is always of universal attitude and it is always a path to realization. The diversity in different religions, nay, the diversity of views that is found even in the same religion, is owing to the different tendencies of human mind. These

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differences of mind can never be avoided as long as one has not reached perfection. So every one is to proceed on his own way of thought and religion under whose fold he is living.

While describing of the philosophy of Zoroaster D. J. Irani says:

"It teaches us that life is a divine spirit eternal, and that this world itself is an earnest of the kingdom of Heaven. The aim and end of this life is to make the world happy, make others happy and thereby be happy ourselves and prepare the way for Eternal Bliss in the Abode of Songs. It is to reach the state of perfection ourselves and help the world in its progress towards perfection and thus secure our salvation."

And to reach that goal there is only one path which an Avestan passage declares as Acvo pathao yo Ashahe,—there is only one path and that is the path of Truth. Man must purify his essence and become God-like on this path of Truth (Asha) through assimilating the other divine attributes of God Almighty, such as the good mind(vohu-mano), devotion and piety (armaiti), selfless use of earthly good (khshathra) and sound health and delight in Beauty (haurvatad and ameretad).

Both the Achaemenian, ruling before the fourth and third century B.C., and the Sassanian kings, ruling from the downfall of the Seleucides, the descendants of Alexander the Great, to the advent of Islam, of ancient Iran, were staunch supporters of the rules of law and philosophy of Zoroaster in their ways of life and they were fervent followers of the religion of that ancient Seer. Below I quote from a Pahlavi¹⁰ fragment known as the Aogemadaecha of the Avesta, which religion for its beautiful thoughts and superior ideals of life will stand always in the same footing with all other religions of the world.

"O Spitama Zoroaster! I created the stars, the moon and the sun, the radiant fire of all life on earth; but better and greater than all I created man and gave him the gift and the word of truth and righteousness. But men wanting in reason adhere to that evil guide, passion, and think not of the ultimate end. On the sea of desire they are tossed about by evil passion. And clothing themselves with spite they are in constant strife for vanishing things. Silver and gold, wealth and possessions and (even) the valiant strong man will turn into dust; but what will not mingle with the dust are the acts of truth and righteousness of a man. May righteousness and goodness prevail, may the good prevail over the evil. Let us all seize upon and transmit all good thoughts, all good words and all good deeds that are done here or to be done hereafter; and let us all be within the fold of the righteous."

^{10.} Masnavi, Vol. II, first poem.

^{11.} Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 242.

^{12.} Poets of the Pahlavi Regime, p. 23,

^{13.} Or Middle Persian, the language of the Sassanian kings.

^{14.} Quoted from D. J. Irani's Posts of the Pahleel Regime, pp. 47-49.

"THE AMERICAN DILEMMA"

BY M. SREERANGARAJAN, M.A.,

The American Dilemma is the title of a famous work on Negroes by the reputed international social economist, Gunnar Myrdal. In that work the author most admirably portrays the dilemma with which the American Whites have been faced for several decades past-either to remove all social, economic political disabilities imposed on large sections of its own people, particularly the Negroes or to give up their professions of being the most democratic nation in the world. This awkward dilemma has been staring them in their face since the days of the Civil War. But no carnest effort was made by the Federal Government of the U.S.A. either to boldly face it or to resolve it until the appointment by President Truman, in 1946, of a Committee on Civil Rights whose report is now available.

An event of far-reaching importance in international relationship that resulted from World War II is the appearance of U.S.A. as the richest and strongest country in the world. The U.S. A. has been known all over the world as the country which gave us the famous slogan-"Government of the people by the people and for the people," and as a country where political freedom and individual liberty exists to the greatest extent. With the prestige of material strength added, since the last war, to the great moral prestige that she has been enjoying already, all democratic-minded peoples of the world naturally, and increasingly, look up to that country as a parago-1 of democracy for leadership of the world. That the United States of America is one of the countries where the largest measure of political democracy exists is undeniable. Yet one cannot ignore the glaring injustice, political, social and economic, done to large sections of its own people, particularly the Negroes and the (Red) Indians. All outward expressions of inter-racial hatred that were kept down on account of national exigencies during the war have now reappeared with redoubled vigour. The notorious Klu Klux Klan has staged a reappearance and become active in stirring up hatred against different groups, as of old, on the basis of race and religion. The sordid tale of inhuman atrocities that have been committed on Negroes and Red Indians by the Whites and of the innumerable discriminations and disabilities suffered by them is a long one and it is not intended to recapitulate that unpleasant tale here. It is only intended, through a review of the Report of the Committee on Civil Rights, referred to above, to show that American democracy is not all that it professes to be, and that there are very serious limitations to its scope. It is, in other words, intended to refer

though only by implication to some of the serious shortcomings of the American democracy, both as a system of government and as a pattern of society, and the remedies that are proposed by that Committee to rectify those shortcomings.

The Committee on Civil Rights which was appointed by President Truman because "ireedom from fear and the democratic institutions which sustain it, are again under attack," was asked

"to enquire into and determine whether and in what respect, current law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State and local governments, may be strengtheded and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people," and to "make recommendations with respect to the adoption or establishment, by legislation or otherwise, of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of civil rights of the people of the United States."

The Report deals with the serious violations of civil rights of minority groups and remedies therefor, with particular reference to the position of Negroes.

Part I of the Report deals with the "historic civil rights goal of the American people." The Committee stresses four basic rights that form the essence of American democracy: (i) the right to safety and security of the person; (ii) the right to citizenship and its privileges, irrespective of race, creed and colour; (iii) the right to freedom of conscience and expression; and (iv) the right to equality of opportunities in every sphere. The Report confesses that in considering the existence of these rights, the Committee "learnt much that has shocked us and much that has made us feel ashamed."

Part II of the Report attempts to determine "in what ways our present record fall short of the goal." It considers that

"The record is neither as black as our detractors paint it, nor as white as people of good-will would like it to be."

The Report notes the tokens of progress made in regard to the extension of civil rights to groups which had been denied these rights, particularly the Negroes, and states that

"The greatest hope of the future is the increasing awareness of more and more Americans of the gulf between our civil rights principles and our practices."

The Report then goes on to deal with individual violations of civil rights. Dealing with that most inhuman practice—lynching, the Report points out that it "remains one of the most serious threats to civil rights," since no year in the last six decades has

been free from it. It is stated that during the period 1882 to 1945 while six New England States have had no lynchings, each of the eight southern States have had over 300 and each of seven more southern States from 100 to 300 lynchings. The Report deplores the connivance and often the complicity, of some State and local officials in this barbarous practice and several other forms of official laxity or misconduct, as a serious reflection on American justice. The Report also severely condemns the discriminatory practices and limitations of rights and other social evils which are rooted in segregation.

"Segregation has become the corner-stone of the elaborate structure of discrimination against some American citizens. Theoretically, this system duplicates educational, recreational and other public services, according facilities to the different races which are separate but equal. In the Committee's opinion, this is one of the outslanding myths of American history; for, it is almost always true that while indeed separate these facilities are far from equal . . . No argument or rationalisation can alter this basic fact: a law which forbids a group of American citizens to daily living, creates inequality by imposing a caste status on the minority group."

The Report emphasises, throughout, the imperative necessity of allowing full individual liberty and giving a fair treatment to all groups, particularly racial and religious minorities, and points out that justice is indivisible as between different groups of the same people.

Part III of the Report details the steps to be taken by government in the discharge of its responsibility for the enforcement of civil rights. The Report asserts that

"The national government of the United States of America must take the lead in safeguarding the civil rights to all Americans."

It considers the undertaking by the Federal Government of a positive programme of action in this regard, as an urgent necessity. Hitherto, the chief sanction which was used to secure the enforcement of federal civil rights laws has been the criminal one; but because experience has proved that this is not adequate, the Report urges that resort should be had, in addition, to a wide variety of other sanctions, including civil remedies, administrative orders, the withholding of grants-in-aid and the principle of disclosure. The Report also emphasises the need for education as well as legislation in an effort to reach the goal of American democracy.

Part IV which is perhaps the most important portion of the Report contains the recommendations of the Committee in regard to the further steps to be taken to reach the goal of the American democracy as enunciated in Part I of the Report. The Report urges that there must be a sustained drive ahead for the extension of all civil rights to all groups of the people—and that, for three strong reasons:

"Morally, the United States can no longer countenance these burdens on its conscience, these inroads on its moral fibre; economically, the United States can no longer afford this heavy drain upon its human wealth, its national comptence and internationally, the United States is not so strong; the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."

Briefly, the following are the recommendations of

the Committee:

I. To strengthen the right to safety and security of the person, the Committee recommends: (i) the enactment of new legislation or the amendment of existing legislation for the correction of certain technical irregularities in law; (ii) the amendment of existing laws for enhancement of penalties from 1000 dollars fine and one year imprisonment to 5,000 dollars fine and 10 years prison treatment; (iii) the enactment of new legislation specifically directed against police brutality and related crimes; (iv) the enactment of an anti-lynching Act; (v) the enactment of a new criminal statute against involuntary servitude; (vi) the formulation of procedures and policies against the abridgement of the liberty of any person or groups of people because of race or ancestry, in regard to wartime evacuation and detention of certain groups of people; (vii) the enactment of legislation for the protection of claims of evacuees for specified property and business losses resulting from wartime evacuation.

II. To strengthen the right to citizenship and

its privileges, the Committee recommends: (i) action by States or the Congress to end poll taxes as a voting pre-requisite; (ii) the enactment of legislation protecting the rights of qualified persons to participate in federal primaries and elections against interference by public officials and private persons; (iii) the enactment of legislation protecting the right to qualify for, or participate in, Federal or State primaries or elections against discriminatory action by State officials based on race or colour; (iv) the enactment of legislation establishing local self-government for the district of Colombia, and extension of suffrage in presidential elections and representation in the Congress; (v) the according of suffrage by the State of New Mexico and Arizona to their Indian citizens; (vi) the modification of federal naturalisation laws to permit the granting of citizenship without regard to the race, colour or national origin of the applicant; (vii) the repealing by the States of laws discriminating against aliens who are ineligible for citizenship because of race, colour or national origin; (viii) the enactment of legislation according citizenship to the people of Guam and American Samoa; (ix) the enactment of legislation and formulation of administrative measures to end immediately all discrimination and segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin in the organisation and activities of all branches of the Armed services; (x) the enactment of legislation providing against discrimination of any kind against any member of the Armed Forces by any public authority or places of public accommodation, recreation, transportation or other service or business.

III. To strengthen the right to freedom of conscience and expression, the Committee recommends: (i) the enactment of legislation by Congress and State Legislatures requiring all groups

which attempt to influence public opinion to disclose the relevant facts about themselves, through systematic registration procedures; (ii) the taking of necessary action to clarify the loyalty obligations of federal employees, and establishing procedures by which the civil rights of public workers may

be scrupulously maintained.

IV. To strengthen the right to equality of opportunity, the Committee recommends: in general, the elimination from American life of segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin and the conditioning by the Congress of all federal grants-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose, on the absence of discrimination and segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin; the enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment based on race, colour, creed or national origin, and the issue, by the President, of a mandate against discrimination in Government employment and the creation of adequate machinery to enforce this mandate; regarding education: the enactment and enforce-ment of fair educational practice laws in public and private educational institutions, prohibiting discrimination in the admission and treatment of students based on race, colour, creed or national origin; regarding housing: the enactment by the States of laws against restrictive covenants and renewed court attack, with intervention by the Department of Justice, upon restrictive covenants; regarding health services: the enactment by the States of fair health practice status forbidding discrimination and segregation based on race, creed, colour or national origin in the operation of public and private health facilities; -regarding public services: the enactment of laws against discrimination and segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin in public services, both in the national government and the States; the establishment of a unit in the federal bureau of the budget to review the execution of all government programmes and the expenditure of all government funds for compliance with this policy of nondiscrimination; the enactment of a law prohibiting discrimination or segregation based on race, colour or national origin in inter-State transportation and all the facilities thereof to apply against public officers and employees of private transportation companies; the enactment by the States of laws guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation for persons of all races, colours, creeds and national origins.

V. To rally the American people to the support of a continuous programme to strengthen civil rights, the Committee recommends: a long term campaign of public education to inform the people of the civil rights to which they are entitled and

which they owe to one another.

VI. Finally, in regard to the additional machinery needed for the protection of civil rights, the Committee recommends: (i) the reorganisation of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice to provide for the establishment of

regional offices, an increase in the appropriation and staff to enable it to engage in more extensive research and to act more effectively to prevent civil rights violations, an increase in investigative action in the absence of complaints, and its elevation to the status of a full Division in the Department of Justice; (ii) the establishment, within the Federal Bureau of Investigation, of a special unit of investigators trained in civil rights work; (iii) the establishment by the State governments of law enforcement agencies comparable to the federal civil rights section; (iv) the establishment of a permanent commission on civil rights in the executive office of the President and the simultaneous creation of a joint standing committee on civil rights in the Congress; (v) the establishment by the States of permanent commissions on civil rights to parallel the work of the Federal Commission at the State level; (vi) the increased professionalisation of State and local police forces.

These far-reaching recommendations of Committee clearly emphasise the enormity of the injustices, political, social and economic, suffered by a large group of racial and religious minorities in America. Whether necessary legislative and administrative action will be taken to implement all, or at least some of the important recommendations of the Committee for removing these injustices is more than one can say. Already President Truman has, in proposing anti-lynching and anti-segregation legislation to the Congress, evoked much opposition and criticism even from the members of his own party coming from the Southern States. Much as democratic-minded people in America as well as outside hope to see the "American Dilemma" resolved by the extension of civil rights to all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed, religion or national origin, it appears as though, with the present state of public opinion in the U.S.A., it is still too premature to hope for a complete change of heart on the part of those who have been opposing such a reform for several decades past.

The Report of the Committee on Civil Rights in America should be of more than passing interest to us in this country owing to the sufferance of similar injustices by Harijans and such other backward communities. Though the sub-committee on fundamental rights appointed by the Constituent Assembly has already made similar recommendations against the injustices suffered by certain communities on the basis of caste or community, it may be necessary, sooner or later, to appoint a special committee to investigate the specific discriminations and disabilities suffered by all groups of backward peoples, and to make suitable recommendations for remedy thereof.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

-EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE CONSTITUTION OF FREE INDIA: Mrityunjay Banerjee M.A. (Econ.). Published by Das Gupta & Co., 54-3 College Street, Calcutta, FP. 196. Price Rs. 6 only.

The writer, at present in the Bengal Junior Civil Service, has started the book with the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16, 1946. He has traced its various fortunes its sabotage by the British Government's declaration of December 6, 1946, and the adoption by the British Government of the device of June 3, 1947 by which India was divided. Then he gives a succinct account of Constituent Assemblies that had framed the constitutions of the United States of America, of the French Republic, of the Weimar Republic for Germany, of Canada and Australia. His omission of the Soviet Union's constitutional frame-up leaves a significant gap in the consideration of this problem. And even his summary of constitution-making in the countries he has touched upon is scrappy. For instance, he has referred to the Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union adopted in 1777 by representatives of 13 'colonies." On the Atlantic sea-shore which have developed into the United States of America today, and of their unsatisfactory sequel--- disorder, discontent and widespread grievances"-without explaining what these were and how Philadelphia Convention held 10 years later was affected by these. This particular Convention has been called by the author "the matter of Constituent Assemblies for framing Federal constitutions", and a more intimate description of its proceedings would have enabled us to understand the difficulties through which all Federations have to work through,

Mr. Banerjee has published reports submitted by various committees for consideration of the final shape of Free India's constitution. All these are in the melting pot; even the "Objectives" Resolution accepted on January 21, 1947, is going to be changed; the word "Republic" found therein has been suggested to be replaced by the word "State"—a very significant change, indeed! In this view of the matter, the book under review has been a little too previous,

Chapter XI of the book dealing with Indian States gives a good summary of the evolution of a Trading Company into the "Paramount Power" over Rajput, Mughal potentates.

The last Chapter XII deals with Political Parties in Anglo-Saxon countries, in France, in Italy, in Germany, in Soviet Union, and in India as these are said to be "the back-bone of a democratic government." This description needs a more detailed elaboration than the author has been able to do. From the nature of the case as the Constitution of Free India has yet to be, the book supplies a bird's eye-view. This is its value. Its price is too high.

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: (1939-47). By Dr. A. C. Banerjee, Lecturer of the

Calcutta University. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Pages 574. Price Rs. 15 only.

As "a source book of Indian Constitutional history" this volume is more ambitious. But it has been reduced to a mere skeleton of resolutions and statements of policy by the absence of a back-ground history of the many developments that hastened the removal of 'British control' from our country. The general readers will, therefore, find in it less interest than if there had been a record of India's struggle for freedom. The book is made up of Congress statements, of Muslim League statements, of those made on behalf of the British Government. Dr. Banerjee appears to have depended for his collection on summaries in the Press-a source that has deprived the hook of all life. Even in printing these summaries, he has not cared to give reports of the many debates that took place in the British Parliament during the period. We have seen more detailed reports in Indian publications-(The Indian Annual Register is one of these). These debates would have enabled the readers to understand the British game that, since 1939, started to fight rear-guard actions against Indian Nationalism. These reports would have enhanced the "enduring value" of the book.

Perhaps, an attempt will be made in the next volume

Perhaps, an attempt will be made in the next volume to remove this defect. Such collections have value for the Indian students of affairs who will find in these materials that will enable them to intelligently follow the proceedings of the Indian Constituent Assembly trying to hammer out a satisfying constitution for their country.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

FOR SEEKERS OF GOD: By Swami Shivananda. Advaita Ashrama, 4 Wellington Lane, Calcutta (13). Pp. 170. Price Rs. 2-8.

Here we have the English rendering of some of the dialogues that Swami Shivananda, the head of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, had at different times with his disciples and enquirers who came to him for guidance in their spiritual endeavour.

In the present atmosphere of the world when human carnage is going on at intervals almost everywhere in the globe, when individuals seem to suspect each other as a possible enemy and nations and countries look angrily at each other, such talks will fall flat on many ears. But an equal number, we hope, will feel that they contain truths which may be clouded for the time being but do not die. And when the present temper of humanity has subsided, their light will shine the brighter. We are inclined to agree with this latter view and recommend the book as a help to spiritual aspirants.

Perhaps there is a touch of idolatry in these deliberations which may not suit all tastes. But idolatry itself is a difficult and ill-defined conception in the unfolding of the meshes of which we dark not enter.

The human element, however, that is present throughout the conversations, makes the book excellent reading.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE'

GAZING ON THE BELOVED: By Gertrude Murray. Hind Kitabs, Bombay. With a Foreword by Mr. Harindra Nath Chattopadhyay. Price Rs. 2.

This collection of poems shows that the wielder of the forceful and effective pen in Verdict on Beverley Nichols, is also capable of a tender pathos and a touching sentimentality of a delicate and sensitive nature. Miss Murray has true lyrical qualities in her. Some of the poems, specially those addressed to 'Kurion' embody moods beautifully, with fitness of language and verse, and a deep sense of pathos. The poems are highly enjoyable.

POEMS OF INDIA: By A. C. C. Harvey. New India Publications, Lahore.

This is a collection of poems inspired by Indian themes and scenes. Here and there one comes across vignettes from nature drawn with a high degree of sensitiveness and fine poetic balance. The poems are marked with the evidences of a frank and open mind, a poetic temper, and a poetic response to the phenomena around. The Grand Trunk Road has a majesty of its own.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

EGO, HUNGER AND AGGRESSION: By, F. S. Perls. M.D. Capt. S. A. M. C. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. Price 12s. 6d, net.

The book is an attempt at "a revision of Freud's theory and method." The author has criticized the theory of the development of the libido and also the conception of Ego and its functions as propounded by Freud and other psychoanalysts. In doing so however he has gone beyond his depths in many places and has often indulged in fanciful statements. For example, nothing could be more absurd than the author's statement that the psychoanalysts consider the Ego as a substance. If the libido has to develop from anal, oral and other stages to the final genital stage, then no one, according to the author, should have any interest in cating and defecation after the genital stage has been reached. It is not possible to discuss this problem in details here but it will be enough to mention that Freud himself has dealt with the problem exhaustively in different papers and has shown that in its process of development the libido never abandons any one of the stages it has passed through as completely unnecessary. The author is a supporter of the Gestalt school and claims that the use of "holism" (field conception) and Semantics (the meaning of meaning) can successfully replace the Freudian theory. He discards the free association method of the Psychoanalytical school and suggests some oral exercises. He has stressed upon the different stages of food intake as "suckling", "biteling" and "chewling". According to him, proper working out of these stages in ingestion of food is the panacea of all mental disorders. The author, therefore, prescribes certain exercises to be punctiliously followed by the patient while eating any thing. In other words, correct eating as prescribed by the author will cure patients suffering from mental troubles and he claims to have achieved satisfactory results by treating patients according to this new method. The significance of oral libido has been strongly advocated by Malanic Klein but the author does not follow Klein's line of thought. The importance of eating exercises or rather dental exercises has been over-stressed in the book. Psychology thus tends to be once more identified with Physiology.

The merit of the book lies in the fact that it attempts to approach mental disorder from a new angle. Physical approach to mental facts is not new but he has indicated a special physical way of treating mental diseases. A systematic effort has been made to cure particular mental symptoms by special body-concentration exercises. While the exercises prescribed are interesting enough they can have, we feel, little influence on the techniques of psychoanalysis and far less on a revision of Freud's theory and method.

S. C. MITRA T. C. SINHA

THE INDIAN CHILD IN HOME AND SCHOOL: By R. R. Kumria, M.A., P.E.S.. Ilmi Markaz, Lahore, 1946. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 3-8 or 5 s.

Unlike many treatises on education full of pedagogical discussions and display of intellectual gymnastics in the arena of child psychology the present volume deals with the child and its growth from the point of view of a teacher and a guardian in a refreshing and attractive manner.

The author rightly believes that democratic nationalism should be India's goal of social, political and economic organisation. And he has offered suggestions based on his experience and intensive thinking as to how this spirit may be inculcated in the children of India through educational training in the Home and School. It is a pity that most parents do not take nor are they even conscious of the responsibility of bringing up children in the proper method. But it is this younger generation that is the hope and prop of future India. It is time therefore that due emphasis shiuld be put on the education of children and that Home and School should co-operate in the joint business in man-making.

We welcome Mr. Kumria's book and recommend it to the careful study of educated parents who are interested in their own children and future India as they will be much benefited to learn therefrom the art and science of rearing up children in a proper way.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

HAND-BOOK OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY: By Siva Prasad Monkherjee, M.A., Asutosh College, Calcutta. Pages 307. Price Rs. 6-8..

Commercial geography is gaining popularity with our students at the university. Majority of books on the subject are written by non-Indian authors who naturally write from their points of view and as such these books ill suit Indian requirements. Prof. Mookherjee's book is specially meant for our under-graduate students, who will find the various topics discussed in the book not only well arranged but presented in an interesting manner. After the pertition of the country into two independent dominions, study of Economic Geography has attained special importance because of new trade barriers and re-shuffling of trade with foreign countries. In many matters each dominion shall have to begin afresh and such attempts would mean in same cases a real set-back to our economic prosperity. The book, although meant for students, will give even & layman a general idea about the subject. At the end of each chapter questions from the Calcutta and other universities have been given which the students will

As our university is going to introduce Bengali as the medium of education almost immediately for all examinations, the author will do well to bring a volume in his own mother-tongue, which will do not only better service to students but to his countrymen in general. The book contains valuable tables, illustrations and maps very useful to readers.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANU-SCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY. (Vol. VI, Grammer, Prosody and Lexicography): By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya (special Editor, the Adyar Library). The Adyar Library. Price Rs. 25.

The present volume contains detailed descriptions of. a little over one thousand manuscripts of Sanskrit works mainly pertaining to different systems of Sanskrit grammar (Paninian as well as non-Paninian). There are also a number of works on the grammar of Prakrit and what is more interesting a few on the grammar of the Telugu language. In all we have here about 750 manuscripts on grammar while there are about 250 manuscripts on Prosody and Lexicography taken together. Besides referring to the contents and special features of the manuscripts as well as the works, and the time and history of the authors the descriptions occasionally mention if a particular work has been printed or any other manuscript has been described elsewhere. But unfortunately the information on the last two points is not given systematically or in a complete form. It is noticed the descriptions have been prepared in a rather mechanical and stercotyped way; well-known and published works have been treated in the same manner as little-known ones, quotation of extracts from the beginning and end of a manuscript forming a common feature of the descriptions irrespective of the nature of the work. The introduction by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja gives a general survey of grammatical literature in Sanskrit without drawing any special attention to what is more essential in a work of this type, e.g., the unique or important items of the volume under review and the special features thereof. The volume bears testimony to the diligence and care of the learned compiler, the beautiful get-up and the nice printing as is usual with the publications of the Library reflects credit on the authorities of the Institution and we hope the future volumes in the series will be free from the few defects pointed out above and thus turn out to be all the more attractive and useful.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BAIJAYANTI: By Nisikanta, Asrama Library, Pondicherry.

The author has won a distinctive place among the powerful modern Bengali poets. The poems under review are marked by rich patriotic fervour, deep spiritual glow, and an easy command of the poetic diction.

SILPA, SAMSKRTI O SAMAJ (Art, Culture and Society), Part I: By Binay Ghosh. Agrani Book Club, 7B, Jugipara Bye Lane, Calcutta.

Dialectics, Analysis of Art, Truth and Realism, Poetry, The Evolution of Poetry, The Novel, The Historical Development of the Novel, Modern Soviet Literature, Science, Man and Society, The Form of the Cultural Crisis, The Middle Class and the Society, Our Duty,—these are the dozen essays contained in the book. The essays evince wide study, analytical intellect and neat exposition.

HINDI D. N. MOOKERJEA

KRIPA-KIRAN: By "Raihan." Vora and Company, Publishers Ltd., Bombay, 2. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-8.

Here is a garland of one hundred and eight songs in praise of the glamour, glory and grace of Sri Krishna. The author is a well-known Muslim devotee (her identity is transparent behind her pen-name), whose music has moved and melted many a heart in and around Sevagram and Bombay. She has sung of Love—at once human and divine—in almost its entire gamut. The

ecstasy and inspiration of her song are so evident that one cannot but call it *Knipa-Kiran*, the grace (and gift) of God. As such, her Krishna is the attraction and object of adoration of all and she herself, an ambassador of amity everywhere.

KAVI 'PRASAD', 'ANSU' TATHA ANYA KRI-TIYAN: By Prof. Vinayamohan Sharma. Radhabai Pandit, Shivaji Prakashan Mandir, Lucknow. Pp. 147. Price Rs. 2.

The author is a well-known Hindi scholar, writer and critic. His present work is an essay, at once analytical and appreciative in the poetry of the leading modern Hindi poet, Prasad (the poet's pen-name). He first assesses the poet's place, ideologically as well as expressionally in the history and hiearchy of Hindi poetry; then, evaluates the beauty of his works like Prem-pathik, Kanan-kusum, Jharna and others together with a full-length appreciation of his Ansu. The book will stimulate both the college student and the general reader of Hindi literature. And that is a great achievement, indeed.

G. M.

GUJARATI

DILLI DIARI (Delhi Diary): By M. K. Candhi. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March, 1948. Price Rs. 3.

It is a mournful pleasure to have to introduce the publication of these prayer specches of Mahatma Gandhi from 10.947 to 3-1-48. According to many students of Gandhi literature, these speeches present a most lovable, compact and beneficial portion of his writings. They are practically his last will and testament to the nation. They serve as a beacon-light from Delhi, sparkling with spiritual illumination over a benighted country, and pointing with unerring force the path which India must take if she is to fulfill her destiny. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's foreword has rightly declared his full confidence in the utility of the publication—"These pages are likely to contribute to the re-establishment of that peace and concord for which he worked and died." Never was such a contribution more needed than now.

The printing, as usual of the Navajivan Press, is good and the volume handy. The price is comparatively cheap for 468 pages.

It has a brief index at the end, and the table of contents, chronologically arranged, had been suitably worded to help the readers.

There is no reason why the Delhi Diary should not be profitably used as a text-book.

RUBAIYAT ANE BIJAN KAVYO: By Hargovind Premshankar Kavi. Published by Nathalal Dave, Bhavanagar. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 116. Price

Thanks to Fitzgerald's translation into English the Rubaiyat (Quatrains) of Umar Khayyam have acquired a world-wide reputation, though in Iran itself he has not acquired that fame which Firdausi, Hafiz, Sa'adi or Rumi have acquired. There is not a single cultured language of the world in which a translation of these Quatrains is not found. Even the Japanese have it. Mr. Har Govind has been able to preserve in Gujarati the spirit of Fitzgerald's notable verses. Mr. Umashankar Joshi's introduction betrays as usual a deep study of the subject, and points out the different attempts made heretofore to publish the translations of other writers. Fitzgerald's text is given for purposes of comparison. The work is an admirable effort made in the direction of making the Iranian poet's work widely known amongst Gujarati readers.

K. M. J.

Problems of Independent India

Science and Culture observes:

Attainment of Independence on the part of a great country like India after long years of colonial rule has to be followed by revolutionary changes in outlook towards the totality of country's problems inclusive of political, economic, social and religious ones. Unless the ideas are sound, and followed by prompt action, even such a great event as Independence may be followed by a period sterile in achievement, and sowing more seeds of trouble for the future.

It is our impression that though the present government is composed largely, though unfortunately not wholly, of persons who have earned undying fame as fighters for the cause of freedom, and have shown great initiative of action in certain directions, there are other equally important subjects which have escaped their vigilance and penetration. One of the most urgent set of problems to which they have so far paid only scanty attention is the Reform of Administrative Machinery. They have inherited the present machinery from the British who developed it out of their ideas of Imperialism, guided by the central thought that India was to remain for ever a part of the British colonial empire. Whatever may have been the merits of the 'steel-frame' from the British point of view, our leaders who are now in saddle, were outspoken before they took office, in their criticism that the system was not suited to the needs of a free and independent country, which would want to undo the legacy of poverty and unusually low standard of living by rapid industrialization, rapid improvements in agriculture, communication and defence. But so far no effective steps have been taken, either to reorient the existing civil service personnel to the changing needs of the country, or to lay the foundation of a new civil service suited to the needs of an independent country nor to do away with the irksome procedures causing extreme delay in taking decisions. To use a metaphor we have repealed the coachman by the motor driver, but the horse has not been replaced by the motor engine.

Let us see what are the defects of the present system of administrative machinery and how a better system, suited to present-day needs can be evolved.

The spearhead of the present system of administration is the "Indian Civil Service" which is followed by such specialized services as provincial civil services, audit and account service, engineering, police, railway, etc. The Indian Civil Service has now been replaced by a general 'Administrative Service'. Most of the entrants to these services, except with provincial ones, are recruited on the basis of all-India competitions, from amongst the university graduates of India, and are assigned to specialized posts or to general administrative posts.

It is a continuation of the same old system of recruitment of the civil service, and their absorption in the duties of the State. No arrangement has yet been made to broaden the basis of recruitment to suit the new needs of the State,

or to train up the recruits to specialized jobs, instead of allowing them to become jacks-of-all-trades.

This would have been quite right in the nineteenth century, when the peacetime activities of the State were confined only to law, order and raising of taxes and the emphasis which was laid on classical education as the most qualifying achievement on the part of the competing student had probably some justification.

With the growth of industrialism, the activities of the Government have grown to be enormously more complex.

Probably public health was the first item to be added to the cares of the State, in addition to the classical items of law and order, and at different times, public education, factory labour, transport and communication services, agriculture, fuel and power, control of internal and external trade, housing, social insurance and organization of research for industrial, agricultural and defence purposes have been added to the cares of the State.

Though each of these subjects in a democratic society has been under a popular minister, or of officers enjoying the confidence of the head of the State, the proper care of each subject requires a body of public servants whose education and training should be vastly different and variegated from what was necessary for the police State of the nineteenth century.

How have those needs been met in other countries? Even in England where the civil servant, after recruitment by means of competitive examination is assigned to specialized jobs, and is not as a rule allowed to be jack-of-all-trades as in this country, he has not been found to be coming up to the changing needs of the State. To quote Sir M. Sadler:

"Administrative officials seem weak in the field of imaginative and creative suggestion—in the points which characterise original minds. If you read an offical file, you will find as a rule that the experienced official is better at telling a subordinate what not to do than at interesting him in ways of doing better what is already passably well done, or in encouraging him to conceive bold innovations in existing methods of administration."

Nor is Sir Michael Sadler alone in the severe view he has taken of the civil servants.

The overdevotion of civil servants to precedent, lack of initiative and imagination, procrastination, and unwillingness to take responsibility, or to give decisions have been enumerated as lately as in 1944 in the report of the U. K. Committee on Training of Civil Servants.

The Rowland Committee (Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45), remarking on the habit of government organizations to be resistant to evolutionary changes, and to lag behind progress in political ideas and advances in administrative techniques, offers the following comment.

"The main reason, perhaps, is that bureaucracies are free from the compulson under which business organizations labour of keeping up with competitors and they do not have a profit and loss account at the end of each year to indicate whether or not their methods and their adminis-

tration require amendment or improvement. The spirit of adventure and enterprise is lacking, partly because, at any rate in a Democracy, all the actions of Government servants are liable to criticism by the Legislature. They, therefore, tend to play for safety, to go slow and to rely on precedent, and to seek in the past rules for guidance and action even when the situation facing them is in essence different from the circumstances of the past to which they appeal."

Though it is the minister who is responsible for enunciating the policy of the organization under his charge, it is the traditional duty of the civil servants while decisions are being formulated to make available to the minister all information and references from facts demanding all the wisdom and all the detachment he can command. But has this job been satisfactorily discharged by the civil servant? The impression is that the civil servant "plays for safety", says Herman Finer:

"We are beginning to see, in fact, that it is difficult for any one but an expert fairly and effectively to criticize an

expert."

Though it has been admitted that guidance from experts, be he a scientist, engineer, medical man, educationist, industrial manager, or financier—are needed now for every matter of governmental policy and administration, it has not been found easy to secure this guidance. For in every country, the administrative civil service has up till now occupied all positions of vantage, and administrative authority. He usually resents it as an encroachment on his privilege, that any distinguished man from outside, should be called to such posts.

H. G. Wells with a great amount of justification characterised the I.C.S. as constituting a new Brahmin caste.

When expert advice is needed, the usual method is to appoint Committees of specialists whose decisions and deliberations are conveyed to the minister by the civil servant in charge of the subject, who is generally without any expert knowledge of the subject. The expert, even when a full time servant, is kept in an outer ring, to whom full knowledge of policy making does not reach. One such expert on public health Sir Arthur Newsholme complained before the Tomlin Commission:

"I had no real difficulty in consulting the secretary (a civil servant), and the president (a minister) when I deirsed this: the difficulty was to know beforehand when important public health matters—sometimes they arose out of my own minutes—were under discussion between the president and the secretary, and thus to secure a voice

in the discussion before decision."

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In the United Kingdom, it was the contention of the specialists that their advice had too often to be presented through administrators and is distorted in the process. As a matter of fact, the Institution of Professional Civil Servants (those not belonging to administrative services) represented to the Tomlin Commission that no decision involving technical questions should be taken unless the specialist concerned had the opportunity of presenting his advice directly to the official, or the minister taking the decision.

Though this was agreed to by the Commission the demand that the heads of technical divisions should be given equality of status with the administrative head of the department was not agreed to in 1936. Customs die hard.

In the meantime, the World War II came and revealed, as no amount of argument could have done, the folly of keeping the professional man in the outhouse, like the poor relations of a rich man.

Large numbers of scientists, technicians and other professional men had to be pressed hurriedly into government service, and they had to be given rank and status in the administration which encroached mercifessly on the 'preserves' of the administrative civil servant. Some of the scientific men were taken as ministers others were given secretarial ranks. The absorption of scientists into the government were found so profitable that the Government of U. K. appointed a Committee under Sir Alan Barlow of the Trensury, which emphasized the need of a scientific civil service in the following words (1945):

"The Government has decided that the scientific civil service is to be reorganized. They are deeply conscious of the contribution made by science towards the winning of the war, a contribution which may have altered the whole course of the war and has certainly shortened its duration. They are equally conscious of the contribution which science can make during peace to the efficiency of production, to higher standards of living, to improved health, and to the means of defence. They are resolved that the conditions of service for scientists working for the government shall be such as to attract into the civil service scientifically qualified men and women of high calibre, and to enable them after entry to make the best use of their abilities, in order that scientists in the government service may play their full part in the development of the nation's resources and the promotion of the nation's wellbeing.

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Israel

The New Review observes:

Isreal was born not of democracy but of racialism, Lord Balfour's promise of a National Home did not imply a Jewish State covering the whole Palestine, not even a Jewish State. But Zionism, being a racial movement, roused the deepest emotions, obscured the judgment of its adherents, and ran into political extremes. It was well on its course in the twenties when the achievements of Jewish initiative and tenacity began to rouse the jealousies and fears of the Arab population. Constant immigration fed the number of Zionist settlers, and from being one in ten at the time of the Balfour declaration, they became one in three of the Palestinian population. Jewish and Arab racialism fought for supremacy with increasing bitterness, and when Britain announced her intention of renouncing her Mandate, the situation grew from bad to worse.

her Mandate, the situation grew from bad to worse.

The U.N.O. proposed a partition into independent states: the Jewish State would have 5,000 sq. miles with 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs; the Arab State 4.500 sq. miles with 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. A Jerusalem enclave of 289 sq. miles with 105,000 Arabs and 100,000 Jews and a mixed administration would complete the distribution of land, men and powers.

The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. support the partition, Britain remained neutral and India wisely suggested a Federation with autonomous districts.

The partition plan failed to rally Arabs and Jews. The United Nations whiled the time away in cumbrous discussions. Britain began withdrawing along the Haifa pipe-line, and on May 15 Israel was born whilst the Arab Confederates rushed in to smother it in its cradle.

The Governments who voted for partition are expected to recognize the new Israel state; Britain who favoured Jewish settlements but paid subsidies to Transjordan and supplied arms to Egypt and Iraq is likely to remain neutral; her direct interest is in withdrawing her 100,000 troops from a bad spot.

The first moves of the belligerents were expected. The Jews tightened their hold on the harbours of the Mediterranean coast, and secured their sea-contacts with outside supply-lines; they are inferior in numbers but they have many tried non-commissioned officers, their settlements are compact, and they can put up a prolonged fight which may discourage the invaders. The Arab states have numbers on their side but they are liable to rivalries; their initial plan seems to be the occupation of the Arab majority districts. It is not unlikely that the appeal of the U.N.O. for a truce will be heeded. Then will be the time for India to press her solution which appears the most equitable.

The Bear and the Eagle

The same Review observes:

Since the Big Two are growing more and more unfriendly, a historical retrospect may be welcome as a background to their relations. When in 1933 President Roosevelt recognised the Soviet Government, he said: 'In a general way Russia and America are separated by ideologies and joined by national interests'. The saying had as much or as little significance as the dithyrambs we heard during Chiang Kai Shek's visit to India about the two-orthree-or-five thousand years friendship between India and China. Down to recent times there was never any lasting tension or conflict between Russia and America for elementary reasons. Russia was at case in her snow-bound empire and had her main door on the west. America was growing in isolation satisfied with her internal resources and markets and limiting her diplomatic views to the old Europe. The two countires had few trade relations, and their diplomatic contacts were fostered only by their common opposition to England or later to Cermany. What is rather striking is that on the few occasions they had direct contacts, their rivalries were keen, and their ideolo-

gies were amply watered down by national interests.

In 1776 Catherine refused Georges III any help against the rebellious Americans and established the Neutral League; she was only too happy to see the young republic fighting British sea-supremacy. At the same time she sent back the American envoy and returned Washington's portrait, saying: 'This man is unknown to her Majesty'. Under Czar Alexander I, policies became clearer; both countries were at one against the extension of the sea-blocus. Diplomatic relations were established (it had taken thirty-three years after the American revolution, as it was to take sixteen years after the Russian revolution of 1917); things went so smoothly that Alexander and Jefferson developed a pen-friendship.

In 1812 Napoleon's attack on Russia forced the Czar on England's side just after America had declared war on England; tension grew at first, then vanished away.

Less than ten years later Jefferson was thundering against the Holy Alliance and the wicked kings who had signed it. What had happened? Napoleon was gone, the blocus abandoned and the two countries had come into conflict over Alaska and South-America. Captain Bering discovered Alaska in 1741; from 1790 till 1819 the 'American Russia' developed quietly and Alexander could in 1821 proclaim that the Pacific Ocean was a Russian sea. On the other hand, the Holy Alliance was planning a military expedition to reconquer and return to Spain her American colonics. America was alarmed at these European intrusions. In two months the Monroe Doctrine was



put into shape and proclaimed as a dogma of American democracy. It was a direct challenge to the Alliance and her moving spirit, Russia. Though a Russo-American Treaty was signed in 1824, the challenge to Russian

expansion remained unaltered.

During the remainder of the XXth century the two countries had few contacts, and their different ideologies did not mar their friendship. Britain and France tried to enlist Russia's help on behalf of the Secessionists but the autocratic Czar refused to help the partisans of slavery; on the other hand when he reduced the Polish insurgents by revolting massacres, Britain and France protested but democratic America kept silent. Their common opposition to Britain's sea-supremacy kept them united; national interests dictated a common policy in spite of divergent mentalities. For most of the time, the danger was greater for Russia, though during the War of Secession the Russian navy was of some help to Lincoln and the North.

When the Crimean war had proved that Russia could not defend her American possessions against the British navy, Russia ceded Alaska to the U.S.A. for a paltry sum.

So singular a friendship came to an end in the Far East. America had grown into a big power and her victory over Spain advanced her interests and commitments beyond her frontiers. She came to the Far East by way of the Philippines. It was round 1900. By that time Russia had also reached the Far East through Manchuria and Korea. Both countries met at a time the Chinese Empire was breaking up. Russia was making a bid for Chinese spoils; America wanted China to live on, she took her stand for Chinese integrity and the open-door policy. Tension developed. America turned for support to her old rival, England, and consequently to Japan. The 'Moscovite Peril' was detected and denounced; the former 'Russian liberalism' was 'unbearable tyranny' and Nicholas 'a horrid little creature'. Japan was acclaimed for challenging Russia. But Japan's swift victory woke up America to the 'Yellow Peril'. President Roosevelt offered his gracious mediation but the 'traditional friendship' with Czardom was never resumed. In 1911 Tast denounced the trade-treaty, and within the week following the fall of the Czar-regime, Wilson had recognised the Provisional Government; subsequently, however, the Bolshevik defection turned American sympathy into wrath and fear.

During 1918-19, Wilson followed the tortuous policy of the Allies to continue the Red flood but called off the blockade in 1920.

America cleared Siberia of Japanese troops, she sent food and other supplies during the famine (1921-22); she also willingly lent her engineers for reconstruction work. and Col. H. L. Cooper built the famous Dnieper Dam which became the pride of the Soviet. Differences in ideologies did not mar the even tenor of peace, a peace of alcofness. Diplomatic relations were re-established in 1933, for the sake of common interests: Japan was strongly entrenched in Manchuria, Hitler had come to power, and Mussolini had grown truculent. Friendship was resumed, as of old; friendship against a third party.

It vanished away with the third party in 1945. Hardly had the hostilities terminated that the differences between those that had become the Big Two multiplied. Stalin mercilessly exploited all the advantages he had wrought out of Roosevelt at Teheran against Churchill's opposition and soon imposed his will on the countries bordering Russia. America temporised in the vain hope that Russia would one day relent and compromise. Matters came to a head in London when the breakdown of the Conference

dissipated the Teheran delusions. America plumped for

the get-tough policy, and an all-out struggle.

The Bear and the Eagle face one another across the North Pole, and in their eyes there is distrust, fear and

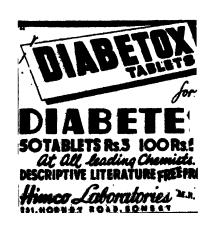
The Milk Problem of Bombay

It is surprising to find that the milk problem of Bombay has not attracted the attention of the public. Principal T. A. Kulkarni writes in The Social Service Quarterly:

The population of Bombay is about three million The recent additions of refugees from Sind has slightly increased it. The per capita consumption of milk is about three ounces and a half. This means that we want 6,00,000 pounds of milk per day. The minimum number of animals which supplies this quantity is about 50,000 buffaloes. The cow is not found a suitable animal by our milkman. Still we have in the city about 5,000 cows roaming about in different places. Most of these cows are living in the city limits without a license from the Corporation. Out of 50,000 buffaloes, which supply our milk, nearly 20,000 are located in stables in different wards of the city proper. The number supplied to me by the Milk Commissioner's office puts down the figure at 19 to 20 thousand whereas the Bombay Corporation officially puts it down at about 15,000. The suburban area has about 30,000 buffaloes more. In addition to this supply, the two Railway lines of B.B.C.I. and G.I.P. supply about 1,00,000 pounds of milk. The price of milk is about annas eight per pound. The quality of milk is a question over which no one should quarrel. It is a white liquid with varying degrees of density and fat content. The Bombay Corporation has an arrangement for testing milk and many cases of adulteration are detected. The price of milk in Bombay is more than twice the price of milk in the large cities of Europe.

Most of the buffaloes in the city and suburbs are tied down for 24 hours of the day and night in insanitary surroundings.

The animals gather fat and become useless for procreation or milk production in about eight months' time when they become dry. There is hardly any customer for such animals except the manufacturer of fat. The animal which is originally purchased for 700 or 800 rupees is often sold for a trifle and the milkman has to cover all



his expenses of rent, municipal license, feeding of the animal, servants' charges, his profits and the whole price of the buffalo from the milk that he is able to get from the animal in eight months. This is necessarily a bad bargain and so long as these conditions continue, the quality of milk and the price will not change, but things will grow worse. The animals are now being removed to the suburbs which at present seem to have a sufficient grazing area, but as the city grows, the land in that area also will become scarce and conditions will not very much improve. Every month 5,000 buffaloes become dry and are sent out either to Baroda State, or Gujrat Districts or to Jamner in Khandesh District. After a few months when they calve they are brought back to Bombay. Every month 5,000 buffaloes are required to replace those that become dry. The Punjab, Gujrat and Kathiawar are three sources from which new animals are brought.

sources from which new animals are brought.

Out of the total of 6,00,000 lbs. of milk which the city requires for its daily consumption, about becomes from distant places like Anand. The remaining supply comes from the city proper and the suburbs. This supply cannot be kept up unless the requisite number of animals as available. Bombay has a very unenviable reputation of slaughtering buffaloes in the provinces that sell them. Even today in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Government and the Corporation, thirty to forty animals are slaughtered every day. The calves are generally neglected and they die and the milk dealer does not think it necessary to keep them alive to keep up the supply of milk. There are hardly 5,000 calves in the city and suburbs. It is difficult to maintain the supply according to the needs of the population and hence it is a necessary consequence that in the near future there will be a milk famine in the city.

To deal satisfactorily with the unsatisfactory milk condition of the city, the Government of Bombay has issued the Milk Plan whose object is to deal with the problem in its four aspects:—(1) Removal of cattle stables from the city and Bombay Suburban District to suitable sites, (2) bringing in of long distance milk in processed condition, (3) organised distribution of raw and processed milk in Rombay and (4) statutory control on production, distribution and prices.

There are nearly 1,100 stables spread over in the city and suburbs, housing about, 55,000 animals.

Most of these stables cannot satisfy conditions of producing milk even under ordinary standards of sanitation. The aim, therefore, in the first instance, is to : remove 25,000 buffaloes located in the city to suitable sites on the B.B.C.I. and G.I.P. railway lines where new accommodation will be found for them in structures typically sanitary. There will be dairy farms working under proper supervision. The village of Are and Wagle Estate near Thans comprising an area of 1,422 acres have been already acquired by the Government. More areas are proposed to be secured and then the idea is to spend about 465 lakhs of rupees for land, roads, and cost of salvage for dry animals. The estimate includes the cost of a model dairy farm which the Government proposes to maintain with 500 animals in it. This scheme also has provision for the salvage of dry animals. It is proposed to contribute 5 lakes of rupees to the Anand Scheme. The expenditure will be spread over a period of 5 years. The stables will be let out to private owners at reasonable rent and it is considered that the rent will not be excessive. A beginning has been already made and tenders have been invited for the construction of 5 stables worth about Rs. 35 lakhs. My fear is that the rising costs of material and labour will make the estimate of double the intended cost of 465 lakes when it is actually worked



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THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JULY, 1948

out. If Government is thinking of spending so much money on the scheme, instead of having the stables near Thana, which is so near Bombay, let them construct the whole scheme a few miles beyond. Let the place lie at least 40 miles from Bombay so that there will be no difficulties of grazing, salvaging of dry animals and rearing of calves. We welcome this scheme provided the area selected is at least forty miles from Bombay.

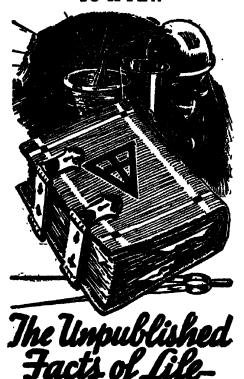
In the milk plan of the Government, there is a Short-Term Anand Scheme and a Long-Range Anand Scheme. To bring milk from Anand which is a distance of 266 miles is considered a satisfactory proposal by the Government.

Ultimately Government has come to the decision that if they succeed in removing about 25,000 animals from the city and locate them near Thana, they will be able to solve the milk problem of Bombay. They expect that it will take them about ten years to remove the stables from the city and when that is done, I am afraid, they will realise that the prices of milk will not go down. There is hardly anything in the Scheme which gives the hope of the reduction of prices. The gowli who is now carrying on his trade in the city will be removed to the suburbs, but his greed will increase, because he does something new. Why do we want the stables in the suburbs? Why can we not think of removing them from there to the adjoining districts of Kolaba and Thana which are prepared to solve all our problems? Let the Government scheme be taken to a long distance in the districts of Kolaba or Thana. In addition to the Government scheme we should invite the Rural Development Boards of Thana and Kolaba to help us in the production of milk. They can supply us with cheap milk, because they have three railway routes in their area; stations on the lines Virar to Balsad, Kalyan to Kasara and Kalyan to Karjat can have any number of buffalo stables built on sanitary principles. All the dry buffaloes can be salvaged to places a few miles from the railway stations where plenty of grazing areas are available. One more advantage which these areas have is that if they get plenty of cowdung manure, they will produce more rice in the area which is already cultivated. They do not burn cowdung but use it as manure in fields.

The Dhangars in these areas, who are good milkproducers, never purchase anything from the bazar for their animals. We should welcome more schemes for the production of milk. Thereby we shall help to cheaper milk.

Under the above circumstances, I wish that Government should hasten with their scheme. I wish they start a model dairy near Thana. A conference of all those who are interseted in this problem should be called and the Rural Boards of Thana and Kolaba Districts should be invited to give their schemes of production of milk. It is no use herding all our cattle in the suburbs, because, once they are put there, they will not go from there if at a future date, on account of the expansion of the city, we require that area for human habitation.

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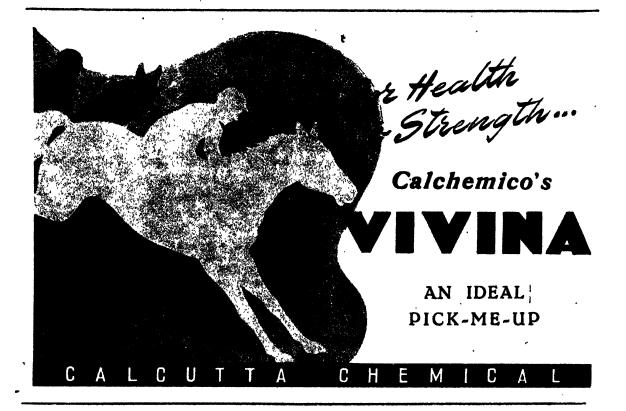
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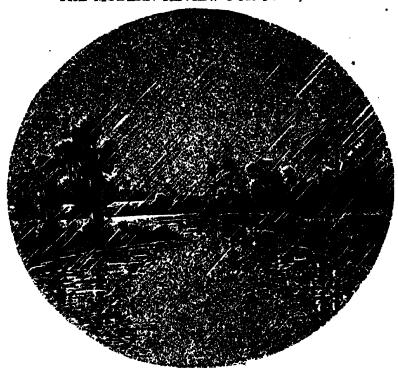
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India and Pakistan

Excerpts from some of the speeches delivered at the Tenth Anniversary Meeting of the India League of America held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, N.Y., on January 6th 1948:

Dr. Henry F. Grady, United States Ambassador to India: "As I am Ambassador to the Dominion of India I shall direct my remarks to that country. It has everything necessary for greatness—talented leadership in government, industry and business, and a national culture deep-rooted and rich. It is the quality of culture that is the measure of the quality of a people. Its workers have natural manual facility and can be trained effectively and rapidly as industrial development gains momentum. It has rich mineral resources and hydro-electric and irrigation potential of extraordinary degree. This potential is the basis for very great increase in agricultural and industrial development—the foundation for a truly modern state.

"The financial structure of the Dominion of India is sound. The Federal Reserve System is well-managed and its policies enlightened and well-directed. There has been a three-fold increase in the currency since 1939 but assuming normal production there is no danger of serious inflation. But here as in so many countries, increased production—both agricultural and industrial is the key to the solution 'of India's main economic problems. The public debt is not large for a country of three hundred million people-between six and seven billion dollars. Taxation particularly on individual income can be increased as national production expands. Future budgets will be balanced unless over period of time there are extraordinary governmental expenditures. India not only has the possibility of great production increase, it has a great home market famished for goods of all kinds. Moreover there are great potential export markets in the countries in South-East Asia.

"The railroad system before the war was very good but now badly needs re-habilitation. This is basic to economic recovery. Highways can and will be built up. Intercoastal and off-shore shipping will be developed. These problems are a challenge to the government and people of India, but that they will meet this challenge I am confident.

"The government though new and somewhat inexperienced is forward-looking and competent. Parliament is conducted with great decorum and dispatches
its business very effectively. As in industry so in
government there are men of unusual talent. Nehru is
one of the world's statesmen. He has rare qualities of
heart and mind and has instilled into his government
alertness and energy. When the history of India is
written, he will rank as a great statesman and the
architect of his country's fortunes.

Sirder J. J. Singh, President, Indis League of re-iterate that hope on this America: There are rumblings of war in the sub- League But, I must add, the continent of India and Pakistan. True friends and well- if it can be established on wishers of India and Pakistan hope and pray that such between India and Pakistan.

a catastrophe will not overtake these two newly born

independent states.

"The Government of India has done well in making an urgent and timely request of the Security Council of the United Nations for intervention in the fighting now going on in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This shows they have nothing to hide. They are willing to lay their case before the forum of world opinion.

"The Security Council must act with haste. It must immediately issue a 'stop fire' order. If the actual warfare which has been going on in Kashmir since the end of October, 1947, is stopped, there is every chance that the present trouble will be localized and will not spread. The Security Council, besides issuing the 'stop fire' order, must immediately send a Fact Finding Commission to India. Such forthright, quick and effective steps by the Security Council may avert the impending clash between the armed forces of India and Pakistan.

"An open warfare between these two Dominions will spell disaster for both. It will retard for years the much needed economic and industrial plans of both countries.

"An open warfare between India and Pakistan will not solve the Hindu-Moslem problem-just as the creation of Pakistan has not solved the Hindu-Moslem problem. Let us suppose that India's armed forces inflict a defeat upon Pakistan. Then what? Can any one in his or her senses believe that the defeat of the State of Pakistan will also mean the end of the Nation of Pakistan? Most certainly not. Forceful annihilaton of the State of Pakistan would further solidify the Nation of Pakistan. Not only that, but then surely the forty million Moslems living in India would become active fifth columnists. There would be sabotage, strife, arson, and guerrilla warfare practically in every part of India. Almost all the resources of India would have to be directed to putting down such sporadic rebellions. There would be no funds or manpower, or organizational machinery to tend the sick, the poor and the starving. There would not be enough money left, after the huge and constant war expenditures, to develop industries, hydro-electric projects, roads or agricultural reforms. There would not be sufficient funds for educating the masses or for providing better standards of living for them.

"The progress of India and Pakistan would be retarded twenty years, if not more, India and Pakistan will have missed the opportunity of giving a friendly lead to the other Asiatic countries. All the peoples of Asia are likely to suffer from such a set-back.

"In the recent past, after the creation of the two independent Dominions on August 15, 1947, the spokesmen for the India League of America have expressed the hope that India will become one again. I wish to re-iterate that hope on this Tenth Anniversary of the League. But, I must add, that we want this unity only if it can be established on trust, faith and friendship between India and Pakistan.

"The India League of America will continue to devote its time, energy and resources toward creating true understanding between the people of India and Pakistan and the people of the United States of America."

Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union and Treasurer of the India League of America: "Ever since India's struggle for freedom took shape thirty years ago, I have been privileged to aid my Indian colleagues in the United States. During all these years we knew that India was the key to the whole system of western empire over subject peoples, and that when it became free, the system would break up. We were right. The momentous movements among all the colonial peoples mark the end of the centuries of tragic oppression of the darker peoples by the white western minority. India has won not only her own freedom but led the way for others.

"No democracy on a world scale was possible so long as the imperial system lived. It has become possible only now in the last year, the fruit of countless sacrifices and determined struggles. India, blessed by a leadership in non-violence, has contributed more than freedom. It has led the world in a type of resistance whose moral power transcends its own ends.

"We Americans who have supported the antiimperialist cause were few. But with our Indian friends
we have impressed American public opinion; we have
routed the imperialist apologists; we have built a
bridge of understanding between the two new free
nations of India and the United States. We will continue in these difficult days of transition to aid with
understanding, publicity and practical contacts. They
will be needed to assure that the new nations maintain
the road of democracy against reaction or Communism.
They will be needed to build our countries into allies
in the councils of nations for the high goals of democratic internationalism. Only this unity will insure
against the spread of those quack remedies for oppression offered by the Communist doctors.

A Journey to Australia

V. Mikheyev thus narrates his experiences about his journey to Australia in New Times, July, 1945:

MELBOURNE-SYDNEY

Our next change was at Melbourne, the capital of Victoria, the smallest state of Australia, but densely populated and rich. This city has a population of over a million. It has wide, straight streets with ten and fifteen-storey buildings, large perks, gardens and boulevards, numerous monuments, a fine university, and is situated on a river on which ocean-going steamers travel. Numerous automobiles and motorbuses race through the streets. Almost every minute electric trains land thousands of people in the centre of the city.

Melhourne is the centre of the business life of the country. Here the majority of the ministries—which are distributed among three cities in the eastern part of the country—have their offices. The city grew up on gold, which is still mined in its environs. Over two hundred thousand workers are employed is its factories and docks. In the city, occan-going steamers, locomotives, machines, aircraft and tanks are built and automobiles are assembled from parts shipped from the United States, the chassis being made in Australian plants. Here, too, are concentrated most of the textile and clething factories of the country. The food industry is highly developed.

Victoria occupies the leading place in the country's stock-breeding and wheat-growing. Over 20,000,000 sheep and as many as 2,000,000 cows graze in its pastures. In both industry and agriculture the interests of big English firms are widely represented. Either directly or through agents these firms own millions of head of cattle and numerous factories and mining enterprises. The leading firm is Broken Hill Proprietary, Ltd., which has interests in nearly all branches of industry, from ore mining to manufacturing and shipping. Most of the stock in this firm is held by Englishmen.

From Melbourne to Sydney the railway winds between eucalyptus-covered hills, runs, through fields where innumerable cattle graze, and passes the Riverina Canal, the largest irrigation system in the country, which is flanked with orchards and vineyards. The fields are sown with rice and other grains requiring much water. Somewhat on the side looms Mt. Kosciusko, the highest mountain in the country and the only place in Australia where snow falls. Here there is bright sunshine, snow and warmth. One can go skiing and at the same time become sunburnt. This mountain, 2,200 metres high, is part of the Australian Alps, which runs along the coast. Low mountains of early origin, having a large number of caves, are the source of short rivers, the water of which is often brackish from the inflow of seawater during high tide. The stalactite cave in the Blue Mountains, to which motorbuses run, attract thousands of tourists.

In Sydney the railway has its terminus right on the shore, and if one wishes to trayel on to Brisbane, another change has to be made. An electric railway with numerous lines connects this world port with its environs, which stretch for fifty kilometres. The railway runs through the city underground, comes to the surface near the harbour and crosses a bridge to the other shore, where for over thirty kilometres stretch numerous settlements, now merged to form the present Greater Sydney, with a population of over 1,300,000. Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, is relatively small in area, but it contains over one-third of the population of the country.

In speaking of the sights of their city, the Sydneyans refer first of all to the Bridge, the Bay and the Beach. The suspension bridge, 3,770 feet long, including the approaches—the suspended part of the bridge is 1,650 feet long—is beautiful from a distance, but looks heavy and somewhat gloomy on close view. Sydney Bay is really wonderful. Its shore stretches for many miles. Ocean-going steamers can enter nearly every nook and corner of it. The narrow entrance is closed with



nots and strongly guarded, yet in 1942 several Japanese submarines managed to penetrate the inner roads. The shore is covered with gardens and lined with splendid mansions, each having its own jetty for mooring yachts and motor hoats, and miniature swimming poels. Only in a few places can one gain access to the shore within the city. The gardens of the rich mansions are fenced off right down to the water, and everywhere strangers are warned off by notices: "Private property. Trespassers will be appropriated."

will be prosecuted."

Part of the shore is occupied by a large Botanical Garden and a Zoo. The city spreads on both sides of the bay and then for many kilometres along the Pacific coast. It is belted on both sides with sand beaches. In the eastern part of Sydney and in its northern environs the sand beach stretches uninterruptedly for fifty miles. Hundreds of thousands of people visit the beach on Sundays and holidays, brought there by motorbus, etreetcar or local passenger boat. Members of the Life Saving Society patrol the beach and often drag careless bathers out of the water. The parades organized by this society are important events. They are described in the newspapers, shown in the cinema and are witnessed by thousands of spectators. The carefree life on the beach is not infrequently interrupted by the cry of "Sharks!" upon which all the bathers make for the shore as fast as they can.

Sydney is the largest port in Australia, It handles millions of tons of cargo annually, and is counted as one of the biggest ports in the British Empire. Merchant vessels of ten thousand tons, cutters, torpedo boats and corvettes are built in its shipyards. Its docks are capable of repairing any ship of no matter what size. In its environs are scattered munition, automobile and machine-tool plants, metal works, textile mills, large cold storage plants and numerous workshop and warehouses. The influence of England is felt less in Sydney; if

The influence of England is felt less in Sydney; if anything, American customs predominate, peculiarly adapted to Australian conditions. Fashions in clothes, hairdressing, dances and songs are American. This undoubtedly is due to the influence of Hollywood,—which sends numerous films here. We saw how the hearts of the youth of Sydney were captivated by the latest American dance, the jitterbug. Special evenings were arranged for this dance, and competitions and exhibition dances by the best performers were held. The dance is a peculiar mixture of acrobatics, risque stunts, Negro jigs and the walts. No music is needed for it. A drum, to beat time, is sufficient.

Sydney has the reputation in Australia of being extremely progressive. Indeed, the trade union movement is more highly developed here than in the other towns of Australia, and a certain "spirit of protest" against conservatism and a readiness to accept "new ideas" is observed. Here more newspapers are published than in other cities. There are eight radio stations, and several theatres. In proof of Sydney's progressive spirit the inhabitants point to the fact that Murdoch, the Australian newspaper king, who owns half a dozen reactionary newspapers in other states, has not been able to establish himself in Sydney in spite of all his efforts.

FARMS AND FACTORIES

Tens of millions of sheep graze in the pastures of Australia. These pastures are "over-populated" and this is causing the sheep-breeders considerable anxiety. Parliament and the press are discussing the problem of sheep-breeding as well as the problem of accuring future markets for Australian wool. The entire clip has been sold to England for the duration of the war, but the Australians are starmed by post-war prospects. Thanks

to large English meat contracts, considerable numbers of gattle are being slaughtered and this is relieving somewhat the congestion on the pastures. But the shortage of transport facilities, cold storage and of labour at the abattoirs is upsetting export plans. Owing to the drought and the dearth of fodder, large numbers of

sheep are perishing.

Slates' sheep farm, which we visited, has 20,000 acres, on which 10,000 sheep graze. The conditions of soil and climate here require two acres per sheep. The entire farm is surrounded with a wire fence and subdivided into sections of 3,000 to 5,000 acres each. The sections are separated from each other by wire fences to prevent the sheep of different ages and breeds from mixing. The sheep live on the section they are born into the end of their days. It is the function of the sheep minders to repair the fences, keep the canals clear, exterminate rabbits and perform a host of minor jobs. The farmer visits his flocks about twice a month, and his main concern is that no epidemics should break out among them. The busy season in sheep-breeding—the shearing—comes at the beginning of the winter. Groups of migratory shearers, travelling from North to South. go to Slates and complete the shearing in ten days. The average clip ranges from nine to twelve pounds per sheen.

Cattle also graze in large pastures, and also with scarcely any guard. Before the cattle are alaughtered they are taken in special trains of two-storey cattle trucks to be fattened in the rich pastures of the forest regions and from there are taken to the abattoirs. Most of the latter are situated near the scaports, where there are vast cold storage and packing plants. From here the carcasses or canned meat are shipped to other countries, mainly to England and to the Pacific war zone.

The world war of 1914-1918 stimulated the development of industry in Australia. Now, too, industry is experiencing a big boom. For three years, up to 1943, the usual supply of manufactured goods from England was interrupted. Australia was obliged to look to the United States, from where war equipment, machine tools and machinery for war plants were obtained under the Lend-Lease Law, and also to her own industry for her requirements. The old plants were switched over to war production, the government assigned large credite for the erection of new plants, and a number of state factories were erected. The state now owns several aircraft factories, shipyards and repair docks, ordnance works, and shell, chemical and clothing factories.

In Australia there are now being produced several types of aircraft and tanks, various types of armaments, tens of thosands of landing barges, several thousand

RHEUMATISM

The Amrita Bazar Patrika writes:

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Also many other Press and Personal References. Ourrent Press : Re. 5 per phial. Postage extra.

Prof. S. N. Bose, B.A.: Swami Premananda Ashram, P.O. Dattapukur: 24-Pargs.: West Bengal.

Local Sale Depot : "Amiya Stores", 96, Bowbazar St., Cal.

machine tools per annum and railway rolling stock (Australia built locomotives and cars ordered by the Allies for shipping goods to the U.S.S.R. siz Persia). She is producing annually 2,000,000 tons of pig iron in her six furnaces, increasing the mining and smelting of many kinds of nonferrous metals, changing from importer to exporter of copper, and beginning to supply the Allies with large quantities of zinc, tin and lead.

During the war, and last year in particular, attempts to check the industrial development of the country were observed. These attempts were made by certain quarters in countries which encounter Australian competition in the world market and wish to keep her in the position of a colony supplying the metropolis with cheap raw materials. It is common knowledge that Australia still imports from England cloth made from Australian wool.



Australia has to meet with exceptionally severe competition in the aircraft and automobile branches.

The outlook for the future is causing anxiety both to the government and the masses of the working people. The most common topic of conversation is the prospect of obtaining work after the war. People recall the crisis of 1929-1933, when more than half the workers of Australia were unemployed. In her quest for foreign markets Australia is turning her gaze to the Pacific countries, and particularly to China, which, as many believe, will become industrialized after the war. Australia intends to enter the struggle for the Chinese market.

CANBERRA-THE CAPITAL OF AUSTRALIA

Canberra is aituated on the slopes of the low Australian Alps. After long disputes between the states as to which of them should have the honour of being the seat of the capital, it was decided to build it in "neutral" territory and a site of several thousand acres in New South Wales was allocated for it. Here, by 1927, the city of Canberra was built, which now has a population of about 8,000.

Canherra is more like a large park than a city. It consists of several settlements separated from each other by avenues and gardens. It is a difficult job to make one's way from the Houses of Parliament to any of the settlements. Several motorbuses run at interval of 20 to 30 minutes and describe big curves as they follow the circles into which the capital is divided. There are no straight lines in Canberra; there are only rings of roads contiguous to each other. To pass from one house to another situated three or four blocks away, one must go round in a curve. past six or seven blocks.

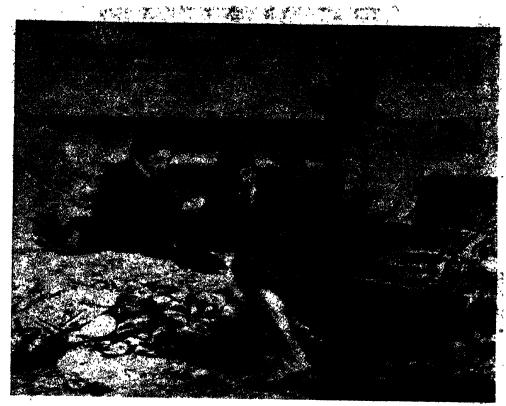
As many as 4,000,000 trees, mostly imported from other countries, have been planted in the city. Canadian pines and palm trees intermingle with Japanese cherry trees, which since the war broke out have been renamed "Chinese cherry trees." In the spring the city looks like a flourishing orchard and the fruit trees in blossom obscure the roofs of the houses. There are a few two-storeyed houses in the city—the Houses of Parliament, the hotel and several shops. The rest of the city consists of one-storey houses with large gardens.

Parliament assembles in Camberna every three months. It then becomes crowded and animated. At all other times its quietness "stuns" the visitor. The streets are deserted, sheep graze in the parks near the Houses of Parliament, and sometimes a rabbit darts across the street. The city is not yet completed. Much of it still exists only in blueprint. The visitor is conducted over the hills and told:

"Here there will be a new Parliament and there a large lake, and then Canberra will be like Geneva. Over there, to the left of the Houses of Parliament, the foreign embassies will be built. Do you see that tall hill? That's where the Soviet embassy will be."

2,000-Year-Old University

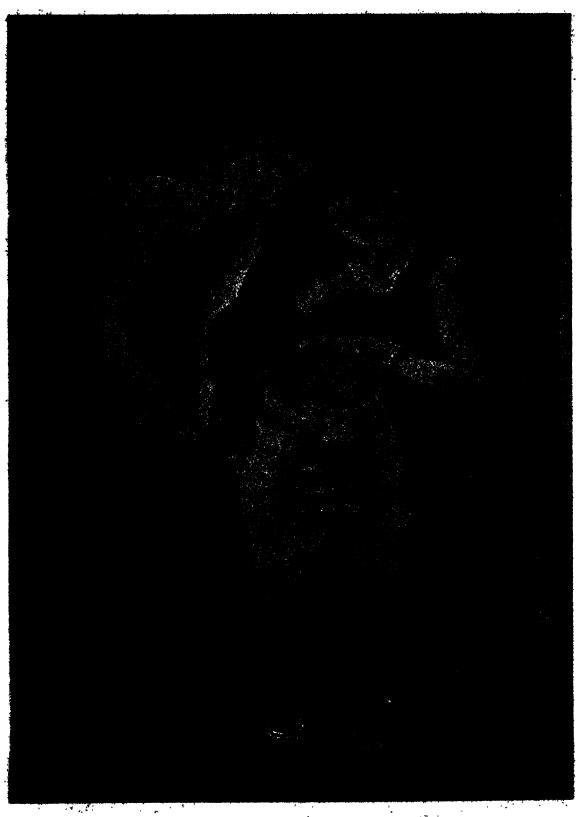
A 2,000-year-old university, believed to have flourished in Bhagalpur district, is to be excavated. The ancient Bikramshila University which is stated to have existed more than 2,000 years ago and is presumed to be older than the Nalanda and the Taxila universities, is lying buried in Bikramshila in the district of Bhagalpur, Bihar—Passive Resister, Johannasberg.



In this well-known picture painted by Sir John Millais in 1870, the young Walter Raleigh and a friend are listening enthralled to the tales of sea adventures told them by the pictures que mariner



seed from its roof super More the mint of classic Greece has been kept alive for



ANANDA AND THE UNTOUCHABLE WOMAN
Problem Press. Colemns By Santosh Sen Gupta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Action at Last?

Pandit Nehru has to be congratulated on his fighting speeches in Madras. The reaction to these speeches have not been long in coming. Loud and prolonged howls of protest are coming from all the enemies of India, not the least remarkable being that from the Arch-enemy of all Asiatics, Mr. Winston Churchill. In the debate on Hyderabad in the House of Commons, this senile antidiluvian, who handed Burma on a plate to the Japanese through his rebuff to the Burmesc Nationalists in the U Saw Mission-thereby causing leath and suffering to hundreds of thousands—was quite justifiably rebuked by Mr. Attlee for "selecting his facts from only one side." Mr. Attlee was absolutely correct when he emphatically stated that "Mr. Churchill generally starts with the pre-conceived opinion that everything Hindus do is wrong," and further he was quite right in stating that "it is the view generally accepted in India" about Mr. Winston Churchill.

We hope Pandit Nehru's speeches indicate the awakening of the Dreamer to realities. It is late in the lay, and the complications are myriad due to the policy of laisees faire adopted so far. The country is wide awake to the difficulties of the situation and the Government may be sure about the full weight of the people's sanction being thrown in its favour, if once action replaces hesitation and stern measures replace flowery speeches and abstract platitudes. The Nation's economic life has been jeopardised by the treacherous activities of some despicable gangs of Big Business, who have been brasenly looting the people behind the shield of ministerial amity and executive complicity, both at the Centre and in the provinces.

Labour has been led into intransigence through the nefarious activities of the Communist Party of historical evidence by India and their stooges of the A.I.T.U.C. It is now of Indian historians, reparent to all that the sole object of these fifth or no evidence the figure for the Industrialisation of India, so that the all tenets of race, cast Indian Union remain for ever at the mercy of those whose economy is far more advanced their destiny must making those lines. The Government must be seen of the Indian Union.

about the activities of all these disruptive elements and we think a stringent enquiry is called for, regarding the actions and speeches of certain A.I.T.U.C. leaders, who are willing tools at the hands of their communist masters. There have been howls about civil liberties from these people, who have had no compunction whatsoever in causing endless suffering to hundreds of millions in order that a few hundred thousand of their dupes might get advantages over the vast majority of the nationals of this country. It is about time the people were told that an unscrupulous "labour-leader" was as much a source of danger to the country as an unscrupulous capitalist, and much more so when he was acting as an agent of a hidden foreign enemy.

Hyderabad and Kashmir are major indicators of the trends of foreign diplomacy regarding the Indian Union. Mr. Attlee has done well by his country by clarifying the stand of his government vis-a-vis the Indian Union's policy. But it is no use hiding the fact that there is a growing sense of resentment in this country regarding the anti-Indian activities of a large number of British nationals whose sole aim seems to be to embarrass and injure the Indian Union. These blind fools seem to have forgotten the lessons of the last decade and a half, after the rise of Hitler. Malice is the ruling passion in their life, together with the hope of illicit gain. They are the avowed enemies of all Hindus because it was the Hindu who fought them and their predecessors with all the resources of mind and might. Sydney Cotton is not an isolated figure, nor is he the most important of his kind.

We dealt with the beginnings of Hyderabad in these columns last month. In this issue we append at the end of editorial columns the presentation of historical evidence by Sir Jadunath Sircar, the doven of Indian historians, regarding the same. But evidence or no evidence the fact remains that eighty-five per cent of the people of Hyderabad are inalienable, by all tenets of race, caste or creed, from their neighbours and relatives in the surrounding areas, and as such their destiny must march with that of the nationals of the Indian Thron

Pandit Nehru's Address to Workers

Addressing a mass rally of workers at the Corporation Stadium of Madras on the 26th of July, Pandit Nehru said that a country's well-being depended upon its production and its productive capacity from the land and from industry, "If we have to remove the poverty of India, if we have to increase the standards and well-being of our people; we must produce more and then, secondly, we must see that what our workers produce is properly distributed and that it does not stick in a few pockets.

"These two things have to be borne in mind, and the first of this is production. Now there has been a good deal of stress laid on production, and rightly so, and unfortunately there have been trouble and strikes and lockouts and the like which have come in the way of production. I am not going into these questions now except to tell you that any Government, any national Government, that we may have in the Province or in the Centre cannot subsist unless it has the largest amount of popular approval."

Referring to Communist activities, Pandit Nehru said: "I find today people talking in terms of Socialism and more especially of Communism. Excellent gospels. So far as I am concerned, I accept their fundamental principles, but I do not and will not accept the manner and methods of those who call themselves Communists, because I find that, in the name of economic doctrine. they are at the present moment trying both to coerce and sometimes commit all manner of atrocities in the provinces.

"They want us, in the name of civil liberty, to allow them to carry on these atrocities. No country is worth the name which can put up with this. No Government can put up with this. If any group or people want to declare war against the State, then the State is at war with them.

"I want to make this perfectly clear to the workers of this country and all those who want not only to better their (workers') lot but to change the social structure of society. The only way for them is to proceed peacefully and co-operatively by influencing the Government or by changing the Government and putting in their own Government.

But, if they go about in this new State of ours, this free India of ours-before it is fully stabilized, before it has completely adjusted itself after these very terrible changes that we have faced as a result of partition and other consequences that followed-trying to upset its structure, then they are no friends of freedom and no friends of India, no friends of the working class. They are only friends of chaos and anarchy out of which they hope to get something to their advantage."

Declaring that no Government could tolerate the misuse of civil liberties, Pandit Nehru said: "You know that I have stood for civil liberties. I have stood for the freedom of the individual and the group, and nothing else has pained me so much as that conditions should arise in this country when perforce civil liberties should be limited in the case lack for the present is the proper co-ordination of those

the very thing I have condemned in the past should to some extent be indulged in by our Governments whether at the Centre or in the Provinces.

"I want to tell those Governments-my Government in the Centre and those in the provinces—that, if the state of affairs and if the compulsion of events sometimes induce them and compel them to take action, they must take action, because we cannot endanger the security of the State. We cannot leave large numbers of people unprotected against this kind of attack.

"At the same time, each Government-Provincial or Central-must think hard and deep whenever there is the slightest inroad on civil liberty, whenever any single individual's right is to be taken away. It is dangerous to fall into a complacent mood, giving large powers to the executive or to the police, large powers to everybody to exercise authority as he wills.

"I see these dangerous things at work in India, and I dislike them thoroughly, but one has to balance between the two. One cannot allow the State to be in danger. When there is a danger to the State, normal standards do not apply. Then the first primary duty of any Government worth its name is to protect the community at large, and the people at large, even though that protection means certain limitations of liberty for some groups or individuals."

Proceeding, the Prime Minister said: "We are facing a situation, political, economic, external and internal, which creates more or less the same dangers, taking as a whole, as a war situation creates. Therefore, our duty should be to meet this situation with a war outlook, to see that we win through and overcome all these dangers.

"You know, the Congress has always been committed not only to people's raj, but essentially to workers' and peasants' dominance in that raj because workers and peasants are predominant in this country, and obviously any truly democratic Government must reflect their will. It may take time to establish it fully, but even so it will take less time if we do not reduce this country to chaos and anarchy by trying to get something done sooner than later."

Expressing surprise at the attitude of certain Communists who went to people like the feudal authorities of Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said: "This is an extra-ordinary thing for you to consider. What is there in common between the Communists and the Razakar leaders in Hyderabad? There is nothing in common, except one thingthat is the desire in the present context to create trouble and chaos. There is nothing else in common. How are we to meet this evil except combat it?"

Proceeding, Pandit Nehru said: "Have you ever looked at the man of India? Look at it again. Look at that magnificent chain of Himalayan mountains from the north to the north-east. There is no other area in the world which has more potential power than that locked in the Himalayas. All that power has to be tapped by human resources for the public good. We want to do that. We have begun to do

"We have every potential resource in India. What we of a number of individuals. It really pains me so much that resources with human power on a co-operative spirit and NOTES 87

a spirit of discipline, so that all of us together may serve the nation and serve the people.

"If we do so together, then, very rapidly, we can build up this great nation—it is not building up of people at the top but building from the bottom upwards. We have to raise the level of the common people, and we are going to do it. But you will waste your time if, instead of setting about that work, you simply fight and struggle and quarrel amongst yourselves. We should not fritter away our time and energy in wasteful strife as some of our misguided friends are doing today.

"I, therefore, beg of you, whether you are in the field of industry or railways or elsewhere, to give thought to the present state of affairs in India.

"The first thing before us is to get this country going, to get it properly stabilized and to increase its production, with one aim in view—that is, raising the standards of the mass of the common people and making them freer and better by putting an end to poverty and unemployment.

"We have, therefore, to combat these anti-social forces that are at work, and I call upon you, comrades, to fight these forces.

"I hope you will realize that the primary need of the day is to work for peace and order in this country and then for a strong and peaceful trade union movement which betters your lot and fights for you when your rights are challenged and which protects you when you are in any way victimized and which, at the same time, thinks always of the nation first and the individual and group interests afterwards."

Hyderabad Pot Boiling Over

The manner of Sydney Cotton's direct flight from Karachi to Hyderabad exposes the ugly hand of Pakistan and its supporters amongst British imperialist interests represented by Mr. Winston Churchill and his followers in British politics. It reveals what has long been suspected that a class of international adventurers have become busy fishing in the troubled waters of Indo-Pakistani relations. Sydney Cotton is an Australian adventurer; the 'Lancaster' in which he flew to Hyderabad bore the mark of Canada, and was flown over by British pilots. The Government of the Indian Union have, therefore, registered protests with the Governments of Australia, Canada and Britain for Sydney Cotton's escapade; with the Government of Pakistan for their air-port officials giving a clearance pertificate to him and adequate petrol supply for his machine, thus helping to break the Chicago Convention on air transit from one country to another. We are watching with a certain amount of cynical interest how these Governments try to get out of the trouble into which they have been let by Sydney Cotton.

It has been known for sometime that the Nizam of Hyderabad, said to be the richest individual in the world, has been able to buy support from those elements in the world's power-politics which have been unhappy with the emergence of India as a free State.

ment in the hands of these people, and the ruling authorities of the Indian Union cannot but take note of their activities and take steps to halt these.

For sometime past public opinion in our State has been hardening against the apparent supineness of their rulers in treating with Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan. The Socialist Party headed by Shri Jai Prakash Narain have been vehement in their criticism on this matter; the Communist Party, now under a ban, have in their own peculiar ways been trying to disrupt from within the Nizam's administration. The Mountbatten regime that ended on June 21st last made many attempts to "appease" the ruling junta of Hyderabad. The Rajagopalachari regime appears to have been a little more active, imposing "economic sanctions" on the Nizam State; these can make themselves felt only after a prolonged experiment

The Sydney Cotton episode has shown that the enemics of India are busy with measures to defeat these "sanctions." The protests of the Indian Union sent to Australia, Canada, Britain and "Pakistan" cannot be the last steps taken to beat down this conspiracy. Something more positive, more direct, will have to be done to drive sense into the minds of the Hyderabad authorities suffering from Pakistan crochets. The editor of the London weekly, New Statesman and Nation, Mr. Kingsley Martin, had suggested a more drastic remedy -that the Indian Union should look benevolently on the legal, the extra-legal, and the illegal activities of the enemies of the Nizam both in and outside his territories. He regarded the "Razakars," the gangster bands organized in the name of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeem organization as a distinct menace, patterned as it is on the Muslim League example in India.

Since he wrote the "Razakars" have shown their depravity on a more extensive scale. This has been high-lighted by what Mr. J. V. Joshi, Minister for Commerce in the Hyderabad, has said in course of his letter of resignation submitted to Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. It is reported that Mr. Joshi had made certain speeches exposing the atrocities perpetrated by the "Razakars" on the Hindus of the State; he had toured the districts of Nanded and Parbhani, and was "shocked" by what he had seen. And this pain he poured into language couched more as entreaty to the human instincts of the "Razakars" than as condemnation of their activities. A few samples of it will enable our readers to understand his mind.

"I am loyal, and loyalty demands recognising facts and remedying them before it is too late. Hindus in the State are afraid, have lost confidence, and are leaving their homes. They are sore and suspicious because of the loot, aroon and murder that are occurring in the State today.

". . . Rapine and rape seem to have become common.

"The term 'Razakar' means 'servant of God' and defender of the weak and the innocent. . . .

"What I saw at Loha shocked me—the wholesale loot of the entire Hindu community, the gruesome murder of three Hindus, arson and rape. All this has become intolerable. "I beg you to act, and act quickly. Weed out the mischievous elements and clean the Razikar organisation of this communal virus. You hold 90 per cent of the Services—Police, Military and Civil. You have a mass militant organisation of Razakars. You possess arms. The Hindus are weak and helpless. They do not possess arms. . . "

This appeal appears to have miscarried. Mr. Joshi has been forced out of the Ministry for his outspokenness. But the exposure has done one good—it has shown the true character of the Asafia regime. It is well-known that the Hyderabad Ministry represents the 'Razakar' gangsters, and Mr. Joshi's place there has been on sufferance, so long as he tolerated the 'Razakar' regime and winked at their misdeeds. But when he dared turn round, and point the accusing finger at the seat of disease in the State, the time came for the quit order to be served on him.

The world will now watch with suspense the further evolution of this drama. The Sydney Cotton episode has shown that the Nizam is not alone, that behind him stand reactionary forces of countries far and near, drawing inspiration from Anglo-Saxon domination over world affairs. Pandit Nehru's Government by trying to maintain and follow an independent foreign policy has not recommended itself to the dominant powers tossed on waves of power-politics. The Kashmir and Hyderabad affairs have given us a warning which cannot be brushed aside by eloquent pleadings. The enemies of India appear to think that while the Kashmir Commission is in India, something spectacular should be staged which will force the pace of Indo-Hyderabad disagreement, force it into a clash of arms. Perhaps, we cannot avoid it. The latest (27th July) news tells us of the occupation of village Nanaj on the Sholapur-Barsi road by Indian troops.

Currency Measures Against Hyderabad

The decision of the Nizam to be independent both politically and economically has forced the Government of India to take precautionary measures. The primary object of these measures is to protect the interests of India. Until a few days ago, the people of the Hyderabad State enjoyed as much freedom as any one else in India to remit funds overseas, within, of course, the exchange control regulations. But this freedom has been restricted to some extent. No bank operating in Hyderabad can now issue drafts involving foreign exchange for any person, even if he be the Nizam or his Government, without the previous permission of the Reserve Bank of India. Taking into consideration the secret arms deals initiated by that State, this restriction was invited by them. The object of the Government of India is to see that foreign exchange is not remitted from Hyderabad for purposes which are likely to strengthen the aggressive designs of the Nizam against India. This restriction alone was not sufficient to serve the purpose in view because there was nothing to prevent the agents of Hyderabad from getting funds transferred out of India through the banks in the Indian Union or Pakistan. The promulgation of the recent Currency Ordinance, providing for the control of the transfer of certain securities "which may be detrimental to the interests of India," however, proves that the Government of India is serious about closing all leakages of foreign exchanges on Hyderabad account. In the interest of India, it is imperative that there should be stringent restrictions and check over the remittances of funds from India to all the countries, including Pakistan.

The Nizam has declared the use of Indian currency illegal within his dominions. By this measure, Hyderabad Government had made a deliberate attempt to eliminate Indian currency from circulation and to push its own notes in circulation but retaining its power to transfer Indian securities abroad in its own interests. The Government of India has counter-acted this step by closing the currency chest of the Reserve Bank of India in Hyderabad operated through the Imperial Bank and bringing the surplus currency back to India. The Government of India is, in view of the past actions of the Nizam's Government, perfectly justified in withdrawing the currency chest from Hyderabad. Another reason for this step may be to prevent the balance of India's currency chest in that State falling into the hands of the Nizam in case hostilities break out. It is thus purely a measure of precaution and one in self-defence. If the Nizam teels embarrassed for these measures, he has only himself to thank, for they have been invited by him. The Nizam has given sufficient cause for viewing his activities in respect with the currency manipulations in his State with suspicion. He has already hoarded enormous quantities of Indian currency by selling out his investments in Government of India loans and by forcing the public of Hyderabad to convert the Indian rupce notes for Osmania Sicca notes, a factor which is principally responsible for the shortage of Indian currency which is now being experienced by the public in that State.

Nehru Denounces Hyderabad's Gangsters

Addressing a mass meeting at Madras on the 25th of July, Pandit Nehru said:

"The cutting of Pakistan as it is called has created innumerable problems—political, economic, social, but most of all psychological. We cut off semething from the living body of India.

"Partition came with our consent. We were consenting parties to it. We shall abide by what we have consented to. We consented because we thought that thereby we were purchasing peace and goodwill, though at a heavy price. We did not get that peace and goodwill, but got something terrible instead.

"There is no going back on the decisions made. We have accepted them and today the position is that if Pakistan wants suddenly to join India to reverse that process of history, I am quite clear in my mind that we would not accept it for the present. That would mean in the present content going back in a worse way

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to those troubled conditions from which we sought to escape through partition. It would mean shouldering the tremendous burdens that Pakistan has to shoulder. Therefore, do not imagine that however much I may regret the partition of India, I work for undoing it. I say this because of the fantastic allegations made by the leaders of Pakistan at Lake Success and elsewhere.

"It is a fantastic allegation that we are trying, or intriguing, to put an end to Pakistan. It is fantastic because that will be doing injury to ourselves. If Pakistan economically or otherwise collapses that will bring all kinds of injurious consequences. If Pakistan collapses, the danger to India would be great. Therefore, from no point of view would we wish for the collapse, economic or otherwise, of Pakistan.

"We want in our interest that Pakistan should continue economically and politically sound. We do not want Pakistan to continue as a progressively hostile country to India, because Pakistan and India, as they are situated, cannot remain for long just indifferent to each other. We have either to co-operate in a friendly manner or we have to be hostile and inimical to each other. There is no middle course ultimately. For the present, however, the middle course may be followed and it will continue for some years.

"Unfortunately during the past few months on the whole we have drifted apart. You see evidence of this, in the main, in Kashmir and Hyderabad, even though it is behind the veil.

"I am sorry to make these serious charges against not only a neighbouring country but against the people who, after all, whatever the political division may be, are Indians and will continue to be Indians even though they may call themselves something else."

Dealing with the Kashmir question, Pandit Nehru said: "At present there is a U. N. Commission in India considering the Kashmir matter. At the Security Council we said that Pakistan was aiding and abetting the raiders who had come across Pakistan territory to destroy the valley of Kashmir. We requested the Council to call upon Pakistan not to do so. It was a simple fact stated and a simple request made,

"Now the Security Council sat for six or seven months and discussed it and ultimately appointed this commission. Oddly enough, during these six or seven months of hard work and discussions, they never considered that simple fact that we placed before them. Because they did not do so, they were continually priceeding on a weak and uncertain foundation and on wrong premises.

"There is no reason why they should not have found out the truth. They did not choose to inquire into our complaints but they went away at a tangent and considered other matters. What is the position now? Everybody knows that it is not merely a question of Pakistan aiding and abetting some tribesmen but Pakistan sending their regular armies into Kashmir—that is Indian Union territory—and fighting our troops there.

Council was based on the fact that they were not aiding and abetting in any way and there was no complicity on their part in what was happening in Kashmir. Now it is established, as I do claim it is established, to the knowledge of every person who inquires into it, that Pakistan is practically fighting and has full complicity in the Kashmir affair. The whole case of Pakistan was built on falsehood and deceit. I shall not say more about Kashmir."

Pandit Nehru again referred to the partition of India and deplored the tendency among some Hindu communalists who were thinking in terms of a Hindu rashtra. "Attempts to do that will bring conflict and ruin to the nation. Those attempts will be resisted to the end."

SECULAR INDIA

"We stand for a united India, for a secular India and for an India in which every citizen would have his religion, equal rights and opportunities and obligations as any other."

He deplored the tendency among some of the Hindu communalists who were trying to oppose the Muslim Communalists and were thinking in terms of a Hindu rashtra.

He added: "Attempts to do that will bring conflict and ruin to the nation. Those attempts will be fully resisted to the end. Either they will be defeated or the nation will suffer tremendously. In the modern world of today communal States cannot exist except in a terribly backward condition."

Pandit Nehru asked whether they wanted India to become a great, modern, progressive and strong nation and play a great part in the councils of the world or degenerate.

"Now", he said, "Pakistan clearly proclaims and puts forward a completely different ideal. It talks about an Islamic State. A theocratic State and communal State. It is not for me to advise Pakistan. They can go their way and they have gone their way.

"But I am interested, as I told you, in Pakistan, because to my mind however much it may cut itself away, it still remains part of India. It surprises me how rapidly Pakistan is going downhill in mind and body alike. Today to talk in terms of a nation in theocratic and religious terms is to talk in a language used to be spoken a few hundred years ago. If Pakistan goes back and accepts that, it will not ultimately succeed and in doing so it will come to grief. But because Pakistan talks in a language of a few hundred years ago we are not going to be foolish enough to talk in the same language."

Pandit Nehru continued today there were more Muslims in India than in any other country in the world except Pakistan. "What about these Muslims in India?" he asked. "Sometimes people talk of demanding from them a certain loyalty. Well, of course, people who live in India and are citizens of India are expected to be loyal to India. If they are not then they isolate themselves and they no longer have any place in India. Nevertheless it is rather silly for any one to go on

publicly demanding loyalty from them. I am not demanding anyone's loyalty but I do wish to make this clear that I can understand very well the crisis in the mind and spirit which the Muslims in India have had to face during the past year. It has been a difficult year for them and those who were completely loyal to India, even they had to face this crisis quite naturally.

"I sympathise with them and like to help to resolve that crisis, I stand for the development of a composite culture in India which will no doubt be predominantly influenced by the predominant elements in the country. But nevertheless it will be open to all. Having said that I wish to say again that India is facing and will continue to face various crises and our countrymen who are Muslims in India have to understand quite clearly how they fit in this composite picture."

Pandit Nehru said that during his brief stay in Madras he was surprised to read certain journals that were issued on behalf of Muslims. "I find in these journals a trace of arrogant communalism that has brought so much injury to India. Now I want to be frank with you. The Muslim League in the past followed a policy, a poisonous policy, which has done harm to India and which has brought about partition. The Muslim League and all those who think in the tradition of the Muslim League have no place in India today. That Muslim League has been wound up, I believe, by its own crestwhile votaries in most places in India.

"I was surprised to find some people taking exception to the Jana Gana Mana and the crest of the State. I say that it is a challenge and an insult. If any Mussalman here wish to carry on those old traditions, I would suggest to them in all friendliness to depart for Pakistan. Because otherwise it will not be happy for them and happy for us. Otherwise tension will continue and in the composite and secular State we will have elements that will not fit in.

"Recause, you see the whole conception behind Pakistan was not a national conception. It was a religious extra-territorial communal consideration. That, of course, in the modern age, is rather a fantastic notion.

"Now Pakistan has come into existence. If the old Muslim League idea was at all right, then it means there can be no Hindu who can be a citizen of Pakistan or a non-Muslim, Christian or Sikh there because Pakistan is an Islamic, theocratic State claiming the allegiance of Muslims there. I know for a fact that large numbers of Muslims in India accept the secular conception of India and have absolutely no desire to line up with Pakistan in any way.

"Therefore, I am content with this problem. There are some, no doubt, who find it difficult to get out of the wrong habit they got in the past. Maybe they will get out of it. There are some who are deliberately, apparently, carrying on with that thought. That was the idea that struck me when my attention was drawn to certain journals issued by some organisations or individuals here in Madras. Now, when I talk of a secular State, what does it mean? Are we going to shake off

our cultural institutions because somebody who is of the Muslim League in Madras does not approve? Let him get away from here and the sooner he does the better for the country."

He pointed out that India had fundamental culture and it was rather absurd for them to talk and think of challenging the symbols of that culture. It had nothing to do with religion except it was a cultural symbol.

Pandit Nehru appealed to the majority community to be tolerant towards the minorities. "We should not exercise our dominant position in a wrong way to create suspicions or fear in the minds of any minority in the country. The responsibility always is of the dominant and majority party and therefore we should be careful."

HYDERABAD

Referring to Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said; "I want to say a few words about Hyderabad because it must interest you and it is near to your province and it affects you. You will remember that in November last, we came to a Standstill Agreement with Hyderabad State. There were many things in it. Among other things, the three subjects namely, Defence, Communications and External Affairs were supervised and controlled by the Central Covernment at Delhi. There were other matters I need not go into.

We entered into that Standstill Agreement because, we did not want to push the Hyderahad Government to compel it to accede to us. We were of the opinion and we are of the opinion that there is no other way open to the Hyderahad State except full accession to India. But we were in no hurry and we had laid down a general principle that where there was a doubt, where there was a dispute in regard to a State's accession, it will lie with the people of the State to decide.

"We applied that elsewhere, We do not want to force a decision on Hyderabad. We thought this matter can be settled with goodwill and peacefully a little later. So we entered into this Standstill Agreement for a year. In fact, if properly understood and if properly worked that Standstill Agreement meant 80 per cent of accession because three important subjects were under the Government of India,

"We agreed, if you like as a price of this understanding, to withdraw our troops that we stationed in the Cantonment there in Secunderabad. We withdrew them soon after and carried out that very important part of the bargain. It was a very important part, because with our troops staying in Secunderabad, we dominated Hyderabad in a military way. It would have been difficult, exceedingly difficult, for the Ruler of Hyderabad or anyone to play much mischief with our troops there. Yet in order to see the way, we entered into that Standstill Agreement and we withdrew our troops from Secunderabad. That is a major thing. There are many matters in wdich we complained breach of the Standstill Agreement on their part and they complained of breaches on our part. They are minor things. Their complaint was that we did not supply them with arms,

"Well, in the context of things, you can yourself.

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judge, the real thing is that we who were in a dominant military position in Hyderabad withdrew our army. Can you find a higger gesture on our part to show that we wanted a peaceful and co-operative solution of the Hyderabad problem", asked Pandit Nehru.

"After that, it is a long story of repeated journeys of Prime Minister and other Ministers and Advisers of the Hyderabad Government to Delhi and back. Repeatedly, they came to us and more than once we agreed and they agreed and they went back with provisional agreement. That was not accepted. On the last occasion, again what appeared to us an agreement which we have arrived at with the representatives of the Hyderabad Government—the draft of which appeared in the Press—when they went back again, fell through.

'Now I am exceedingly sorry, if again I have to use a strong language because strong language does not normally help. I cannot help expressing that the Hyderabad Government have behaved in the last few months in a manner which would not do credit to any gangeters or thieves or deceitful persons.

"They have come to us again and again speaking all the time that they have gone on intriguing in a hundred ways against us. All the while they have said one thing and done something else. These gun-running expeditions from Karachi to Hyderabad and how certain foreigness have been helping Hyderabad Covernment in this way, you have read in the Press.

"Now those of you who are students of history will remember the past history of Hyderabad in the last 150 years. It is not a history creditable to any State. It grew not out of love, courage or victory in arms but by decit. In the present instance it has completely lived up to this past history. It has become impossible for us to deal with persons who behave in this deceitful way, whose words mean nothing, but who have built up in their State this organisation of the Razakars which is purely an organisation of gangsters and the like. Can you deal with a Government which is practically run by these gangster elements?

"People talk about our having war with Hyderabad. What do they mean exactly? It is a completely wrong notion. We propose to have no war with Hyderabad. There is no question of any war with Indian States. If there are wars they are with free countries, If and when we consider it necessary, we shall have military operations against the Hyderabad State.

"But you must remember that no Government should rush into these ventures involving military operations easily, because they involve suffering. We are not irresponsible people like the rulers of Hyderabad. Many people talk casually, but no responsible Government can behave in that manner. At the same time, no responsible Government can put up with the things that have been happening and are still happening in Hyderabad.

"I cannot tell you what steps we shall take and when we shall take them, because it is not a matter to be discussed in public meetings. But I can tell you this. We are theroughly alive to the Hydershad situation I

can also tell you that the draft agreement that we had proposed some time back, so far as we are concerned, we have done with it.

"I can tell you one thing, that we are not going to deal with the persons who represent the present Government of Hyderabad, because, in dealing with them often enough, we have invariably been deceived by them. In no circumstances whatever is the independence of Hyderabad going to be accepted.

"I have no doubt in my mind that Hyderabad must, and will become a full member of the Indian Union as an according State. 'If it does not accorde, it may cease to be a State or a corporate entity. That I may tell you and I want to be perfectly frank with you. There are some people here even in Covernment service who sympathise with the Hyderabad Government at the present movement. If there are any in Government here, the sooner they quit the better. It is not going to be tolerated in service or outside it if he is a friend of the present Hyderabad Government. I say that we are not going to war with Hyderabad. We do not give that big designation to any State but so far the Hyderabad Government has behaved in a hostile and inimical manner to us and if any person here, private individual or State servant, in spite of this, sympathises with and helps Hyderabad, it will be a bad day for him. If he does so, we shall come down with all our strength upon him. Therefore, let people choose before it may be too late to do so."

Patel's Warning to Nizam

"When I spoke at Junagadh, I said openly that if Hyderabad did not behave properly, it would have to go the way that Junagadh did. These words still stand and I stand by those words," declared Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, inaugurating the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union on July 15.

Sardar Patel added: "The 'late Governor-General' thought that he would be able to secure a peaceful settlement. I let him do so. He tried his best. The Nizam used to pride himself in being styled 'His Majesty's Faithful Ally.' Britishers feel that this gives them some right to approach the Nizam and do sincere efforts to win him round to the path of sanity and peace.

"It was in this spirit that Lord Mountbatten assisted by Sir Walter Monckton hoped to be able to secure by negotiations what, they felt, Hyderabad must offer to India and India must offer to Hyderabad."

Continuing Sardar Patel said: "Although I was doubtful whether the efforts could succeed. I let them try. We also wanted that if things could be settled peacefully, so much the better. But although up to the last Lord Mountbatten was hopeful of settlement, that hope never materialised owing to the intransigence of the Nisam and the fanaticism of the forces at his back. But I should like to make one thing clear that the terms and the talks which the late Chararam General had have gone with him

"Now the settlement with the Nizam will have to be on the lines of other settlements with the States. No help from outside on which he seems to rest his pathetic hopes, would avail him. I grant, there had been delay in settling this question, but to those who are restless, I should like to say, You must trust us. The pangs which you feel for Hyderabad, are shared by me' no less. But when we have to perform an operation, we have to see that as little of the limb, involved, is cut of, as possible, and that the operation is performed only when the time is ripe.' We shall take action actuated by this motive and this alone. We will not allow any other extraneous consideration to influence us, for that way alone lies the interest of the country."

"Today," Sardar Patel proceeded, "We have assembled on a historic occasion. A new chapter in the history of India is opening up before us. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that we are all participating in such an auspicious event. We have also occasion to be proud of it. But along with this pride and this celebration, let us not be unmindful of our duties and obligations. We must cleanse our hearts and purify our minds and resolve to do pure deeds by ourselves, by the new Union and by our country. We should harbour no evil, we should reflect who we are, what we have inherited and what we have achieved. If you look at the history of Inda, you will find that for centuries India was steeped in slavery. What struggles, what sacrifices, what bitter news and what sorrow we all had to face to rid India of that centuries-old malady that had caten into the very vitals of its nationhood!

"A great change has come about. Indeed a great revolution has been brought into being. The greater the change, the more comprehensive the revolution, the more are the travails through which the country has to pass. We have already had more than our due share of troubles and turmoils. We are lucky to have survived so many of them. But many are still to be overcome. If we falter and fail, we shall consign ourselves to eternal shame and disgrace."

• Appealing to the audience to realise the full gravity of the situation and to consider the position in the light of the legacy which they have inherited, Sardar Patel asked, "Did any one dream a year or two ago that one-third of India would be integrated in this fashion? But we must all resolve that whatever mistakes we might commit, we should do nothing which would be calculated to send India back into the slavery of the past. It is, therefore, the duty of India's valiant sons to see that the clocks of progress are not put back, but advance forward. We must also realise that if we have to take our due place in the comity of nations, it will not come to us for asking, but we shall have to strain every nerve for it."

Recalling his visit to Amritsar and Patiala in September and October last year Sardar Patel told his audience that what he had said at those places still deserved to be carefully considered. He had told them then that it was not necessary for them to struggle for power from the Princes. He had said, "If we approach them in the right fashion, they themselves would be willing to surrender it." Those words had come true today. In the achievements which were shown to the credit of the States Ministry, the Princes had their due share.

Similarly, he had asked the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Punjab States to come to the rescue of the unfortunate and stranded refugees by giving an undisturbed passage to the Muslim refugees going to Pakistan. The Sikhs who had already extended their love and consideration to him, listened to the appeal which he and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala made on that occasion and agreed to give that passage. They were then united.

But now he saw proofs of disunity in their ranks. If they feel that the danger is passed and they could indulge in the pastime of dissensions, they are grievously mistaken. Punjab's or for that matter India's troubles were not over; they were still to face scores of them during the troublous times ahead.

He added, "Just as you agreed to make way for Muslims in compliance with my appeal, you have to make a similar way for free India to forge its course ahead. You have to give a helping hand in the same way as you did them. If I have come today, it is not only to fulfil the promise which I made to my friend and brother, the Maharaja of Patiala, but also to tell you what our duty is in the circumstances in which the country is situated today.

"You have not succeeded in forming a Ministry. I am neither sorry nor disturbed over it. Those who have never undertaken that task of administration before, are naturally reluctant, afraid or hesitant; but what is, therefore, necessary is to have a stout heart and a fearless mind. If you read the history of democratic countries, you will find that where there is stability, the task of administration goes on steadily; but where a country is foundationally unsteady, it becomes a prey to all sorts of influences, feelings, sentiments and ideals.

"Our primary aim should, therefore, be to achieve that stability which is the surest foundation of progress, that stability which can come only when there is unity in our ranks.

"It is true that for the foundation of a democratic Government we must have a Government and an Opposition. But today while we have yet to stand on our legs, we have got to strengthen ourselves and that atrength cannot come by dissensions in our ranks but by unity of purpose and unity of aims and unity of endeavour."

Continuing Sardar Patel pointed out that it was almost a year since the country attained freedom. No country had suffered so much within the first year of its birth as India had. Eastern Punjab States and Patials occupied a strategic position in the saw

circumstances of the country. The responsibility of the Rulers and the people of this area was greater than that of any other part of the Union. That responsibility was increased manifold, if they considered that they had a neighbour with whom their relations were not friendliness, trust and confidence. In these circumstances, the responsibility of the border people was greater and therefore, their duty of unity was heavier.

Sardar Patel then said, "I harbour no ill-will nor do I wish to hurt anyone. My only desire is that India should be well-protected and that it should be for every Indian to see that there are no loop-holes or weak links in the whole system of security, both external and internal. In my efforts to achieve this, the Rulers have helped me a lot. It is now for the people to extend their helping hand to me. Time is of the essence. We have to move quickly and unless we do so, we have a big stake to lose."

Turning to the charge that is sometimes hurled against the States Ministry that it has moved too quickly, Sardar Patel drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the world today was different from the world of yesterday Things could move slowly and steadily in the old world, where there was more leisure and less speed.

He observed, "Today one day is equal to a century, see how overnight States have fallen and empires have disappeared, who can say then that time does not fly and that we can afford to wait. In integration and democratisation, therefore, there must be quick progress if the country is to avoid disasters and threats to its existence and unity."

In this connection he warned certain Princes who were still thinking of disturbing the security and integrity of the State. Some of them pay heed to an astrologer that in August the Ministry would break and Government would fall, thereby giving him a chance to stage a march to Delhi. Some others were listening to a so-called Sadhu who was predicting all sorts of things.

Genocide

Pakistan's charge-sheet against the Indian Union before the United Nations Organization has made this word familiar to us. The irresponsibility of the charge has never been demonstrated more thoroughly than what happened in West Punjab where the Police, the Magistracy were found co-operating with frenzied followers of the Muslim League in looting and murdering Hindus and Sikhs, in indulging in arson and rape, thus clearing West Punjab of the "Kaffir." Chapter I of K. L. Gauba's book—Inside Pakistan—throws light on these abominations, producing its reaction in East Punjab and the States in it.

It is these developments in the latter that form past of the Pakistani charge-sheet. It would be necessary, therefore, to understand what this Genocide is and how it came within the purview of the U.N.O.

An article in the *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi, written by Shri D. J. Singh, enables us to present to our readers the problem as has been evolved under U.N.O. auspices. We are told that the resolution of the U.N.O. General Assembly is "a pioneer effort." The draft convention in this matter had been prepared by the U.N.O. Secretariat on 'counsel' of three internationally famous experts on legal affairs—Prof. Lemkin, Dommidieu de Vabres and Prof. Pella. After a deal of controversy and differences of opinion between the experts, Genocide came to be defined as "the deliberate destruction of a human group."

It is classified into three categories physical genocide, destruction of individuals; biological genocide, prevention of births; and cultural genocide, brutal destruction of the characteristics of a group. This definition has rationalized for us a development that we saw enacted here in Calcutta on August 16, 1946 when the Muslim League had staged its "Direct Action." In Noakhali-Tipperah, in Bihar, in West Punjab the same mentality crupted into view. Without knowing anything about 'genocide', the Muslim League had pionecred an experiment that has uprooted millions from their ancestral homes, accompanied by deliberate murder, arson and rape. All the characteristic abominations classified by the experts were perpetrated in India long before the U.N.O. Secretariat had turned their attention to the matter. The following will give us an idea of how. the experts came to their conclusions in the matter.

Physical genocide is defined as mass massacre and group murder by individual effections, subjection to condition of life, want of proper housing, clothes, food, absence of medical and sanitary facilities, lethal doses of excessive overwork and physical labour which could lead to debilitation, deaths, or both, of the individuals, mutilations and biological experiments imposed not for curative but experimental and harmful effects, confiscation of property and the consequent deprivation of the means of livelihood; looting and arson, restriction on and stoppage of work, denial of housing and essential commodities and supplies otherwise available to the inhabitants of the territory in question. Biological genocide covers those attempts and

Biological genocide covers those attempts and measures designed at the total execution of a group of human beings by a coldly-calculated and systematic restriction of birth, sterilization, compulsory and forced abortions, total and effective segregations of the sexes, and restrictions that make marriage impracticable and impossible. These are some of the methods of biological genocide that merit punishment.

Cultural genocide occasioned the draft convention much trouble and caused considerable controversy. It was argued by Professor Pella and Professor Dommidieu de Vabres that cultural genocide was an unnecessary extension of the term. Professor Lemkin argued that a racial, national or religious group was unable to exist except by preservation and integration of its spiritual, moral and aesthetic unity. The right to existence of a cultural group was justified from both the moral point of view and the essential-worth point of view based on the groups' contribution to civilisation. In such cases cultural genocide was more reprehensible than

s policy of forced assimillation or coercion and conversion. This involved besides other measures, prohibition of the opening of schools for the teaching of the characteristic language of the group, of the publication of newspapers printed in the group's language, the use of that language in official documents, in courts, business, etc. It aims by desperate and ruthless methods at the rapid and total disappearance of the cultural, moral and religious life of a group of human beings.

The Muslim League "jehadis" had taken us through all the experiences described above, and for many a day it will be found difficult to eliminate the poison injected into our body-politic by the leadership of this organization.

It also appears that the experts tried to define the "groups" that deserved protection under the convention laid down by them. Professional groups were held to be beyond its jurisdiction; only "racial, national, linguistic, religious and political groups" deserved protection; there appears to have been differences of opinion with regard to the last category, as "political groups were not inherently possessed of the permanency and specific characteristics of other groups;" general opinion, however, appeared to hold that this "exclusion" may be interpreted as condoning genocide in certain cases. There appears to be an exception, however; protection does not cover "the activities by groups with Fascist or Totalitarian tendencies."

This description of "genocide," however, does not tell us anything new. Human history is littered with examples where "groups" had been done to death simply because they differed from the dominant classes amongst their neighbours. The case of Catholics in Flizabeth's Britain, of the Red Indians in the Americas, of the Maoris and aborigines in Australasia, of Jews in Europe, comes to the mind.

"Undeclared War"

Since August 15, 1947, British public men and publicists have never left us in any doubt about where their sympathies and co-operation lay. The Kashmir and Hyderabad complications have brought these out into the open. The Labour Government of Britain have been trying to maintain a "correct" attitude. But even this they were found throwing over-board when India's reference to the U.N.O. against Pakistan for overt and covert participation in the attack on Kashmir was being discussed. They helped to raise irrelevant issues taking up about 5 months when men and women and children were being maimed and killed, their houses burnt and their properties looted, women's honour was made a play-thing by the agents and dupes of Pakistan. And on these very-often false issues, they have manoeuvred to send a U.N.O. Commission to get India and Pakistan "reconciled," forgetting the fact that if the latter had been honestly neutral, there was no sense for Britain to bring her into the dispute.

But the British Press, headed by the London

Times which has been always a mouth-piece of the British Government, irrespective of their party affiliation, Tory, Liberal or Labour-has at last come to declare "almost categorically" that a "state of undeclared war between India and Pakistan exists," to quote from a despatch dated July 19 last sent by the United Press of India News Agency. The Times' correspondent is reported to have sent word that "it is noteworthy that in recent weeks Pakistan authorities have not attempted to refute statements by the Indian Prime Minister and others about Pakistan's direct complicity in the Kashmir struggle." And the U.N.O. Commission is represented as facing a more serious task than it was originally envisaged, "namely, finding a solution which will prevent the conflict from spreading beyond the borders of Kashmir and entering the plains of the Punjab." And, this newspaperman is disappointed that there is no desire on the part of India for a compromise, "to seek a realistic solution of the dispute"; he is piqued that India appears to "prefer to continue this internecine strife for months and possibly years to come."

The News Chronicle, a Liberal daily of London, opines that

"The Kashmir fighting has developed into a localised Commonwealth internal war. What is even more serious is that the Commanders-in-Chief on either sides are Generals on active service list of the British Army, and R.A.F. Mechanics are supervising, servicing and repairing the Pakistan Air Force Planes."

Truth will out. But whether the U.N.O. is capable of facing the truth and following its dictates is more than we can say at present.

Cloth Muddle in India

It is difficult to remove the impression from the public mind that the Government of the Indian Union are engaged in playing a shadow boxing bout with the cloth mill owners and the cloth dealers—the distributors and traders. The consumer is being forced to play the part of a dummy. And we have very often felt that it would be preserving the dignity of the Government if their spokesmen could resist the temptation of issuing assurances to the users of cloth and threats to the profiteers. Others have been feeling the same. A writer in a Madras weekly—Business Week—pokes fun at the Government in the following words:

A list of the threats they have administered since controls were lifted by them I give below—a truly revealing list. First, they said they would confiscate the difference between the old (controlled) price and the new prices established in the free market. Next, they said that they would take over the textile mills under their control just as the American Government did when the workers threatened to strike. Their third threat was that they would commandeer 25 per cent of the output for distribution through co-operative societies. Their latest threat is that they would impose controls once again and teach a lesson to the industry.

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This is a record of which any Government should have been ashamed. But our Government suffers from no such feeling. On 21-23rd July last they staged a conference of Central Government Ministers, Provincial Government Ministers and States' Ministers. Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Central Government Minister of Industry, presided over the function, and the Prime Minister of India, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a speech in opening this Conference in course of which he revealed that the cloth mill owners and the traders on cloth have in about four or five months deliberately swindled out the consumers of Rs. 75 crores in inflated prices, and the Government of Rs. 25 crores in the shape of taxes. But out of this lamentation has not come any remedy; the pick-pockets and the tax-dodgers are none the worse for the condemnation implied in Pundit Nehru's words.

On the other hand, their representatives go about flaunting their ill-gotten wealth and their innocence in the matter. To take an example. The President of the Bengal Textile Mills Association, Shri Suresh Chandra Roy, has lately come out with a statement that the fleecing of the public of Bengal is none of their doing. This statement is a sin against truth. It has been reported to us that one of his member-mills within ten miles of Calcutta used to sell a pair of cloth at Rs. 5-13-6; on and from the 9th of May, 1948 when the practice of stamping prices by mills was ordered to be discontinued, the cloth of the same quality is being sold at Rs. 10-7-6. Can he deny this statement? The Civil Supplies Minister of Bengal makes a parade of the fact that they have no law which enables them to get hold of the profiteer; the Premier appears to be cynical in his loud asseverations; the cleverness of the fictitious importer from mills and of the as clever fictitious receiver appears to incite his admiration. Verily, verily, the black-marketeer and the profiteer appear to be more powerful than the State in free India!

Partial Control on Textiles

The Covernment of India's cloth decontrol policy has failed "miserably" and now the choice lies between full and partial control.

The Prime Ministers and other representatives of provinces and of States at their conference in New Delhi expressed the opinion that they should reverse their policy and impose partial control on textiles as soon as possible. Orissa, the worst sufferer from high prices, was the only dissentient. It justifiably pleaded for full control.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in his opening address, spoke strongly of "monsters" who had created the cloth famine and flourished on it at the cost of the consumer. It was moderately estimated that since the withdrawal of control in January 21 manufacturers and the trade had made an enormous profit of over Rs. 100 crores. They had not only exploited the consumers but had didned the incometax authorities.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Minister for Industries and Supplies, who presided, reviewed in detail the cloth position since the date of decontrol and measures taken by the Centre to minimize the consumer's hardships. Mills and the trade, he said, had been given nearly six months' time to correct themselves. Several warnings had failed to improve matters.

Representatives of provinces and States narrated scarcity conditions in their respective areas, quoting the prevailing exorbitant prices. They wanted immediate partial control.

It was suggested that 30 to 40 per cent of the production of mills should be requisitioned for distribution on a rationed basis, 20 to 25 per cent should be sold through fair price shops organized by manufacturers and the balance should be released for consumption through normal trade channels.

Development Projects in India

We have been feeling for some time that the grandiose projects for developing the natural resources of our country with a view to enable us to build a fuller material life for our people are being hustled without considering the difficulties in the way. A recent number of the Central Board of Irrigation Journal drew attention to these created by supply and transport. In an article entitled "Priorities and Administration," the writer dealt with these two "bottle-necks" that hold up all progress, and in support of his argument quoted from the presidential address of Shri N. K. Mitter delivered on the occasion of the 28th annual session of the Institution of Engineers (India). Every engineer has to waste a lot of time "chasing several Government offices for some permit, liceuse or priority." And,

One work remains at a stand-still for want of cement, . . . another for supply of steel and a third for transport of essential materials available in plenty but which cannot be moved. But few people realize that the effect of such intermittent stoppages of work is that the entire construction organization is upset involving not only idle machineries but also enormous waste of available man-power of all ranks . . . from the engineer to the daily labourer. And thus at a time when there is acute shortage in the country of workers of every grade and of materials of every description.

Therefore, did the speaker suggest that "priorities be fixed and classified for every approved scheme at the highest level both in the Union as well as in the Provincial Government and only those works are allowed to be actually taken in hand which have a reasonable chance of getting all materials and facilities." The point of this warning is appreciated by us who have two giant projects—the Damodar Valley irrigation and dam and the Hirakund dam—rearing up their heads in their neighbouring areas. Hopes are being created of unending prosperity flowing through Bihar, Bengal and Orissa from these irrigation and hydro-electric schemes. The present lack of co-ordination between various departments of our life, between project and fulfilment, has created a situation that may postpone these hopes.

Foreign Experts and Consultants

Connected with these projects is the question of foreign experts and consultants called into counsel by our Governments. Speaking at the quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers Conference on July last, Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore and a great engineer, made a point on the importation of foreign experts; he said that in this model State of India they have been able to build up multi-purpose projects with the help of Indian engineers and Indian skill. The fashion that was introduced by British policy still prevails, and the Indian grievance in this matter has been long-standing; expression to it continues to find outlet in the writings of Indian experts. The Central Board of Irrigation Journal quoted in its last April issue the opinion of Prof. A. V. Nath that deserves to be brought before the public, and we make room for it below:

It has not been adequately realized that on the eve of political independence the departing Imperial Interests under the cloak of technical advice for post-war developments have securely installed government organizations for reckless disbanding and annihilation of the enormous manufacturing capacity, capital plant and technical man-power that were developed in winning the war . . . A big hue and cry is raised at the highest level that lack of technical man-power and capital plant is preventing all development schemes while simultaneously all Governmental agencies are vigorously working

(1) to dismantle and annihilate all war-developed potential under the name of disposal of War Surplus,

(2) to dishand and scatter beyond recovery the large technical man-power trained during the war under the name of Demobilization.

(3) to rush Governments into heavy long-term commitments pledging Indian revenues for the next 15 to 25 years to foreign purchases of plants, equipment and services,

(4) proclaiming through newspaper advertisements that enormous manufacturing capacity and plant is lying surplus in the Ordnance apparently unable to devise Factories measures to utilize them for post-war development schemes or to manufacture directly nceded plant.

Certain of the charges made above proved to be true; serviceable air-craft were condemned as useless by British "experts" when these were necessary for the Kashmir campaign; the deception was found out, but nobody knows the extent of the mischief already done. So, in the matter of development projects, Prof. Nath suggested that "all foreign technical consultation and advice should be canalized through Indian engineering talent." The makers of our plans should hearken to the warning implied in these words.

West Bengal-Bihar Dispute

The Government of India has intervened in the West Bengal-Bihar dispute over the construction of a dam and a reservoir in Santhal Parganas district (Bihar) by the

The Bibar Government has objected to the scheme of the ground that the building of the dam and reservoir will displace about 20,000 people. It demands provision for resettlement of these people before work is started on the project.

To straighten the differences, the Centre called a conference of representatives of the two Governments in New Delhi, when Dr. Roy, the West Bengal Premier. gave an assurance about the settlement of the displaced population in his province. He submitted a scheme prepared by his Government,

Bihar's representative said he would place before the Bihar Cabinet the West Bengal scheme and then inform the Indian Government of its views.

Mr. Gadgil, India's Minister for Works, Mines and Power, who presided, urged expediting of the work ou the Mor project. He asked the Bihar Government to examine West Bengal's proposal and, if it was not satisfactory from its point of view, suggest modification or prepare a new scheme.

Mr. Bhupati Majumdar, Irrigation Minister, was also present on behalf of West Bengal. Bihar was represented by the Secretary of the Irrigation and Public Works Ministry.

In addition to a dam and a reservoir, the Mor multipurpose project envisages the construction of canals and a barrage in West Bengal. The total cost is estimated at Rs. 7 crores.

It will bring under cultivation nearly 600,000 acres of land with an annual yield of 6m maunds of paddy. The hydro-electric power generated will amount to 4,000 kwts.

As a result of the erection of the reservoir an area of 24,000 acres will be submerged, displacing 20,000 people.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Apologia

The Congress President has at long last broken his silence with regard to the claim of West Bengal to have transferred certain Bengali-speaking areas that were included in Bihar when it was constituted into a separate Province in 1912. The daily press of Calcutta published on July 21 last extracts from certain letters of his written to Shri Kumud-Bandhu Bagchi, advocate, Calcutta High Court. We are told that these extracts formed part of "a series of letters" exchanged between the two. We would have liked to have the whole of this series published to understand how the mind of the Congress President has been moving since this question of re-union of Bengalispeaking areas to Bengal was raised. As it is, we must be thankful for even this small mercy. From the context of the letter we are led to the impression that Shri Kumud Bandhu Bagchi is an old friend of Babu Rajendra Prasad reminiscent of the latter's connection with the Calcutta High Court, and on the strength of this old friendship he felt drawn to make an attempt for the rehabilitation of the Congress President's character who was being depicted in "the anti-Congress Press" as a "provincial patriot and West Bengal Government under its Mor project scheme, partisan, incapable of holding the scales even in the

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matter of applying the Congress principle of linguistic Provinces as between Bihar and West Bengal."

We who have called into question Babu Rajendra Prasad's silence in the matter have never cared to impute motives to him. We are content to go by facts, facts which Babu Rajendra Prasad knows of the history of this controversy as it has developed between Bihar and Bengal since his Province was born. We charge him with failure to act up to the logic of these facts which make inevitable the transfer of certain of the castern areas of Bihar to Bengal. We will try to recall to his memory the most important of these. The first is the resolution of the Congress passed at its annual session of December, 1911 moved by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Babu Parmeswar Lal, a Bihar leader of those days. The resolution thanked the Government for "the creation of a separate Province of Bihar and Orissa", and prayed that

"In readjusting the Provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

The purpose of this prayer could not have been misunderstood. It was rightly appreciated by the then leaders of Bihar who in course of a statement published in January, 1912, indicated with clarity how it could be implemented. We make no apology in reproducing the relevant portion of this statement.

"In accordance with the resolution of the last Congress, the sound principle would be that enunciated therein, that the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal, and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the portions of Purneah and Maldah to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhum and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

This was an honest recognition on the part of some creators of modern Bihar of the logic of linguistic Provinces so far as it related to their own Province and Bengal. Their successors in the leadership of Bihar have been found unworthy of this heritage of theirs, and we do not know how they have been watching from on high this back-sliding of their descendants. Babu Rajendra Prasad is the most prominent of them, and today he gloats over the fact that at a certain meeting of the Manbhum District Congress Committee a resolution in favour of amalgamation of Manbhum with Bengal was "defeated"! But did he always think like this? One of

his old colleagues in the leadership of the Congress in Bihar has related a story that discredits his present attitude. Shri Jyoush Chandra Sarkar, sometime President of the Palamau District Congress Committee, a member of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, a member of the All-India Congress Committee a few years back, wrote a letter dated June 14, 1948 to the columns of the Ananda Bazar Patrika describing what Babu Rajendra Prasad's attitude had been as late as 1931. We translate it below:

"In 1931 a Conference under the auspices of the Manbhum District Congress Committee was held with Babu Rajendra Prasad in the chair. The following resolution was moved from the chair and passed unanimously in the open session: "Whereas 89 per cent of the people of Manbhum speak the Bengali language, be it resolved that when the country will be free and Provinces will be regrouped on the basis of language, the district of Manbhum will be re-united with Bengal."

There was an episode that should be described in this connection. When the resolution was being discussed in the Subjects Committee of the Conference, it was opposed by the late Nibaran Chandra Das-Gupta of Purulia. The reason for this opposition was explained thus by him. When the country becomes free, the district will be re-united with Bengal true to Congress ideals; hence the resolution was redundant. How does Bubu Rajendra Prasad respect this faith in the Congress ideal of a colleague who is no more with us to re-assert his faith? Since then there have come momentous changes in Babu Rajendra Prasad's life, and these must have caused changes in the spirit of the thrice President of the Congress, and the chosen Chairman of the Indian Constituent Assembly charged with the duty and responsibility of framing a constitution for India that would satisfy the sentiments and aspirations of the people. This flux of fortune may justify Babu Rajendra Prasad's change in attitude.

But what we cannot appreciate is the way in which he has met the request of an old friend of his (Shri Kumud-Bandhu Bagchi) that he should as Congress President "direct the Governments of Bihar and West Bengal to come to an immediate amicatle settlement as to the areas that should linguistically and culturally from part of West Bengal, failing which the Government of India to take appropriate measures." With regard to the first part of the request, Babu Rajendra Prasad appears to have been silent; as to the second part he bluntly told his friend that he has had "no desire to influence, it (Government of India) in any way in this connection." This is a pose of non-interference that daily wears thin.

But we have the strongest objection to the way in which he is juggling with his function as the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. He has appointed a Commission "to find out the feasibility and other matters connected with the creation of certain new provinces in the south" in response to a request made by the Drafting Committee. We are of opinion that Babu Rajendra Prasad could not have written so if he had at hand the recommendation of the Drafting Committee in this behalf. We find at page 159 of the Draft Constitution of India, First Schedule, Part I, the following foot-note that shows that Babu Rajendra Prasad's interpretation of the Draft Committee's recommendation is unsustainable. There is no mention in it of limiting the Commission's enquiries to South India alone.

".... the Draft Committee, therefore, recommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new State whose formation it may recommend to be created under Sec. 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the constitution is finally adopted."

In this recommendation there occur the words "any new State" which may be deliberately misconstrued for the exclusion of existing provinces. But that would be denying the spirit and hugging to the bosom the husk of legality. Babu Rajendra Prasad is welcome to his juggling with Truth. We prefer to go by the former, and will continue to press the case of West Bengal as we have been doing battle for other "linguistic regions." We are sorry that Bengalis should have been forced into this agitational role when all their energies would have been allowed to be concentrated on constructive nationalism. Babu Rajendra Prasad has borne eloquent testimony to the worth of the Bengali Congress workers of Manbhum. Has it ever struck him to enquire why these people should have resigned in a body from their official positions in the Congress, local and provincial? Theirs is an example which others can follow to demonstrate their feelings against the Congress President's tactics. What say the members of the Constituent Assembly returned from West Bengal'? Their sitting on the fence while the name of the Congress is being soiled by its President has become a scandal.

Sterling Negotiations

The protracted sterling balance negotiations have come to an end for the present with a three-year agreement with the British Government. Shri Shanmukham Chetty, India's Finance Minister, at a press conference in New Delhi, gave details of the negotiations and stated that the British Government had agreed to make a fresh release of £80 million (Rs. 107 crores) for the next three years ending on June 30, 1951. It was made clear that this release was in addition to the unspent balance of 280 million from the previous releases which had now been carried forward. Thus the London Agreement would place at our disposal resources amounting to £160 million (Rs. 213 crores) over and above what may be our export earnings during the three years for which the agreement has been signed.

The exceptionally strong financial position of India was indicated when the Finance Minister said that India's current annual gains from export and other sources were of the value of Rs. 500 crores. Thus, even on present computations, India would have a buying capacity of Rs. 1700 crores during the next three years.

The total remaining sterling balances after the various adjustments are carried out, are estimated at £800 million. An interest of .78 per cent will accrue on the blocked balances. The London Agreement has limited the free convertibility of the sterling released to £15 million (Rs. 20 crores) during the first year. The non-utilisation of the total amount of the last release has marred our case for demanding a larger amount for free convertibility. The question of the amount of sterling to be made available for free convertibility during the remaining period of the agreement was to be determined later. The present release, however, will enable India to meet her dollar requirements adequately during the next 12 months.

Sit. Chetty has emphatically said that there was no question of scaling down India's Sterling Balances and no such suggestion had been made by the British Chancellor of Exchequer. But considering the fact that there has been for long a persistent demand for a scaling down of the balances in the British press and the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to Mr. Churchill's demand for a repudiation of this debt, to the effect that in spite of the agreement the entire question can be re-opened at any subsequent time, the uneasiness in India about this scaling down business will not be over. The manner in which a very large amount-Rs. 197 croreshas been deducted from the Balances by compelling India to purchase a tapering annuity has not eased the feelings of the Indian public.

The military installations and stores left here by Britain have been acquired at a value of £100 million (Rs. 133 crores) in full and final settlement. The Finance Minister has tried to prove that this deal has been a great bargain by saying that the book value of these installation and stores was £375 million (Rs. 500 crores) and that they have been acquired at a bargain price of practically a quarter of their book value. Comparing it to the eagerness of the British Government to knock out as much as possible. indicated in the pension deal, the average Indian will be inclined to be a little conservative as regards the bargain claimed by our Finance Minister. Book value and actual value in respect of military installations and stores may not merely fluctuate as one to four; it may range upto even one to ten. The visible installations do not inspire much confidence about their actual value..

A third factor, in this connection should also be taken note of. The Finance Minister was whether it was true that prices of capital goods were higher in Britain than in dollar countries. It

alleged that British manufacturers of capital goods were charging higher prices from India than from other countries. The Finance Minister denied the allegations but said that if it could be shown that such things were taking place, he would take up the matter with the British Board of Trade.

There is no doubt that the sterling balance negotiations have been more to the advantage of Britain than of India. The agreement insures Britain against heavier withdrawals while it does not ensure the supply of capital goods even to the extent of the meagre amount provided. The British manufacturers may seize this opportunity to evade supply of capital goods and to restrict their trade to consumer goods. Simultaneously with this Financial Agreement, a Trade Agreement should also have been concluded. Our Ministries of Commerce and Industries have found themselves unable to utilise the sterling releases in 1947, and thus they must bear a heavy responsibility for the small amount released under the new agreement. Their failure proves that the released Sterling cannot be utilised through the help of private capitalist enterprise. The principal lapse of the Ministries of Commerce and Industries lies in the fact that they were not conscious about this failure of private enterprise in using up the money. It was their duty to watch over the transactions, get monthly returns, and divert the balances to national enterprises like expansion and improvement of communications and irrigation works. The sterling wealth has been earned by the people of India through intense suffering throughout the war years. The masses, who had to part with their produce for Government purchase at control rates and buy their requirements at four to ten times the control prices, must have a first charge on this accumulated wealth. The Ministries of Finance, Commerce and Industries seem to have considered the war-profiteers as the owners of the Sterling balances, but even in that case it has been proved that the profiteers are either unable to utilise the balances for industrial expansion or unwilling to do so for fear of an increase in the production of consumer goods with a consequent fall in prices. The extra reliance placed by our Ministries on the capitalists and war-profiteers for the utilisation of the balances has really strengthened the corner-bases and have further increased the suffering of the common man. It is, therefore, imperative that the present policy of utilisation of sterling releases be reversed. The Government should take upon themselves the task of importing goods necessary for the introduction of new communication, irrigation and housing schemes. Instead of the Government going in themselves for the establishment of industries, they should concentrate their energies in completing development projects which should create conditions for an expansion of agriculture and small and medium industries, thus providing employment for the masses and as far as practicable at or near their hearths and homes.

Agrazian Reforms

The Members of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, presided over by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, are now on a tour to ascertain the opinions of officials and non-officials interested in land reform. The questionnaire issued by the Committee indicates that its final judgment on the existing systems of land tenure, methods of farming and allied problems, is likely to be based upon a wide representation of informed public opinion. Many of the questions are far-reaching in scope and character and they deal with important economic aspects of agricultural regeneration and development. The first section of the questionnaire deals almost exclusively with the subject of land tenure and the problems resulting from the intended abolition of the zemindari system. In this connection, it is significant to note that Dr. Kumarappa declared the other day at Nagpur, that the recommendations of his committee would be implemented in the provinces only after the abolition of the zemindary system, to which the Congress Governments had committed themselves and in respect of which some provinces had, in fact, already undertaken legislation.

The discovery of a uniform land system for the whole of the country which should guarantee a permanent right in the soil for the cultivators but at the same time prevent fragmentation and sub-division of the land and growth of any non-cultivating tenure-holding class, is the greatest problem that faces the Kumarappa Committee. It has been brought to their notice that the Reports of agricultural experts like Sir Daniel Hall and Sir William Jenkins may be misleading. Agricultural policy in India has, during past years, not proceeded along right channels and being dictated by foreign experts, with very little knowledge about local conditions and Indian traditions, more problems have been created than solved. Time has come for putting an end to expert advice detached from Indian context.

The land system and her agricultural life are inseparably connected with the culture and civilisation of India. Elaborate details of their working may be found in the *Manusamhita*, *Parasara Samhita* and Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. In later times, Akbar grasped the importance of the land system in Indian life and devoted a great part of his energy to the overhauling of the system which had been rudely disturbed during the preceding seven centuries of continuous conflict. *Ain-i-Akbari* also gives us a good deal of materials necessary for the reconstruction of Indian agriculture and land system.

Indian civilisation has succeeded in maintaining its integrated individuality longer than any civilisation on earth mainly because she had succeeded in evolving a scientific and stable system of agriculture and land tenure. The permanent settlement has struck at the root of our own tried and tested system and has brought about ruin in the life and conditions of the Indian cultivator. The problems before the Kumarappa Committee are stupendous but not insurmountable.

India and World Rice Shortage

According to the Government of India officials, India's everall food position was believed to be better and we were told that "vigilance" still continued to be the keynote of the Government's food policy. Recent official talks on food have, however, been on the side of pessimism and rationing in de-rationed provinces is being seriously considered. But the special rice bulletin issued a few days back by the Food and Agricultural Organisation reminds us, rather unpalatably, that the world situation in regard to rice supplies will continue to remain without any appreciable change during the next few years. This means that the food economic of India, as that of other rice-importing countries, will continue to be seriously affected.

Rice is the staple food of the people of the South and East Asia who form more than one half of the world's population. Before the second world war this area normally grew some 81 million tons and consumed about 80 million tons. But the war brought with it a sharp decline in production. Internecine warfare, political instability and consequent devastation greatly hampered and disorganised agricultural production.

Although world rice production in 1947-48 was as much as it was in the pre-war days and has thus been an improvement over the previous years, it still fell short of the 1934-38 average of 100,500,000 tons. Similarly, though the quantity declared available for export by surplus countries has proved to be higher than was expected some time ago, it is still less than two-thirds of former exports. Production plans for the next three years envisage an extension of the rice areas in South-East Asia by 2½ million hectares over the pre-war acreage under rice but even in that case there will be a deficit of about 14 million metric tons in each of the next two years and about 13 million tons in 1950.

The overall picture of rice production in the near future is therefore not quite encouraging. India cannot expect to receive supplies freely from the surplus ricegrowing areas of Asia until after 1950 at any rate. The estimated acreage under rice in India for 1946-47-latest figures available—is 81.8 million as compared with 80.7 million (actual) acres in 1945-46. The yield is estimated at 28.14 million tons in comparison with 26.67 million tons in the previous year. Thus an increase has been effected both in regard to the area and also of production. The pre-war production of rice in India was about 28 million tons, whereas consumption amounted to 30.5 million tons. This deficit position makes the country continually dependent on foreign imports which are a serious source of drain on our foreign exchange resources. There is still a great possibility of increasing our food production by increasing the yield through the application of manures, expansion of irrigation schemes and introduction of better methods of tillage. It is regrettable that the enormous potentialities for expanding our food resources have not. yet been energetically tapped. No further time should be lost to do so.

Indo-Japanese Trade

The editor of the Indian Exporter is to be congratulated on the informing monograph that he has brought out entitled "Indo-Japanese Trade from 1929 to 1948." Within the short compass of 54 pages has been compressed everything that the traders require to be known about this trade between two countries, and the student of economics will find in a handy form information about life and work in Japan struggling to re-create decent conditions out of her war-shattered economy. In this behalf the article of Shri G. B. Kotak whose firm has had trade relations with Japan will be found of use. The reports of the Indian Trade Mission sponsored by the Government of India and that by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, give a bird'seye view of the possibilities of trade and commerce between the two countries. Imports from Japan in 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 22-19 crores while exports from India amounted to Rs. 18-13 crores; raw cotton accounted for Rs. 14.79 of the latter while about onefourth of the former, about Rs. 6.76 crores, was accounted for by cotton manufactures.

At present when India is determined to be less dependent on other countries for the essentials of her life, the building up of her own industries has become a necessity and a duty. And in this behalf the Indian Trade Delegation has done well in impressing on the Government of India the need of bringing "Japanese key technicians" for advising our industrialists and also of sending Indian technicians to Japan to study Japanese methods which had made Japan such a rival to Anglo-American-German industries in course of 40 years. This idea of importing Japanese skill appears to have had a strange reaction. While the Japanese Mission was at New Delhi and the subject was broached, the information was elicited that "Australia was putting obstacles in the way of Japan rendering such aid to this country or anywhere else." We should like to know the inspiration of this Australian intervention, whether it was Britain or the United States, or both, that put up Australia to do this job for their own industrialists. The purpose is obvious; it is to keep India a producer of raw materials as she had been hitherto kept by British policy. We are sure that we will be able to break this ring. But the revelation makes us suspect the "one world" morality preached. by Anglo-American public-men and publicists.

Dutch Imperialism and Indonesia

The latest number of the Merdeka, organ of the Indonesian Information Service issued from New Delhi, reports a stalemate in the negotiation between the Dutch Colonial Administration and the Indonesian Republican Government. In the Security Council Mr. Palar, representing the latter, brought to its notice examples of Dutch "economic blockade" that will have the effect of "strangling" life out of it. There has recently been a general election in Holland; the right wing parties are said to have won it and their leaders.

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during election speeches are reported to have advocated renewal of "Police Action" in Indonesia, an euphemism for war just as by the use of the words "China Incident" Japan had tried to hide the extent of her depredations on the integrity and sovereignty of China. At the instance of the Good Offices Committee of U. N. O. the Renville agreement had been signed on the 17th January, 1948, putting a stop to the Dutch "Police Action" and Indonesia's gallant fight against it.

But the Dutch imperialists do not appear to be able to accept the responsibilities of this agreement, and they have been breaking both its spirit and requirements. Article 5 of this agreement stated :

"That as soon as practicable after the signing of the truce agreement, economic activity, trade, transportation and communications be restored through the co-operation of both parties, taking into consideration the interests of all the constituent parts of Indonesia.'

The Dutch have been going against this comprehensive and specific provision of the Renville agreement. Mr. Palar's indictment described how the Dutch authorities by "arbitrary interpretation" have practically banned the entrance of "all kinds of machinery and equipment"-in fact the bulk of "every essential and non-essential"; they have been continuing the order, passed temporarily during their "Police Action" days, closing the north coast of Java and the greater part of the east coast of Sumatra. This technique of warfare may benefit the Dutch for a while; but ultimately it will lead to a liquidation of their empire. For the revolting spirit of Asia will not tolerate its continuance entailing dishonour and poverty on her peoples.

Disturbances in Malaya

India's present interest in this strip of land across the Bay of Bengal was created by the indentured labour from India arranged for by the British Government to work for the tin mines and rubber estates, all the property of British capitalists. The majority of these labourers came from South India, specially from Tamil Nad. In their wake came traders, and professional men—lawyers and medical men, for instance. As in other parts of the British empire, so in Malaya the labourers who slaved for the capitalist were just allowed to live. The Chinese who outnumber the Indian labourers had a better deal. But. both the Indian and the Chinese were kept at loggerheads by judicious discrimination which was another name for the "divide and rule" policy. The invasion and conquest of Malaya by Japan brought a revolutionary change amongst Indians, specially after the organization of the Indian Independence League under the leadership of the late Rash Behari Bose; this formation reached its fruition when Netaji came the Asad Hind Government was formed, conthe dreams and aspirations of millions of meta hearts and the dynamic revolutionary spirit of printing arrichm fadiens in Melays

Since the return of the British, consequent on Japan's defeat, things in Malaya have been moving in circles that have been confusing to a-degree. The small country is divided into innumerable states with Muslim puppet "Sultans," with enclaves of direct British rule round about Singapore; the British authorities have been trying to reconcile irreconcilable interests-of Sultans, of British finance-capital, of the subject peoples, native Indian and Chinese. The attempt has failed of its purpose. Hence there have been intermittent outbursts. The British authorities have detected the hand of the "Communist" in these, and capitalist interests have been demanding that these be controlled or else they stop production. The use of Gurkha soldiery for the control and suppression of these disturbances has introduced a complication. Technically the Government of the Indian Union may refer the matter to the Nepal Government with whigh Britain has had a special arrangement for the use of Gurkha contingents in her wars of survival and conquest. And except putting on a ban on their transit through their own territories, we do not see how the Government of the Indian Union can interfere. Any way, Malaya will cause headaches to many, Indian and non-Indian, and we must wait further developments before we can expect the Nehru Government to decide their course of action.

Tuberculosis Association of India

The report of the last annual meeting, the ninth annual meeting of the Tuberculosis Association of India, held at Government House, New Delhi, on the 20th April last, is to hand. From a perusal of it, we come to realize the magnitude of the task that the Association attempts to shoulder. Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the then Director-General of Health Services with the Government of the Indian Union, in his speech as chairman of the meeting, indicated it when he said that "the minimum bed requirement for tuberculosis cases in India, taking one bed for one death, is about five lakhs as against 8,000 beds we now have." Lady Mountbatten, the then President of the Association, underlined this description of the needs of institutional treatment of this fell disease when she said that "in India about five lakhs of people died every year from tuberculosis and another 25 lakks become active in tuberculosis cases." The Bhore Committee have stressed the need of "institutional treatment." But a permanent remedy can come only when in the words of Lady Mountbatten "the people's standard of life and power of resistance to disease" is raised; the State by its policy enables the people to raise these two prerequisites of healthy and full life. Clinics and sanstoria are all right in their own way. But as prevention is better than cure, the State has to inspire the people to make the requisite effort to keep healthy. For such a consummation many things will have to be done. The Tuberculosis Association of India and its affiliated on few. Of these Reghavan and Thivy were institutions have been showing us the way, and they deserve wall of the public. Our people, steeped in the traditional ways of their life, find it difficult to reconcile themselves to modern methods for the centrol of this disease. But they are not unteachable; they show eagerness for learning the better ways of life that is pathetic. Organizations like the Tuberculosis Association of India can, under newer conditions created since August 15, 1947, organize a better campaign against all the conditions that made for lethargy, uncleanliness and disease in mind and body, and revive hopes in hearts that have been content with swimming with the tide of circumstance. This must form part of the new education that will enable us to create the New India.

The Imperial Library

There have been some stringent criticisms on the part of scholars at the proposal to shift the Imperial Library to the Belvedere in 'Alipore, Calcutta. Lack of tram and Bus facilities and distance from the main City are the main grounds of complaints. We ourselves caunot understand why the library cannot be shifted to the Metcalfe Hall site. Regarding the latter we give the following extract from the National Magazine for Feb. 1914:

"Calcutta Public Library", afterwards Imperial Library: The library was formally opened on 21st March, 1836, in the lower room of Dr. F. P. Strong's house at the Esplanade Row; from which place it was removed in the latter part of July 1841 to the College of Fort William only for three years. . . .

In 1840 the Library was allowed by the Government along with the Agricultural Society of Bengal, a piece of land, on which the Metcalfe Hall, the upper apartments of which it occupied, was built. The stipulations enjoined in the Government letter transferring the ground were that the edifice to be erected shall be ornamental and at the same time substantial, and that on failure of its maintaining its repairs, the ground shall revert to the Government or at least the building shall not be alienated to other purposes than those set forth in the correspondence. The cost of the building, which was designed by Mr. C. K. Robinson, Magistrate of Calcutta, and built by Messrs. Burn & Co., amounted to Rs. 68,000 to which the sum contributed by the Library was Rs. 16,400 nearly, the balance, being the contribution of the Agricultural Society and of other bodies who subscribed to do honour to Lord Metcalfe at the time of his departure from India, for the emancipation of the press, and for the private and public virtues. The Metcalfe Memorial Committee thought that such an edifice (Metcalfe Hall) could not be more appropriately connected with better useful public purposes than by devoting it to the use of the two most interesting and beneficial institutions on this side of India, the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India and the Calcutta Public Library.

United States Presidential Election

Next November the people of the great republic will go to the pells to above their Presidents the

supreme executive of their country's administration. The campaign in this behalf has brought on to the surface many a crudity of thought and conduct that detracts from the credit of this people as constituting the greatest democracy in the world. The treatment of Negroes is one of these. Nearly eighty years back a civil war was fought and won, one of the issues of which was the emancipation of Negroes. The fighters for the cause of human justice and decent human relations won it under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln. The slave-owning States in the "solid south" bowed to this decision in the field of battle; but they did not accept the ideal for which Lincoln had staked his life.

The victorious "North" has not been able to halt this deterioration. In the 1948 election, the dying embers of this estrangement have been revived. President Truman's "civil rights programme" has precipitated a revolt in the Democratic Party, and majority representatives of the Southern States have decided to set up rival candidates against President Truman and Senator Alben Barkley who were nominated on July 15 at the Democratic Party Convention at Philadelphia; Gevernor Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi have been chosen by them. The temporary chairman of their meeting, Frank Dixon, former Governor of Alabama, reflected their mind in his speech made on July 17 last: The Civil Rights programme which would include Federal anti-Lynching, anti-Poll-tax was stigmatized as an unconstitutional effort "to reduce us (white people) to the status of a Mongrel, inferior race . . . to kill our hopes, our aspirations, our future and the future of our children." The programme constructed by these dissident Democrats laid down the following "principles" amongst others:

We stand for segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without Government interference.

We oppose and condemn a Civil Rights Programme calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by Federal Law.

This fight takes the U.S. A people to the year 1860 when Abraham Lincoln started the good fight for human justice, for the integrity of the Union.

The Republican Party have set up Governor Dewey of New York State as their Presidential candidate and Governor Warren of California as Vice-President candidate.

A third party, known as "Progressive Party," is been formed to contest the election, the majority of them breaking away from the Democratic Party under the leadership of Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the late President Franklin Roosevelt during his third term as Chief Executive of the Republic. So far as one can make out, the fact appears to be that the "Progressive differed from the Democrate in the policy pursued by the latter under President Transan in foreign white, specially in reference to the Soviet Prices."

FROM ASAF JAH I TO OSMAN ALI, The Fate of

By Sm JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

LEGAL STATUS

ASAF JAH, the first Nisam i.e., povernor of Haidarabad, left a will in which he solemnly charged his descendants,—

Firstly, to be always friendly with the Marathas "who are the owners of the land in this country," and

Secondly, never to put any human being to death without a judicial trial by an authorized judge. The portion of the will giving these orders is printed below from a photograph of the original preserved in the Nisam's Government Record Office so that its authenticity cannot be questioned.

Awal an ke rais-i-Dakhin ra lazim ke ba Marhatta ke zamindar-i-in mulk ast, ashti warzad. Duyam an ke dar hadm-i-baniad-i-bani-Adam

Duyam an ke dar hadm-i-baniad-i-bani-Adam
. . . tamul kunad wa mujrim wajib-ul-qatl ra ba
Qazi, ke hakim-i-shara ast, tafwiz numaid.

ب الدادمت الرهبيم

ومن واسع بط به لحق بعوال مد هدا و العوال كم ومن والعرار كم المعلى والعرار كم المعلى والعرار كم المعلى والعرار والعرار

Here it should be noted that the founder of this dynasty, to the very end of his life, called himself only a Ross or chieftain, and never a Shah or Sultan (i.e. King), in spite of his having won the victory at Shakarahada (1724), which the present Nisam has misrepresenting as the Day of his Independence!

In fact, so long as there was a Padshah at Delhi, the recipies of Haidenshad always sought the recognition of Main standard from that Padshah or his keeper, because they were merely hereditary office-bearers under him. When Mahadji Sindhia was appointed by the Emperor Shah Alam II as his perpetual Regent, the then Nisam sent an agent to Sindhia's camp near Delhi to secure such recognition through him. This is proved by the British Residency Records published by the Bombay Government. Such was the Nizam's legal position in 1785 sixty years after the so-called independence achieved at Shakarkheda.

In 1804 the British took over Delhi and the perpttual regency of the Padshah from Sindhia and became the master of the Nizam. In 1858 the shadow of a Delhi Padshah was abolished, and the English became fully sovereign over all the provinces of the Mughal Empire including Haidarabad. In 1947 the English handed over Delhi to the Indian Union, and thus the Indian Union legally stepped into the position of the suserain of the governors of Haidarabad. The Nisam cannot exist politically in vacuo.

It is also recorded in Persian histories that when in 1739 Nadir Shah entered Delhi as conqueror, he offered to place Asaf Jah I on the throne of Delhi, as he was disgusted with the folly and vices of the Emperor Muhammad Shah,—but Asaf Jah declined this independent sovereignty and declared his satisfaction with his present position of a provincial governor. The word Nizam comes from the same root as Nazim and means a governor, or king's deputy.

People's Lor

But apart from legal controversies the right of a family to rule ultimately depends upon the condition in which it keeps the mass of its subjects. Can the Asaf-Jahis stand this test?

In 1776, a French nobleman, Comte de Modave visited Haidarabad, and has thus recorded what be saw there of the condition of the people:

Les Musalmans triomphent dans cette ville cu'ils ont batie et ou ils sont les maitres.—[P. 336 of the Paris MS.]

"The Nisam's country had never been anything but a puppet State. The present Nisam was understood to be, in Malcolm's phrase, 'a melancholy madman.' [Thompson's Metcolfe, p. 189, year 1810.]

"Never, to be sure, was there such a Government (as that of Haidarabad) since the world began, and what can be done to remedy its present state would baffle any politician." [Edmonstone, Secretary to Governor-General to Resident at Haidarabad, 5th May, 1812.]

"The country soon became depopulated and negligible river to fachine prices: Government sound. There was not y shadow of her in puller applicate the lease

of armed plunderers traversed the roads and jungles." [This was in 1820. Do the reports of 1948 give any better picture of the Nizam's Government?] (Thompson, p. 191.)

On 6th November, 1847, the Times of London wrote on "the moral and political right of myriads [of the population] to turn to the Governor-General for succour, protection and redress. . . The Governor-General's easy task is to level those masses of misgovernment which obstruct the free circulation of prosperity and happiness throughout the peninsula (i.e., the Deccan), and to advance those improvements by which such blessings are so materially promoted . . . The Nisam is morally accountable to us." (Quoted in Lee Warner's Dalhousie, I, 97.)

Sir Charles Wood (President of the Board of Control) wrote to the Governor-General on 8th May, 1853, "What are you going to do with the Nizam? Everybody seems to suppose that he cannot administer his own affairs much longer." (Lee Warner, II, 131.)

On 14th May, 1852, the Resident, General Fraser wrote to the Governor-General, "I cannot hesitate to repeat the opinion that the Nizam's Government possesses but little capacity or vigour, and that if the Nizam be replaced in a position of honourable independence among the Native Princes of India, this will never be done otherwise than under temporary European management." (Memoir, p. 373.)

Sir Richard Temple, who was Resident in 1867, writes, "My main business was to secure the stability of His Highness's realm by decent administration. That realm had several times been brought to the brink of destruction by misgovernment. In the present temper of the Nisam, these evils might but too easily recur." (Story of My Life, I, 174). "The Arab soldiers had been imported to form a Pretorian Guard. But for Lord Dalhousie's interposition in 1855, they would have imprisoned the Nisam in his own apartments. . . In 1857 . . . they would have seized the sovereign power in the Deccan." (Ibid, 179.)

W. S. Blunt who had the greatest sympathy with the Muslims and spoke Arabic freely, wrote during his visit to Haidarabad in December, 1983: "A teacher at the Moslem School told me, the Muhammadans here were far from happy. They were isolated and without knowledge of what happened in the outer world.

"We discussed the drinking of wine which is common among the Muhammadans of Haidarabad." (India Under Ripon, pp. 68-69.)

1904,—"The inhabitants of Berar would have been dismayed at the prospect of reverting to Haidarabad rule." (L. Fraser's India Under Curson, p. 225.)

In 1910, Mr. Casson Walker in his final report wrote, "There are not more than four or five roads in the interior of the Dominions which are passable all the year." "Owing to the lack of roads, and still more of bridges and culverts, the peasantry cannot market their spare produce in time of planty, while when scarcity prevails the absence of transport facilities

leaves them at the mercy of the local money-lender." (*Ibid*, p. 227).

BRITISH POLICY IN HAIDARABAD

Why was such abominable misrule and people's misery allowed to continue during the century and a half when the Union Jack floated over the Residency at Haidarabad? The suswer is given by three English witnesses.

Russell, Resident with the Nisam, wrote in 1819: "If we owe the foundation of our empire in this country to the weakness in which we found the Native Powers, we ought not to complain of the evils which that weakness necessarily produces. If we have reaped the benefits, we must submit to witness the inconveniences which are its inseparable attendants." (Quoted in Thompson's Metcalfe, p. 191.)

W. S. Blunt supported this view 65 years later. He wrote from Haidarabad, "The policy [of the British] seems to be to keep the Haidarabad nobles in ignorance of modern thought, and it also looks as if the [British] Indian Government encourages the bad administration purposely." (India Under Ripon, p. 68.)

E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State wrote in 1918: "The Nizam is, of course, enormously important to us, because he has kept the Muhammadans of India straight, and we have used him, by means of his wily old ministers and our Resident, for this purpose." Montagu's prediction has come true—"Really, this is ridiculous, and they are going to have trouble with this man [Sir Osman Ali, G.C.B.] by exalting him into a position of kingship." (An Indian Diary, 213, 218.)

WHERE IS THE REMEDY?

In December 1883, the Minister Laik Ali (later known as Salar Jang II) told Blunt that "he did not think that the Nizam would be fit to govern the country by himself, . . . but neither is the country fit for self-government." (Ibid, p. 77).

Sixty-five years have passed since this political forecast was made, and today in 1948 another Laik Ali proclaims to the world that the people of the Haidarabad State are unfit for self-government! Will they be more fit under the present system and official gang, if we wait 65 years more, say in 2018 A.D.?

How the Nizam spends the public money

Sir Osman Ali has founded a Urdu University named after himself, among a population ninety percent of whom cannot read or write Urdu. He spends lakes of rupees on a translation bureau for making and printing Urdu translations of standard books in English. In a History of Europe issued by this department the sentence "Luther burnt the Papal Bull" has been rendered in Urdu as Luther ne Papa-Rome ka byle ko jalai dia (Luther rossted the ox of the Papa of Rome). This information was given by a Muslim Professor of Aligarh to Dr. Rajendra Praced at New Delhi on 24th Oct, 1946. Such is the condition of education under the Missan's Government against

THE EASTERN QUESTION IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

BY BUDDHA PRAKASH, MA., LLB., M.R.A.S.

FROM the French Revolution and the Napoleonic age onwards, the world has been moving towards unity and interdependence and war and politics are becoming increasingly international in range and incidence. Hence the Eastern parts of Europe which had so far negligible influence on continental politics are becoming important factors in European affairs. In the interregnum that followed the break-up of the Roman empire, the Volkerwanderung of the Vikings gave a stimulus to the countries bordering on the seaboard of the Atlantic and in the result the centre of political gravity shifted to England, France, Spain, Portugal and Germany and other countries of the far West. For about a thousand years the history of Europe was mainly the history of these Atlantic countries. But in the beginning of the nineteenth century the centre of political gravity again shifted to the East and its importance grew to such an extent that the first shots of two world wars were fired there.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century the once powerful Ottoman Empire of Turkey began to totter and the Slavs, Serbs, Greeks and other races inhabiting the Balkans, which formed part of the Empire, began to raise their heads under the impact of nationalism, which the Frenca Revolution engendered and Napoleon spread far and wide, and liberalism, which was the lodestar of British foreign policy under Earl Canning. The Serbs for the first time raised the banner of revolt against Turkey in 1804 A.D. and secured a measure of autonomy under a prince of the native Obrevonitch house in 1817 A.D. Three years later Greece followed suit and after her success the contagion spread very quickly and the whole of the Balkans flared up in a national rising.

At these developments the European powers looked from their own respective angles of vision. Russia saw in them a golden opportunity of securing "the key to her house" as Csar Alexander II described the control of the Bosphorus and Dardenelles. Hence she espoused the cause of the rising nations of the Balkans as a protector of their racial and religious interests and launched a Pan-Slavist propaganda to strengthen her handhold on Balkan countries. Side by side she availed of every chance to cource the Turkish Porte into giving her the privilege of the "warm-waters." In 1828 she declared war on Turkey and compelled the porte to recognise her claims in the Black See. Again in 1831 she helped Turkey against Mahmet Pashs and as a price of her services obtained mulitary protectership over Turkey and a free passage the the marking brough the bands to the manuscri-

of all other powers. Again in 1855-56 she attempted the same policy but was thwarted by the combined resistance of England and France. Foiled in her designs, she tried her luck in 1875 also but with unlucky consequences. Still she persisted in her policy unto the last.

Austria-Hungary viewed the falling fortunes of Turkey in a different light. Her empire was a patchwork of many nationalities, which could be held together only so long as they remained dormant. The southern parts of the empire were inhabited by the Slavs, who were racially and culturally related to the Russians; and the northern parts were peopled by the Czechs who were extremely Russophile. Transylvania though diversified by Magyar and German colonists was really a Ruman country and in the Banat of Tameshvar, Crotia, Southern Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzogovina lived more Serbs than in Serbia herself. Thus the interest of Austria consisted in keeping the Balkan states weak and small. Her policy was to maintain Turkey as a bulwark against Russia and the Slavs generally, to keep Serbia small and landlocked and to work towards Salonica by economic penetration.

The British Government had also a powerful stake in the decadent destiny of the "sickman of Europe." She wanted to keep her communications with India and the Far East secure and hence could not tolerate the paramountcy of Russia in the waters of the Mediterranean. At first her policy was to fillip up the nationalities of the Balkans, apparently under the name of liberalism, but really to throw a strong bulwark against the advance of Russia and to prop up the Ottoman empire also as a dam to stem her. But after the death of Earl Canning British foreign policy was more inclined towards Turkey than the Balkans. In 1831 she intervened together with France, to buy off Mehmet Pasha and to forestall the progress of Russia. Again in 1839 they compelled Mehmet to surrender Serbia and Arabia to Turkey. In 1855-56 the Crimean war was fought merely to give a chance to Turkey to put her house in order, which she failed to do. Again Distaeli championed the Turkish cause in spite of the fulminations of Gladstone's Middothian speeches and the remonstrances of Bismarck. At Berlin in 1876 he thoroughly alienated Russia and Rumania. Bulgaria and Greece by upholding the cause of Turkey.

Towards the close of the mineteenth century another very important and powerful factor arose in Eastern politics which brought about a thorough revolution in the policy of Great Britain towards Turkey. It was the German policy of Drang nach dam Cotan.

After Bismarck, Germany began to court the sympathies of the 'sickman' in order to further her imperial plans in the Middle East. With this end in view Kaiser Wilhelm II paid a visit to Turkey in 1889 and then in 1898 and Baron von der Gotz lived for some time in Turkish military circles and the result of these visits and sojourns was ostensibly demonstrated by the Turkish victory over Greece in 1898. German financiers and traders followed in the wake of the soldiers, a branch of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin was started at Constantinople, Von Sandres was appointed German ambassador to Turkey and to crown these developments Germany concluded a pact with Turkey in 1902 for the construction of a railway line up to Baghdad, which was to be extended later on to Basra and other places in the Middle East. Thus German interests in the Balkans lay from west to east whereas Russian interests lay from north to south. This led to Britain giving up her policy of favouring Turkey and adopting one of emphasis on the Balkans.

In a horizon of such complications and entanglements the twentieth century dawned and portended a terrible future. In 1908 the young Turk revolution took place. A party of youngmen trained in Western ideals of war ad statecraft rose under Unver Pasha and overthrew the regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid, Taking this opportunity Bulgaria declared herself independent on 5th October, 1908 and soon Crete followed suit and demanded her incorporation with Greece. Austria also under Aehrenthal announced the annexation of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzogovina. This act of Austria added another 2,000,000 Serbs to the already great number of 7,000,000 who were smarting under Magyar domination. The British foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey remonstrated but Austria settled with Turkey by a payment of money and the return of the Sandjik of Novibazar to her. This exacerbated the Serbs against Austria to such an extent that war became imminent in 1909. But Germany gave a mild witimatum to Russia, which dissuaded her from siding with the Serbs and thus the world had a narrow escape.

Meanwhile another knot was added to the tangle of the Balkans. After the young Turk Revolution every insult was heaped on Italian merchants, bankers and engineers, who formed the advance-guard of the Italian occupation and Turkish officials always and everywhere maltreated the Italian people. Thus Italy determined to wreak vengeance on Turkey. In October, 1909 Czar Nicholas of Russia had an interview with King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and assured him of Russian neutrality in the event of an Italo-Turkish war. Accordingly, in 1911 Italy declared war on Turkey by bombarding Tripoli. This difficulty of Turkey was the opportunity of the Balkan nationals who were impatient to overthrow the Turkish yoke. Hence the Albaniansthe ultra-royalists-broke out in open rebellion against the young Turk regime and scored a victory at Mitroyitza. In the meantime, miraculously and in complete

secrecy except in respect of Russia, M. Venizelos of Greece and M. Gneshoff of Bulgaria, along with Serbia and Montenegro, formed a league against Turkey and declared war on her. They scored victory on all sides. Turkey's main armies in Thrace were destroyed by the Bulgarians in the battles of Kirk Kilisseh and Lule Burges; Macedonia was swept clear of the Turks; Salonika fell and leaving Adrianople to be invested, the Turkish forces fell back on the Tchataldja line for the defence of Constantinople.

The conference of the belligerents met at London, where it was decided that the victors should be allowed to retain what they obtained. The only exception was that the Serbs were forced to quit Durazzo and Alassio on the Adriatic. The net result of all this was not merely the triumph of the Balkan nationals but a victory for Russia in the Balkans and a blow to Austria-Hungary although Sir Edward Grey threw his weight on her side.

Austria-Hungary was now enchased. Under the impulse of the fire-eating Conard von Hotzendorf and Count Berchford, she sharpened her teeth against Serbia. All of a sudden on 28th June, 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated by the Serbs at Serajivo. This event raised a storm of resentment in Austria and with the consent of German officers she served a 48-hour ultimatum on Serbia on 23rd July and on the 28th actually launched the attack. On 29th Britain urged arbitration, but the die had been cast. Russia mobilized, Germany declared war against her on 1st August and against France on the 3rd. On the 11th an army was sent into Belgium and at night of the same day England and Germany were at war.

The First World War ended and in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles the pattern of future Europe was formulated. The Austrian empire was broken up and the Balkans were Balkanized in the true sense of the Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania emerged in a totally changed form. This arbitrary arrangement was fraught with grave discontent and misunderstanding. Hungarians were stripped of Slovakia, which was transferred to the Czechs, of Transylvania, which was conquered by the Rumans, and Crotia, which now became part of Yugoslavia in the Serbo-Croat-Slovene kingdom. Thus some six hundred thousand men and women of Magyar race passed under alien domination. Similarly Poland received the corridor and Silesia and 230,000 German Tyrolese and 1,300,000 Yugoslavs were transferred to Italian rule. The principle of self-determination stood stultified. The ret result of this treaty was the extension of Russian influence in the Balkans which was to become a very dreadful thing later on, In vain the English geographer Mackinder wrote in his book Democratic Ideals and Realities in 1919:

"When our statesmen are in conversation with the defeated enemy some airy cherub should whisper to them from time to time and say; Who rules east Europe commands the Heartland (territory from Volga to the Yantse and from the Himalays to the Arctic region), who rules the Heartland commands the World Island (Europe, Asia and Africa), who rules the World Island rules the World'."

His warning was not listened to at that time.

A decade later, the rise of Germany under Hitler marked the resumption of the old German policy of advance towards the East or *Drang nach dem Osten*. Hitler, following Oldenberg, remarked:

"We start anew where we terminated six centuries ago. We reverse the eternal Germanic migration to the south and to the west of Europe and look eastwards. If we speak of new soil we can but think first of Russia and her subject border states." (Mein Kampf p. 742)... "None of our pacifists refuses to cat the corn of the east, although the first plough was called the 'sword."—Mein Kampf p. 153-4.

Germany's policy from the outset was to consolidate the countries of the Balkans into a strong state and to militarize it as a strong base for the advance towards the East. Hence German thinkers were envisaging German control over the Balkan countries. The first step in this direction was the unification of Austria and Germany. As early as November, 1934 the Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik wrote in regard to Austria:

"Austria is located in an extremely dangerous position from a military standpoint; its boundaries are defenceless to the attacks of its neighbours and it threatens partly through its own faults to become the battle-field of the next world war. The military weakness of the Austrian space is the reason for this danger, which can be averted only if a Great Power takes over the protection of this Austrian territory."

Afterwards in May 1938 in an article in the same magazine Albrect Haushofer wrote about Czechoslovakia:

"A Czech national state within the boundaries of the Czechoslovakia of today was thinkable only at a time when the German power did not exist."

The next objective after the Balkans was Russia. But the attitude of the magazine and its editors towards her was one of friendly co-operation. They impressed upon the German government the urgent need of a strong and abiding friendship with Russia, since war between them would have the effect, as it had in the past, of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the sake of the imperialistic aims of the Western neighbouring powers. Besides this the strategic position of Russia was so invulnerable that war against her was bound to end in disaster. Hence such a great thinker and philosopher as Oswald Spengler wrote in his book Jahres der Eutscheidung (years of decision) as follows:

"Distance is a force politically and militarily which is as yet unconquered. Napolean himself had to learn this lesson. What advantage is it to the enemy to occupy territory no matter how immense? To make even an attempt impossible the Bolsheviks have shifted the centre of gravity of their system further to the east. All the great industrial areas which are important to power-politics have been constructed east of Moscow... The entire region wast of Moscow, which was once the most vital part

of the Czar's empire, forms today a fantastic glacis against Europe."

Therefore, the Russo-German pact of August 1939 was hilariously hailed by Dr. Karl Haushofer, editor of Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik as a masterpiece of German policy. He wrote in the magazine:

"It needed the worst attacks from London before the conviction of the Fueher of the indispensability of the British empire for the world culture and the Nordic race idea was pushed back far enough so that the inevitability of the co-operation of the Axis powers, the Russian Empire and East Asia as the saviours stood distinctly before the German soul The audaerous construction of the anti-comintern pact was perhaps the borderline which such an insight (i.c., that Russia and Germany lost the war because they had fought each other) had to cross in order to teach the most vital great powers of the old world, that they should not again endanger, by ideological differences, the geopolitical foundations of their adjustable space-existence."

Furthermore, Dr. Haushofer envisaged the prospect of Germany and Russia entering into a pact with Japan. In 1940 he wrote in the magazine:

"If it were possible that the flags of the rising sun and of the hammer and sickle could destroy their mutual distrust, then they would be invincible in their domestic seas."

In this way the advance towards the East was planned as the basis of Nazi policy. Behind it was the sagacious realization of the strategic advantages that Russia possessed over Germany and other Western It had influenced and fascinated some important colleagues of Hitler, notably Rudolf Hess, who was a disciple of Dr. Haushofer. Hence the German advance towards the cast was devised in collaboration with Russia. After taking Austria and Czechoslovakia Germany attacked Poland from the West on 1st September, 1939 and Russia from the east. But then England and France declared war on Germany (3rd September, 1939) and she had to turn her attention towards the west also. She took Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium and Holland and advanced up to the heart of France unchecked (June, 1940) and after Dunkirk, had she straightway punched on England her success was assured since England was unprepared at that time. (See R. C. K. Ensor: A Miniature History of the War p. 28.). But Hitler treated the conquest of England with indifference and penetrated into France. Even after Bordeaux an immediate heavy night air campaign against England might have proved irresistible and Germany had a nice chance had she concentrated all her energies on that. But something mysterious took place and Hitler had to divert his attention to the East, especially the Balkans, and England got time to prepare herself for the defence. The reason for this sudden change in Hitler's policy is unknown. It may well be that he slighted the sea-power of England, but it passes comprehension that he could have missed so easy and decisive a prize. As a matter of fact,

something more serious and more important was taking place behind the scenes.

As Hitler was scoring resounding victories in the West and especially France, Russia was entrenching her hold on the Balkans. She had already annexed more than a half of Poland and the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and had dictated his terms to Finland. Now her attention and efforts were rivetted on the Balkans which was a congenial field for her. This startled Hitler beyond measure, for the control of the Balkans would give Russia the command of the heartland of the world and consequently the power to crush the superiority of Germany in the West. Hence she contracted a treaty with Japan, who was to advance via Singapore, Rangeon, Ceylon and Madagascar and meet the Germans moving via Malta, Sucz Canal and Red Sca and thus to attempt a naval blockade of the world including Russia herself. Grand Admiral Rueder was the author of this plan, which led to the giving up of the projected invasion of England (Vide the documents consisting of the minutes of conferences between Hitler and his naval commanders in 1942, published in The Hindustan Times, 10-7-47.).

In the result Germany struck against the Balkans and pushing through Rumania, Bulgaria, (Jan.-Feb. 1941) Yugoslavia (25, March, 1941) and Greece (24-30 April, 1941), attacked Crete and Malta and campaigned in North Africa. These movements irritated Russia whose interests clashed with those of Germany and the result was the fateful German invasion of Russia on 22nd June, 1941, the disastrous consequences of which had been brought home by Spengler and Haushofer.

The ultimate alienation of Russia and Germany was inevitable. No doubt Dr. Haushofer had passionately pleaded for a lasting Russo-German alliance. But two swords cannot rest in one sheath. Two equally strong and ambitious powers aiming at one common objective must fall out among themselves someday and eventuate either their mutual destruction or the survival of the fitter one. In politics, unlike in personal relations "two is company, three is none" is the very opposite of the truth.

Thus Russia and Germany went to war. In this struggle the advantages were tremendously on the side of Russia and the defeat of Germany was a foregone conclusion, which her great thinkers clearly knew. The self-same thing came to pass.

After the capitulation of Germany, Russia kept her policy of entrenching her hold on the Balkans intact. A series of coups organized by the communists resulted in the installation of puppet governments in Balkan countries, whose wires are pulled from the Kremin. In Yugoslavia Russia has turned the racial and religious ferment to her advantage. The whole manoeuvre was so organized that in the elections to the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly in November 1946, King Peter got only 10 per cent. of the votes

as against 90 per cent. of Marshal Tito's, a Soviettrained leader of Urban proletariat. Rumania was ridden with a pro-Soviet monarchy presided over by King Michael, whose recent abdication has left clean field for Russia. Bulgaria underwent a coup at the hands of the communist-dominated Fatherland Front and last September she voted to establish a Republic. Hungary underwent a ravaging purge by the communists. General Dinnyes, whose party polled only 17 per cent. of the votes in the last elections has usurped the government with the help of Soviet bullets, by swashbuckling the small Holders' Party which had a majority in it. Czechoslovakia also passed under Soviet influence very recently and the suicide of Masaryk and the resignation of Benes has left Russia unrivalled there. Poland is already a Soviet-dominated country and the Eastern Zone of Germany is fast becoming a communist preserve. In Scandinavian countries also the communists are gathering head very rapidly. In Denmark an underground organization of extreme communists is known to exist and on the Finnish side of the frontier of Norway, and Sovietdominated Finland, large-scale exacavations are being carried out and detonations of blasting are heard almost daily. Hence a few weeks ago the premiers of Sweden, Denmark and Norway met in Oslo to discuss the communist menace. In this way the 'iron curtain' is being extended west-wards very swiftly.

Here the very important question arises as to what is the future of West-European countries under these circumstances? Fither they come under Soviet influence and form a big communist bloc embracing the vast regions of Eurasia and thus avert the chances of war, the Eurasian and American question having been left out for the present; or they unite in some common scheme of defence under American leadership, as their tendency is these days. In the second case the prospect of a clash between them and Russia would have to be seriously considered. In history, invasions from the cast have often ravaged the West, but no invasion from the west towards the east has ever succeeded. Napoleon and Hitler both failed. Of course, the West-European countries established their colonies and empires in far-off Asia and Africa in the east but that was by naval force and its main reason was the decadence of subject peoples. But as these peoples are rising and progressing, sea-power with distant bases cannot keep them in check. Hence that era has come to a close and the question of landfighting has arisen again. As far as war on land is concerned the hard fact remains that whereas in the event of a raid from the west Russia can leave thousand miles and nestle in the retreats of the Urals, in the case of an invasion from the east, France and her neighbours cannot go anywhere save sinking in the deeps of the Atlantic. Hence their doom is

There was, however, a chance of forestalling the westward expansion of Russia, which the Western

powers failed to avail of. It was the formation of an alliance with Germany under Nazi leadership. The strategically commanding position of Germany, her teeming population, her wast resources and her efficiency in organizing both human and non-human material mark her out for the domination and leadership of Western Europe in any war against the powers of the east. Hence the best and the only chance for England and France of lengthening the lease of their lives was to accept the leadership of Germany and thus to entrench their hold on the Balkans, which has been an effective bulwark against the east for well over a century. Hitler's prophetic vision visualized this project very clearly. As the great scholar of history and politics Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee remarked in retrospect:

"Hitler once said that, if Europe seriously wanted to be a power in the world of our time, then Europe must welcome and embrace the Fuelrer's policy; and this hard saying was surely the truth. Hitler's Europe—a Europe forcibly united by German conquest and consolidated under German domination—is the only kind of Europe that could conceivably be a match in war potential for either the Soviet Union or the United States."—A. J. Toynbee: The International Outlook in International Affairs Volume XXII, No. 4, October 1947. P. 471.

But instead of turning towards Germany West-European powers are now drifting under the domination of America, who has emerged vastly strengthened from the second World War. As a matter of fact, America is not directly hit or hurt by the war. On the contrary, her resources have got a tremendous fillip from it. Hence in point of richness and resourcefulness she is unrivalled today. This is why her intrusions in the Russian field in the form of interference in Grecce, Turkey, Persia and the Middle East are going unchallanged. But sooner or later Russia must recoup the loss that she sustained in the war and stand foursquare against all intrusions of distant America. At that time it is very doubtful if America would be able to withstand the force of Russian might from a distance of thousands of miles. As for the ideological sympathy that Eur-America claims in the east for her, Guy Wint in his book The British in Asia published recently in London has written that she cannot compete with Russia in For four centuries Russia has nursed a messianic mission. The Bolshevik Revolution only strengthened

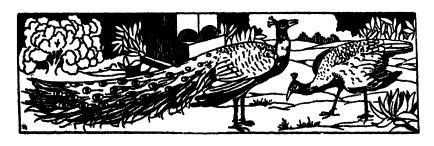
the idea and the concept of Russia as world-saviour merged with that of Russia as a patron of international communism. Behind Russian expansion today, therefore, lies an emotional or even religious force, perhaps the most fervent since the expansion of Spain in South America. Her ideology is so similar to that of Islam that her influence in the Middle-East would be unmatched. To quote Guy Wint:

"Once atheism is abandoned it would not be difficult to represent communism as Islam brought up-to-date, so strong is the equalitarian tradition in Mohammadan society. For these reasons, even the critics and enemies of Russia, sometimes feel constrained to prophesy an inevitable Russian supremacy in Asia. This might not come from the intentions of the Russian Government, but from historical necessity, for if there is disorder in Asia, Russia would find it genuinely hard to stay aloof."

Thus we notice that the days of America in Eur-Asia are numbered. The supremacy of the east under Russian auspices is assured. The powers of Western Europe are so vulnerably situated as to fall a prey to Russia one day or the other. The only hope of a powerful West-European Union is the regeneration of Germany. To quote Dr. Toynbee again:

In a European Union Germany must come to the top sooner or later by one means or another, even if this United Europe were to be presented, at the start, with a Germany that was disarmed and decentralized or even divided."—Toynbee: op cit.

The West European powers and especially France should take this historic lesson to heart and try to build a strong Germany as speedily as possible. Side by side they should develop and inspire a messianic faith in their existence by upholding the dignity of man and espousing the cause of his freedom. For this they should renounce their outworn imperialist policy in the East: France and Holland should atone for their guilt in Viet-nam and Indonesia by giving them full freedom and England should give up her chesstactics in Palestine, Kashmir and South Africa by helping solve their problems amicably. In this way alone they can inspire in the East a faith in their existence and thereby assume its spiritual leadership. After all, integrity is more effective than strategy, ethico-politics is more powerful than geo-politics and spiritual strength is more successful than war potential.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D. (LOND.)

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A UNIQUE feature of the Draft Constitution is found in the emphasis placed on "Fundamental Rights" of citizens. An entire section, viz. Part III is devoted to the subject. Neither in the constitution of Canada nor those of Australia or South Africa do we find such an enumeration of fundamental rights. In Great Britain they are guaranteed by an independent judiciary and certain prerogative writs, such as Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, etc. In U.S.A. also the original constitution which emerged from the labours of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 did not contain any provisions regarding fundamental rights which were subsequently added by way of amendments. Here in our country the insistence on the incorporation of an elaborate system of fundamental rights is quite understandable in the context of the sad experience of the eclipse of all human rights not only in the Nazi and Fascist dominated countries, but also in the so-called democracies in the grip of war, as also of India's own sad experience under British rule. Quite a large number of the Constituent Assembly whose deliberations furnish the basis of the Draft Constitution have been the worst victims of the denial of fundamental rights of man by a foreign bureaucracy and it is only natural that when they should be entrusted with the making of a constitution of their own country they should place these rights beyond the possibility of encroachment by the Legislature and the Executive even though these are to be popular in character. Besides, there is the general consideration that if democracy is to have any success-and Indian opinion is by and large in favour of establishment of a democracy-it must guarantee to its citizens those elementary freedoms which by equalising the conditions of life for all make for the fullest development of human personality of all its citizens. Moreover, in formulating the scheme of fundamental rights they have taken care that these are not to be merely pious precepts and paper safeguards but they should be easily enforceable in courts of law in case of infringement from any quarter and every citizen should have easy access to legal remedies. The sad experience of the Weimer constitution is a pointer to the futility of incorporating a scheme of fundamental rights without provision of legal remedies. To make these rights effective it is essential that the law-making powers of the legislative bodies should be restricted in such a way as to exclude possible interference by them with these rights and further that provision should be made for fudicial review of cases of infringement by the

Legislature or the Executive. Accordingly, Section (8) of the Draft Constitution provides not only that the 'State'-meaning thereby "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India"-should be precluded from making laws taking away or abridging the rights enumerated in the Constitution and a law made in contravention of such rights should be treated as null and void, to the extent of contravention, but further that all laws made even before the commencement of the Constitution inconsistent with the preservation of the rights in question should be treated as void to the extent of the inconsistency. It seems, therefore, that all possible precaution has been taken against these rights being rendered infructuous and merely paper safeguards. While curtailing the power of the legislatures in respect of these rights a proviso has been introduced, and rightly, so that they may not be prevented from making laws "for the removal of any inequality, disparity, disadvantage or discrimination arising out of the existing law." For the removal of existing inequality or discrimination is as much desirable as the guaranteeing of fundamental rights. We quite agree with the explanation given by the authors for the insertion of this proviso:

"The proviso has been added in order to enable the State to make laws removing any existing discrimination. Such laws will necessarily be discriminatory in a sense, because they will operate only against those who hitherto enjoyed an undue advantage. It is obvious that laws of this character should not be prohibited."

The purpose of this proviso is the same as the clauses preserving fundamental rights against encroachment by legislatures.

To come now to the specific rights guaranteed. The list is a comprehensive one falling under the following heads,—(1) Rights of equality, (2) Rights relating to religion, (3) Cultural and Educational rights, (4) Right to property, (5) Right to constitutional remedies.

Rights of equality comprise prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, sex, race, etc., equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, abolition of untouchability, abolition of titles, protection of the classic 'freedoms', such as freedom of speech, movement, association, etc., protection in respect of conviction of offence, protection of life, liberty and equality before law, freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse, prohibition of tradic, human beings and forced labour and employment of children. The principle underlying all these rights is that they are meant as much to secure equality as toremove inequality, as securing true equality presupposes removal of existing inequality. For instance, while it is provided that no citizen shall be subjected to any disability or restriction on grounds of race, religion, sex, etc., it is at the same time provided that the State shall not be prevented from making any special provisions for women or children, inasmuch as the latter are under some disadvantages. (Section 9). Similarly, while it is provided that there shall be equal opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment and that no citizen shall be ineligible for any office under the State on grounds of religion, race, sex, domicile, etc., it is at the same time provided that it will not stand in the way of the State making any provision for the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class who happen to be inadequately represented in the Services under the State (Section 10). Section (II) of the Draft Constitution provides for the abolition of untouchability and the enforcement of any disability arising out of it is made an offence under the law of the land. Untouchability is a baneful form of social inequality and all would agree in stamping it out of the body-politic. Yet we doubt in the efficacy of the legal process to achieve that end. It is a social abuse and the most effective remedy for it is to educate public opinion. Happily, public conscience has already been aroused to its baneful consequences and thanks particularly to the life-long labours of Mahatma Gandhi untouchability is fast on the decline and is expected to be a thing of the past at no distant date. It might better be included in the Section of 'Directive Principles of State Policy'.

We welcome the provision for the abolition of titles (Section 12) as a healthy measure for the abolition of an artificially created privileged class-a class which may be doped into subservience and used for its own ends by the ruling class, if unscrupulous. Section (13) provides for the preservation of the time-honoured "rights of man", such as the right of free speech and expression, the right to assemble peaceably, the right to form associations, the right to free movement, etc., while guaranteeing the liberty of the individual in these matters care has been taken against excesses on the part of individuals in their exercise amounting to license to the detriment of public interests. This is just in accord with the principles of English jurisprudence that a person is to exercise his right only up to the point where it does not interfere with a similar right of other persons nor ieopardise public interests. Corresponding to each of these rights there is a proviso setting a limit to it. For instance, the right to freedom of speech and of expression is to be subject to the right of the State to make laws relating to libel, slander, defamation, sedition or any other matter undermining the autho-

rity; or foundations of the State. Similar provisos are introduced with regard to the other rights. Thus & balance is struck between individual rights so very necessary for the development of personality of the citizen and interests of the community at large. To emphasise the importance of the right to life, personal liberty, freedom from conviction, etc., these have been separately dealt with in Sections (14) and (15). A person is not to be convicted of an offence except for the violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the offence. This is a safeguard of individual liberty against the operation of ex post facto legislation. Further, it is provided that no person is to be punished for the same offence more than once, nor to be compelled to be a witness against himself, if accused of an offence. Protection of life and liberty as secured under the principle of Rule of Law of English jurisprudence is provided for under Section (15) which runs as follows:

"No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law, nor shall any person be denied equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

The above two sections have been drafted on the model of the Fifth amendment of the American Constitution. The language seems to be an improvement on that used in the American Constitution. We have nothing to comment on the other rights enumerated in this Section. So far as the next category of rights, i.e., the rights relating to religion are concerned they are all conceived in the spirit of the basic fact that India is to be a secular State. Freedom of conscience, freedom to profess, practise and propagate any religion is guaranteed subject to the right of the State to make law for (a) regulating economic, financial, political or other secular activities associated with religious practice; and (b) for social welfare and reform or for throwing open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to any Class or Section of Hindus. So far as this last-mentioned matter is concerned we should prefer this to be effected by the growth of public opinion of which there is a distinct manifestation rather than by legislation. Freedom of every religious sect or denomination to establish and maintain its own institutions, to manage its affairs and to own, acquire and administer properties for religious or charitable purposes is also guaranteed as also the freedom as to attendance of religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions. In the spirit of a secular State it is provided that no religious instruction is to be provided in any educational institutions maintained out of public funds. At the same time the freedom of any community or religious denomination to provide religious instruction for pupils of its own community in an educational institution outside its working hours is prejudiced.

The next category of fundamental rights relates

to the protection of minority interests as provided by Section (23). The object of this Section is to disarm the fears and suspicions of all minorities whether religious, racial or linguistic, about the suppression of their culture and language by the majority community. The way provincialism is on the ascendant throughout India and particularly the attitude of the people of Bihar and Assam towards the Bengali-speaking minorities there point to the wisdom of these provisions. The next important right guaranteed is the right to private property. This, of course, does not rule out a socialistic economy which is envisaged in Part IV of the constitution. In the present-day world this right cannot be absolute but always subject to the paramount necessity of the State. Of course, compensation is to be paid in case of acquisition of any form of property by the State for public purposes.

The last section of the rights relates to remedies for enforcement of the rights discussed above through the Supreme Court or other Courts by directions or orders in the nature of the writs of Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, quo warranto, etc. As has already been stated above, mere enumeration of rights without appropriate remedies for their enforcement would reduce them to nullity. So this has been included in the list of fundamental rights with a view to making the others effective.

The powers to make laws with respect to matters under discussion which requires provision by legislation and for prescribing punishment for those acts which are declared to be offences in this context is to belong exclusively to the Federal Parliament and not to the State. This is just as it ought to be for the sake of uniformity of the system of fundamental rights throughout the Union.

The catalogue of rights incorporated in the Draft Constitution and discussed above is quite comprehensive and calculated to secure to the citizens a measure of individual liberty that any one can expect in the present-day world and if they are properly enforced people in many parts of the world will look upon Indians with envy. But the question is whether they will be actually translated in the everyday life of the common man. There is more often than not a gap between the law and the facts of everyday life. It all depends on the tradition of a people. In England liberty of the individual is being enjoyed longer than perhaps in any other country, but it does not rest on any written provisions of the constitution. It is embedded in the mental habits of the people. On the other hand, in spite of the elaborate constitutional guarantees about rights in the Weimar constitution the German people never tasted them in their daily life. So we should not feel unduly complacent over this catalogue of fundamental rights written into the text of the constitution, unless we are able to develop those habits of thought and traditions and that psychology which consitute the real foundation of true liberty and democracy. If, however, we succeed in realising these rights in our daily life we shall not only achieve peace and happiness at home but also make a distinct contribution to world peace; because the cause of world peace will be largely promoted by the preservation of democratic rights over such a large area and such a large section of humanity.

(To be continued)

BUILD A 'THIRD FORCE'

By J. BHAR. M.A.

Weep not today: Why should this sadness be? Learn in present fears To o'ermaster those tears That unhindered conquer thee.

-ROBERT BRIDGES

THE world is now being divided fast and sure into two camps. Sandwiched between two forces, Soviet power politics and the U.S. A.'s dellar imperialism, humanity is now foolishly fumbling towards a third world war. As recent events and trends in European and Asiatic politics have shown, the Big Two are fast heading for a showdown with their respective satellites siding with one or the other. For the common people all the world over this game of power politics is equally sinister and harmful, no matter which particular camp they may choose to join, The Big Power rivalry and wrangling have come to a head after what is known as the Czechoslovak 'coup'. There is now under way more feverish activity than ever for blocmaking on either side. Humanity is facing a crisis,

a sort of dilemma. Have they now got no other option than cast in their lot with either America or Russia? Is the situation so hopeless that helpless mankindcannot afford not to allow either one or the other to make them its partner in the coming war? Granted that war is no longer a probability, but a certainty, must we adopt an attitude of listlessness or rise triumphant over war-mongering and make a lastminute effort to avert the calamity that will plunge the world headlong into chaos, destruction and even total ruin? Is there really no choice left for us between U.S. imperialism and Soviet power politics, both of which actually seek to foist upon us the tyranny of ruthless regime with lust for power as its essence? Only intellectual bankrupts will answer this query in

the negative. For, the light of the world has not yet gone out, and there is still enough time left for the organisation of a third force of peace and moderation. This third force alone, if properly consolidated and directed, can triumph over the forces of reaction and protect Democracy inviolate from the depredations of power politics.

INSURANCE AGAINST WAR

Organisation of the third force is the strongest insurance against another war. In between stubborn Communism and the re-born neo-fascism a third force ought to be made to emerge and take its rightful place in the comity of peace-loving nations. It must succeed, if we want to prevent war and make peace and democracy safe for ourselves and the future generation of mankind. It is for us to build it, and if we do not do it right now, we will do it never. Let us, therefore, get going in the proper direction before it is too late. Otherwise there will be war, and its evil consequences will prove the undoing of all the noble things man has done for hundreds of years. Atomic warfare after all is not a matter of joke. How could we ever forget what happened when the bomb went off in Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

Effort has already been made in Europe and America to build a third force. But it is a pity that after the Czechoslovak 'coup' this force is now disappearing leaving the field open for the war-mongers to play their own game. But it will be a sin to lose faith in humanity. It is no use questioning the efficacy of democracy, for frankly speaking it has not yet been given a trial anywhere under the sky. Out here in India there is only one man who represents the essence of democracy at least in word, if not in deed. He is no other than our beloved Nehru who advocates political as well as economic democracy. Even if the third force fails in Europe, let not Asia lose faith in it. Men like Soekarno. Ho Chi Minh, and Nehru have a great task to perform. Let them organise the third force here on the Asiatic soil, and strengthen it to such an extent that war-mongers will not dare to hook us in as their partners. The ruling powers in our neighbouring countries may refuse to co-operate with us in this effort for saving peace and democracy, for under the topsoil of so-called freedom they are entrenched fathom deep in military and economic collaboration with their previous Ruler. But if even at this stage Pundit Nehru, the torch-bearer of a lofty democratic ideal, should care to come forward and take over leadership of an Asian movement for peace, the people of all these regions will certainly respond to his call. This partnership will be no violation of the U. N. Charter, for it will be first and foremost a healthy movement for peace, the very ideal that brought the UNO into being. The Asian Conference convened last year in Delhi was quite a commendable move. It is a pity that the pledge for peace and unity among the Asian nations taken on the occasion

is nowhere near realisation even after a lapse of about two years. Let us fulfil the mission now or a good act deferred indefinitely, we shall find it too late afterwards to keep out disaster. To build a third force on Asian soil is no costly luxury. It is an imperative necessity, a matter of life and death. If we can launch the movement right away and make it a cent per cent success, the war-mongers will be bound to leave us free, knowing full well they can't have much of a dent on this part of Asia.

INDIA'S ROLE

If India refuses to lead an Asian movement for peace, well then who will? China is by far the largest country in Asia and her children are scattered wide over the entire south-eastern part of Asia. But China is now too much in hot water, and one side of her civil war feeding fat on U.S. support is too feudal in outlook and too much of a lackey of foreign imperialism to be of any service to the cause of Asian peace. The other side represents democracy, the Chinese civil war being a straight fight between Chiang Kai-Shek's feudalism and Mao Tse Tung's "new democracy." If and when this "new democracy" emerges triumphant, China will inevitably decide and influence the fate of the whole of Asia. But till then India cannot and should not shirk her responsibility in maintaining Asian peace. Otherwise troubles will be whipped up, and the path for destruction and even subjugation to foreign influence might be opened out. Let us, therefore, do all we can to prevent a war on Asian soil, especially in countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Malay, Indo-China and Indonesia. Let the mutual co-operation among all these countries be founded on a genuine desire for peace. The task is no doubt difficult. It is also manifold: a perfect co-ordination of its various aspects,-cultural, political and economic, and even collective defence against aggression on a regional basis-may prove too heavy a burden on us. And yet we cannot afford not to think big.

THE THIRD FORCE IN U.S.A.

The third force in America is being led by Henry Wallace. Truman's popularity is already on the decline, and some of his countrymen have begun to look askance at his heavy commitments in Asia and America. He may be knocked out altogether at the next election. The most popular figure in U.S.A. 18 Gen. Eisenhower, but he is not going in for presidency. Henry Wallace stands for peace and moderation. He is frankly critical about what he rightly calls Truman's policy of "unlimited aggression." Most officials in the U.S. today are in the grip of wild Russophobia: there is a red bug in every American cupboard. If Wallace is elected President, it will mean victory for the third force in the U.S. A. and in that case, Russia will get no further chance of accusing America of war-mongering. But it may be wildly fantastic to expect that things could turn up that way. And yet one cannot escape dreaming at times, especially in the modern situation when the world is too strife-torn and the prospects for peace so dull and thin.

EUROPE'S 'MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS'

What about the future of the third force in Europe? Some think that after the Czechoslovak 'coup' it must cease to exist and elements comprising the force will be polarized to the two opposites. But I refuse to agree, for a new force may emerge, if and when the older one dies. The third force is more than a political hegemony, it is an ideal, and like the human soul itself, the ideal can never die. Even if it may seem to be dead, let us revive it. The third force must live and work and succeed, if we would win peace and save democracy from ruin.

Six months ago a strong third force was operating in Europe. Since the Czechoslovak 'coup' some of its adherents have gone astray. Britain, for example, is now treading an extremist course. And so are France and the Benelux states. But the Western Union they have formed may not ripen into a power political caucus at all. It may help Russia sober down to a more realistic appreciation of the evil of war.

Today in Britain, Attlee and Company do not represent the third force any longer. It is being frankly rumoured that Don Quixote Truman has found a Sancho Panza in Ernest Bevin and both together are on their mission of emancipating the fair maiden of Democracy from the iron clutches of totalitarianism. France's Bidault has made common cause with Bevin. But Leon Blum and a whole host of British and French intellectuals are still advising cautious moderation. In Italy Giuseppe Saragat, a follower of the third force, continues to ask his countrymen to go upon the principle of compromise and moderation. With the death of Jan Masaryk Europe's most eminent torch-bearer of the tradition of democratic liberalism has passed away. Czechoslovakia is no longer what it has been so long. In the Scandinavian countries, Norway's Premier Gerhardsen and the Premiers of Sweden and Denmark represent the third force. Germany's Schumacher, a social democrat by political creed, is another well-known representative of the third force. He is equally critical about Sovietsponsored SED, a Communist-dominated caucus of power politics and the Anglo-American occupation chiefs when they support the interests of Big Business. Europe's intellectuals and genuine democrats prefer peace and moderation to power political manoeuvring. Their argument is "Let us not be crushed between two giants, Russia and America." Here is a lesson for Asia and the rest to cash in upon. Mere wishful thinking, however, is not enough. A positive programme of action needs to be evolved and that should be done without any further delay.

SAVE PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

To sum up, mankind should build a third force of moderation and democracy everywhere in the world. Otherwise we shall be caught in the macistrom of ruin, when the next war comes. To frustrate that eventuality coming about at all, organise democracy for the peace offensive. That is the only solution to the present dilemma. So urgent is this work, that no country ought to offer its pre-occupation with domestic affairs as an excuse for its failure to do the needful. Should war come one of these days, it will not do to blame it on Russia and America. We who hopelessly grope in indecision are equally guilty. By keeping dumb and ridiculously passive in this hour of crisis, we are indirectly helping the war psychosis to be warmed up. Prince Hamlet's delay may be one of the component factors of another tragic war. For this dereliction of duty on our part, our posterity will not willingly exonerate us from guilt. After all it is not contemparary commentary on any leadership that stands the test of time. History will call the bluff, tear off the pleasant exterior and show up only the naked truth. Shall we not, therefore, face up to our task, so that Democracy and Peace may live and those that are making a desperate bid for world domination may be persuaded to see the light of reason and altruism as opposed to their present insensate worship of power?

For us Asians the immediate task is to stop crooning about that old 'One World' ideal. That is really too fantastic to be true. Like practical men of action let us do something about it. Let us rivet our attention first and foremost on this part of Asia and see how best we can build up a third force here. Our work for peace should now come down from the plane of idealism to that of the real. Its basis should be the union of the nations of this part of Asia into a strong bloc to safeguard their economic, political and strategic interests determined to uproot the present hysteric tendency towards war-mongering. It is also necessary that the nations participating in the Asian union should have the courage to turn down any cringing gestures of appeasement offered by either of the Big Two. The building of a regional bloc in Asia with peace as its sole mission does not mean we are going to quit the UNO, but by virtue of unity and strength that comes through unity, we certainly can expect to stop playing the second fiddle to any big power, as we did in the case of Korea. We really failed to implement our pledge of neutrality when we openly subscribed to political opportunism by siding with the Anglo-Americans in Korea's case as also over the issue of the Little Assembly. By building a third force in Asia, we stand to gain both morally and materially. Our international prestige will be enhanced that way, for as soon as the Asians hold together as a single unit, they will be able to follow a more courageous policy of independence: that is essential, if India and her neighbours sincerely desire to keep out of war or the existing rivalry among the Big Powers. And if we can't do that, we had better stop talking about peace and neutrality altogether.

REFORMED COMMUNISM: AN ANTIDOTE TO COMMUNALISM

By Prof. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

COMMUNISM is a world-force today. You may compare it to cholera and call it an epidemic disease and refuse to take it as a sign of healthy growth of society. But howsoever you may view it, it is there and is leading the world somewhere, perhaps to a crisis. It is no use, therefore, to play the ostrich with it. And personally we do not belong to that breed which sees nothing but a nightmare in it. A shield has two sides; so has communism also. We have a horror of some of its practical methods; but still we can respect its ideals.

We must first of all disabuse our mind of the idea that communism was "made in Russia." The Russian brand undoubtedly holds the field today; but communism is as old as Plato and a sort of it was taught by Christ also. As a philosophical ideal of social reconstruction and of human uplift, it is perhaps as old as human thought. We find it in an elementary form in early Christianity also. The Russian form is its latest form just as nuclear physics is the latest advance in that science.

Taking communism in general, it has certain merits as a theory which it is well to remember. None of these merits may be exclusively its own, but nevertheless it owns them.

- (1) In the first place and foremost of all, it stresses human equality. This is not an exclusive discovery of communism. That all men are equal in the eye of law is an ancient doctrine. And the spiritual equality of man has been advocated by all religions. Even Hinduism, in spite of its caste system, has not overlooked it. And Jainism and Buddhism went much beyond that and preached the equality of all life-equality in spiritual value between the moth and the mammoth, between man and the date-fruit. But communism gave a new form to the question of equality. It was not enough to say that men are equal; social practice and social structure must show that they are so. Besides, in this world of mortal beings, economic equality was more important than the theory of spiritual equality. And communism raised this question of equality in the face of feudalism and Czarism, against priestly hierarchy and landed aristocracy, against unbounded wealth and in presence of abysmal poverty. This was a courageous step and an advancement of human thought.
- (2) Emphasis on human happiness and an equitable distribution of the means of attaining happiness, viz., wealth, is another merit of communism. It is not happiness promised in a future life or in a world to come, but happiness here and in this life, that communism speaks of. There was a time when the poor were considered blessed, and the kingdom of heaven and the inheritance of the earth were promised to them. Communism turned down this doctrine and advised the poor to endeavour to share the wealth of the rich. It was easier for the camel to go through the eye of the needle than for a rich man to enter heaven,

said Jesus Christ. Communism brushed aside the doctrine and instead of trying to console the poor with the promise of heaven, would rather advise him to have a share of the joys of this life. In Christ's teaching also there is a condemnation of the rich; but nothing is suggested as a means to deprive the rich of their extra wealth. But communism not only condemns excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, but also thirks of ways and and means by which this extra wealth may be distributed to the poor. The poor are not left only with a spiritual consolation and the promise of a better future—not here but in another world; but are also advised to try to have a share of the blessings of this life. This shifting of emphasis has both its merits and demerits. It deprives religion of the means of perpetuating poverty. But at the same time, it kindles in the heart of the poor an open hatred against the rich which makes class-war inevitable. But so far as poverty of the poor is condemned and a better social structure without poverty is envisaged, communism is entitled to our consideration.

It is not easy to find out the richest man in any society or the poorest; and in between the richest and the poorest, there is a gradualness in the distribution of wealth. So it is not always correct to speak of the rich and the poor, as if they are two distinct air-tight classes without any mixing between the two. Yet there are some in every society who are denied by circumstances even the ordinary amenities of a decent human life. It is not difficult to spot them in spite of the gradation of wealth. And the merit of communism lies in the fact that it focussed attention on them.

This concern for the so-called lower classes in society is not exclusive to the communist. All leaders of thought, founders of religion and reformers of society gave some thought to them. But to communism belongs the credit of raising to prominence the economic aspect of a lowly life.

All this is good and commendable. But communism has some fault, too, which, we hope, communists will allow us to point out.

1. Communism looks upon man as an economic being only. This prunes the human self beyond recognition. Man buys and sells no doubt but he is not a buying and selling machine, a producer and consumer of goods only; he is more; he is an animal and is capable of emotions. He eats, drinks and has other impulses of the flesh. But he is even more than an animal. He thinks, and loves and has nobler emotions. He is a spiritual being. Even if the world becomes completely communistic, some mothers will probably love their children and some women will probably remain faithful to their husband; and may even sacrifice their material comforts for husbands and children. And even in a communistic society, cripples and blind men will probably be born and

require human sympathy and succour. Even in a communistic society death and bereavement will occur; and these and similar situations will call forth the softer and nobler emotions of the human heart. If man only buys and sells, produces and consumes, and understands only physical comforts, where will be the fountain of these loftier emotions? It is a mistake for communism to suggest by words as well as by deeds that man is nothing more than a glorified animal, if not a machine only.

- 2. Following from the above, there is another grave error in communism. It denies—at any rate, does not emphasise—the moral values. Moral differences are perhaps permanent differences, until men become gods and nothing immoral happens in society. Even according to communism, there will perhaps be a difference between theft and gift, between adultery or fornication and marriage, between forgiveness and ferociousness, and between murder and mercy. When communism preaches the doctrine that the end justifies the means, it places these moral values at a discount
- 3. Another evidence that communism depreciates morality is furnished by the fact that it speaks of rights but hardly ever of duties. Rights imply duties also. It is well to remind the poor man or the labourers of his rights in society and against other classes; but has not he any duty also? Complete moral education of the man will mean teaching him both. We shall probably be told that the upper classes in society do not do their duties. We admit it; very few men or classes perform all their duties. But the remedy for this is not to encourage in all classes a dereliction of their duty. Two wrongs do not make a right. If communism taught both rights and duties and taught them to all, it would give the world an excellent moral code.
- 4. The communistic doctrine of 'liquidation' of opposition is another strange defeat in it and a perilous theory. The old world thought that ideas could be combated and conquered by ideas—by teaching and preaching. So Jesus preached and Buddha taught. But some brains are impervious to new ideas. Neither Buddhism nor Christianity has been accepted by the whole world. And even now there are people who would oppose both. Preaching and teaching have failed to oversome this opposition.

Communism has invented a new technique for overcoming opposition. Ideas inhabit minds and minds inhabit bodies. If it is found that a mind inhabiting a particular body is not amenable to new ideas, can never accept them and continues to oppose them, then, instead of waiting indefinitely for the conversion of such minds, the shortest way is to liquidate such minds by dissolving the bodies which shelter them. Whatever name ordinary language may give to such a process, the magnitude of the end justifies the means.

Adverse critics have often said that Islam was

propagated by a similar method. Followers of Islam approached people with the sword in one hand and the Qoran in another; those who accepted the Qoran escaped the sword, those who did not were finished by the sword. There was no continuous flow of arguments and refutations, no endless verbiage. A large part of the world was Islamised within a very brief span of time, because the proselytizing followed this short and easy process.

This account of the spread of Islam has been repudiated by many devout Mussalmans. Let us assume it is not true. But we find a parallel to this in the propagation of Communism. Need we point out that it is a dangerous method? The process of liquidation may be used against communism also. The immediate effect of this reciprocation in the process of liquidation will be a vast chaos out of which may emerge beatific communistic society or a Napoleon or some other kind of dictatorship. From both sides of the Atlantic already comes news of the sharpening of swords. When the process of liquidation starts both ways, may Heaven save humanity!

5. Another drawback of communism is that it is intolerant of patriotism or love of country. The only country that modern communism can think of or love is Russia, where it professes to have assumed a practical shape. Other countries must cease to excite love and must be subordinated to the love for Russia. Barring Russia communism pretends to belong to no country but to the world—to the whole of humanity. It implies a type of society which cannot be confined to any country. It must spread-must be made to spread-and engulf the whole world. And because the systematic spread of the doctrine is directed by Russia and because the model of society it desires has been or is being made in Russia, Russia is the only country, which can be loved, nay adored, as & country.

This repudiation of patriotism by communism is one of the reasons for its conflict with other modes of political thought. Patriotism has been counted as a high virtue since the days of Rome and Greece. And it will certainly take time and mean a violent uprooting of human instincts before all men can be persuaded to disown their countries and own only Russia and the world.

6. A greater and a more fundamental defect of communism lies in its intellectual make-up. It has repudiated religion but has retained a fanatically religious attitude towards the teachings of Marx. Marx is beyond criticism just as the dogmas of the church and the articles of faith are to Christian churchmen. To take one instance, Marx taught dialectical materialism and taught that as the only interpretation of history. The dialectical method was used in philosophy by Plato and perfected by Hegel. It is not a discovery of communism. And the interpretation of history also is no one's momopoly. History has been interpreted in more ways than one,

has been interpreted long before Marxism and the Marxist interpretation is only one of the many ways of its interpretation. The communists expect, however, that the Marxist interpretation must be accepted as a gospel, without demur, without criticism, without any modification or amendment and without any mental reserve. For a non-communist, it is difficult to see how it differs from religious fanaticism and how it can be reconciled to retionalism and how it can be regarded as intellectual freedom.

Euclidean geometry and Newtonian physics have undergone revolutionary changes in recent time; but Marxian communism is immaculate, eternal, unchanging, sacrosanct. One must accept it in full or be liquidated. Yet we are told, communism offers the highest freedom to humanity. Communism does not see itself as others see it. It pins its faith in the eternity and sanctity of its teachings.

If it has failed up till now to achieve its avowed aim, it is because of its errors. In itself communism ought not to be as repugnant as it is to many. Is any reform in present-day communism possible? Yes, if communism will only allow it. Its greatest defect is its Moscow-mindedness. Moscow is its centre of gravity, the source of its unity and also of inspiration. But that is also the greatest difficulty in the way of its reform and improvement.

Christianity reformed itself by denying Rome and by protesting against authority, especially the authority of the Pope. Communism also may deny Moscow-may protest against all authority-even the authority of Marx and Lenin-and may, like all reform movements in the history of the world, appeal only to reason. Half the opposition to communism will melt away as soon as people feel that it is not 'made in Moscow.' Christianity could not spread if, instead of appealing to reason and to man's higher emotions, it only appeared as a Palestinian doctrine. Any theory, scientific, religious or political, misses its universal character once it is propagated only as some country's manufacture or some individual's patent. Will communism allow itself to be reconsidered and revised by thinkers of the world in a free and frank manner and re-shaped by them, just as scientific theories are done?

The objection to the Russian brand of communism is that it means domination of all countries by one and leaves no freedom to other countries to modify it in any way. The British parliamentary system of government is not bad altogether; but how would other countries feel if advocates of this system tried to force it unaltered and unamended upon them? Yet communism comes from Russia full-fledged and demands either acceptaince in full or rejection on pain of 'liquidation'. Is this compatible with freedom. with freedom of thought and action?

If communism could be freed from the apronstrings of Russia, rid of its Muscovite shape and allied to patriotism, it would appear more respectable, more acceptable, to many than now. Reformed communism as a philosophical doctrine and as an ideal of human happiness, would not only be more appealing but might be used as an excellent antidote to communalism. It could be thus employed as a powerful instrument for securing human good.

Communalism is an attitude of mind which grows generally on religious fanaticism. One of the earliest examples of community-consciousness can be found in the conflict between Christianity and Judaism. A rough picture of this has been preserved in Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. Even today, in Palestine, the birthplace of Christianity, we have a horrible display of communal struggle between the Arabs and the Jews. They both belong to the same Semitic race. So, the struggle here is between one religion and another. In recent months, India also has witnessed a most horrible form of religious communalism.

But communalism is not confined to religious differences only. Racial differences also may give rise to community-consciousness of the most atrocious type. In Hitler's Germany, the Jews suffered terribly because of their differences in race. Differences in colour or race are also responsible for what is happening in South Africa between the white and non-white population. Lynching, the American way of dealing with an offensive Negro, is another savage demonstration of colour communalism. The tussle between the whites and non-whites is a world phenomenon. The whites of Europe and America desire to dominate the entire human population of the world, including the Chinese and Japanese. We have examples of it in Indonesia, in South Africa, in America, and till recently, in India. The desire is not extinct even now, in spite of the doctrine of 'one world' in the air.

Whatever its form, communalism feeds on a feeling of exclusiveness and a psychology of superiority complex. Here reformed communism might render yeoman's service to humanity by pulling down the barriers that separate one race from another or one religion from another; in sum, one community from another. It could really build one world with one humanity.

We do not deny that this is one of the major aims of communism. But it is not the chief aim; and what is worse, it is subordinated to ambition for political power. We shall probably be told that without political power, this end cannot be achieved. Political power is thus a means to the end. We are prepared to concede that provided communism does not aim at world-domination and provided it allows each country to adopt a technique for the attainment of political power suited to its genius and socio-political environment, instead of each following the inevitable Moscow model. But we do not go the whole hog with communism here. The barriers of caste or community may be combated without raising an army, by the creation and mobilisation of a virile

public opinion. Ideas can be demolished by ideas, without necessarily destroying the body that carries the mind containing the ideas.

The struggle between the non-white and white portions of humanity may eventually call for a political, and even a military decision. But this cannot be anticipated before other steps have been taken. One of the most important steps in this direction is that coloured humanity, from China to Peru, must be made to feel its unity. The best way to do it is the propagation of ideas and not immediate clash of arms.

Communism cannot hope to become universal until it disowns Russian dictation. We mean no disparagement of Russia's achievements in the field, in spite of the fact that much of what is happening in Russia is screened from the view of the rest of the world. But just as you cannot have the same climate for all countries, or equal distribution of natural wealth like oil and minerals all the world over, just as you cannot give to every country the same quantity of heat or light or coal, so, perhaps, you cannot have the same social structure for all. And just as moral values are universal for all mankind, similarly, one world and one humanity are universally acceptable ideal. Only we must feel that we are not asked to accept it at the point of the bayonet. Let communism become a world doctrine, a non-Russian doctrine and it will have immense possibilities for doing good to mankind.

In this discussion, we have not touched upon the relation between Communism and Socialism. In spite of differences, there is much common ground between the two as theories and also in the practical field. For our purpose here, however, the important differ-

ence is that Socialism owes no allegiance to Moscow and can tolerate patriotism; and thus, in our opinion, is a better rollitical philosophy than rank communism.

There is another point to be borne in mind. We have discussed only communism as a doctrine, and not the communist party in India or elsewhere. As a party organisation, its first endeavour everywhere is to seize political power. And with that end in view, it makes alliances and enmities wherever and however they suit it. Thus in India it sometime worked with the Congress, sometime with the British, sometime as an advocate of peasant interests, sometime as an ally of the Muslim League; sometime as an enemy of government and sometime as an ally of labour and sometime as an ally of revolutionaries anywhere and sometime as an enemy of all organised authority, whether of labour or of capital. This is hardly honest and straightforward. But we shall be reminded that the end justifies the means. Nothing phenomenal can be achieved without political power. With that end in view any alliance or quarrel is justifiable. We can only say, we do not accept that proposition. And most people, especially in India, dislike communism because of its unreliable friendships and unreal and ambiguous cumities. This frequent change in its tactics and manoeuvres makes it untrustworthy: makes it difficult to believe that its avowed aims are its actual aims; makes it difficult to believe that it is not toying with a social philosophy only to seize political power. This is why we wish that communism allowed a reform in its methods, its alliances and affiliations. That might make it a sober philosophy, respectable as a doctrine and almost Platonic in character.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF FARMING The Post-Abolition Period, and Their Suitability to West Bengal

By P. N. SINGH ROY

While the abolition of zemindaries is the declared objective of the Congress and of Government, the country has been flooded with suggestions for various alternative methods of farming in the post-abolition period. It is instructive to analyse the basic nature of these suggested alternatives and their suitability to the existing conditions in West Bengal. Mere abolition without an alternative set-up on constructive lines would create a vacuum in the country which would be disastrous to production and stability.

STATE FARMING

Here the State is the absolute owner of land, and directly under its auspices cultivation is carried on by hired labourers under the guidance and direction of government officials, with the help of machinery owned and supplied by Government and according to

a pre-conceived national plan. The worker's freedom is totally subordinated to government decree and his interest is limited to the fixed wage. The produce belongs to the State.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP

In this case the proprietor of land is himself a peasant, the actual cultivator, who independently or with hired labourers carries on cultivation on an individualistic basis. As against permanently-settled estates as of today in the peasant proprietorship or ryotwari system the revenue is not fixed in perpetuity, but is liable to alteration at periodic intervals. Another distinguishing feature of ryotwari system cousists in the fixation of revenue on individual pieces of land rather than on estates. The actual occupant at the time of the original settlement is recognised as

possessing a permanent and heritable right of occupancy with unlimited rights of transfer, but subject to the payment of revenue. The revenue payable by the cultivating ryot to the Government in a ryotwari system is neither wholly contractual nor wholly customary but depends on the value of land as determined during periodic settlements. The produce belongs to the ryot. The ryotwari systems as now prevalent in different parts of India have most often not kept their pure form intact, but have degenerated into a system where the peasant has ceased to be the proprietor.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

Co-operative farming, unlike peasant proprietorship, is an example of joint farming, and unlike collective farming, retains a strong individual element in it. Unlike corporate farming, it eschews absentee landlordism and production for profit, but concentrates on the greatest good of the member-farmers. Its distinguishing characteristics are regarded for the individual life of the members and voluntary union. The extent of co-operation may vary. Thus, land may be cultivated jointly by members on wages, the means of production being owned by the society and surplus income being distributed to individuals on the basis of wages carned. Or lands of small tenants may be pooled under the auspices of the society and leased out again in large economic blocks to members for individual cultivation, while the society directs and supplies common services. In the first case the produce is the property of the society for equitable distribution among the members; in the latter, the produce is separately the property of every individual responsible for it out of which he has of course to pay for the services rendered by the society. The State may or may not levy a land-tax either on the society or on the individual members composing it, and in the majority of instances, actually offers special facilities to such co-operative societies financially or otherwise.

Collective Farming

A collective farm is an association of peasant members whose rights in individual holdings or even individual rights in land are irrevocably lost to the collective. It pays wages to its members, according to the work done by each and according to the net output of the farm. The members have some freedom in the management of the farm although it is largely controlled by government agencies. Out of the produce of the collective members get their dues.

In Palestine collective farming took two forms. In the one case the collective entirely operating on borrowed capital, owned all the property in a settlement, members owning nothing privately, not even wages being received by them, though maintained by communal institutions run on the sale-proceeds of the produce which was owned collectively. In the other case, starting with collective ownership small-holder's settlement and later individual allotments

were created, certain operations like cultivation, irrigation, sale purchase storage, etc., being however done collectively.

The Russian collective is a synthesis of the above two forms inasmuch as there is joint ownership and management of all agricultural property, including live and dead stock, work is common, but there are individual houses for each family. Members are paid at a uniform rate and enjoy complete freedom in the spending of their carnings. The produce is raised with some amount of local freedom but largely according to Government plan and although it is the property of the Kolkhoz for distribution among the worker-members, there are certain statutory deductions for reserves on a priority basis.

The Russian Kolkhoz with small individual farms attached to each worker, combines features of (a) State enterprises conducted according to plan and under constant government direction; (b) co-operative enterprises which, although not enjoying self-management, unite and organize members' labour and provide income dependent on labour and on the income of the enterprise as a whole; and (c) small private homesteads working for the market and providing a considerable proportion of their owners' individual incomes.

We have discussed above in outline the important alternatives to landlordism as a system of farming, both in their pure form as also in their possible variations. It is quite possible that the genius of our people will not be satisfied except on the adoption of a combination of two or more of the dominant forms above.

State farming, though it may secure certain advantages of large-scale farming, reduces the independent peasants to the position of mere wage-earners who lose completely their freedom in the management of the farm. State farming on a province-wide scale would be too stupendous a task for the West Bengal Government which is faced with acute dearth of qualified agricultural officers, and is lacking in necessary finance. It would also open the flood-gates of nepotism and corruption to the Government officials whose past records leave much to be desired. In effect, it would mean substitution of private landlordism by state landlordism without the saving grace of direct personal contact between the landlord and the tenant. Even in Soviet Russia, the land of State control, State domination and State ownership, State farms hold a position far less in importance than collective farms wherein State interference is not so much in evidence. In fine, by reducing the peasants through force of arms to the status of wageearners it would kill their independence and stifle their initiative. The Co-operative Planning Committee set up on the recommendation of the 14th Registrar's Conference therefore recommend that "in the existing conditions of the country State farming should not be taken up except where land is already held by the State and for the purposes of experiment and demonstration."

Peasant proprietorship is often wrongly supported

on the analogy of the prevalence of the ryotwari system in Bombay, parts of Madras, etc. But it is as untrue to hold that the ryotwari systems in these provinces actually equate peasants and proprietors of lands as to say that the ryots of West Bengal do not enjoy much the same set of permanent and heritable rights in their tenancies as their compatriots elsewhere, as has been conclusively shown by the Famine Enquiry Commission in their Final Report.* Indeed, as the F. I. Commission pointedly remarks on page 253 that the defects of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, of uneconomic size of holdings, and of uneconomic sub-infeudation below the occupancyright holder are not peculiar to permanently-settled estates alone but are common with all the other landtenures prevalent in India. Change-over of the West Bengal land-tenure system to the ryotwari pattern would not offer a solution of these grave defects.

A system which recognised the actual cultivator of today as the ryot, particularly when irrespective of the basic nature of the tenure, small holding is the rule all over India, would simply not work. It may be a good escapist policy to follow this line of least resistance; it may even be sought to be justified on sentimental pseudo-socialist grounds that men down on the ladder already should not be touched during this troublous transitional stage. It is also true that an independent and contented peasantry helps the growth of a sturdy democracy and offers a perennial reservoir of strength on which the country can draw in a national emergency. But the uneconomic holdings have to be converted into economic ones, even in the interest of the peasants, involving some necessary dislocation in the holdings of some of the existing peasants. Sub-division and fragmentation have to be countered by consolidation, perhaps compulsorily, involving some displacements in employments. Admitting the urgency of consolidation even at some cost, the F. I. Commission recommended on page 263 that for such perposes "stamps duties and registration charges should be remitted and fees for encumbrance certificates waived" by the State. All these involving serious limitations to the rights of the ryots are foreshadowed. Even an ardent champion of peasant proprietorship like Sir Manilal Nanavati has thought fit to recommend restrictions on the peasant's freedom in respect of transferability, partitioning etc. For obvious reasons, there is hardly any advocate for fullfledged peasant proprietorship today.

Even with such restrictions the so-called peasant proprietorship will fail to deliver the goods. Peasants are chronically short of funds. They do not have good seeds, good measures, proper water supply or even requisite technical skill. They will have to procure all these from outside agencies and to the extent these agencies lie outside the control of the peasants, they will control the peasants and will make an end of

It cannot be denied that population in the provinces is growing steadily and our methods of productions till now have been small-scale and primitive. On top of these, food for the millions of refugees have got to be found. Agricultural productions, including of course, raw materials of the fundamentals industries have got to be geared to the industrial policies of the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal. If agricultural inefficiency born of sub-division and fragmentation and innumerable sub-infeudation has got to be overcome we cannot afford the luxury of peasant proprietorship with individual small-holdings at this stage. In these days of planning all around the blissful planlessness of individual peasant proprietorship would be the end of our economic freedom. The F.I.C. on page 271 definitely refused to accede to the proposal of Sir M. Nanavati for state acquisition of even land cultivated on the crop sharing basis for distribution among cultivators. Indeed the Commission held that multiplication of small holdings would not necessarily mean increase in agricultural efficiency and may well involve the State in heavy financial burden on their behalf.

THE REMEDY-MULTI-PURPOSE CO-OPERATIVES

Indeed, the Commission in page 272 definitely suggests that "it is desirable that cultivators of small farms should be organized in multi-purpose co-operative societies." This recommendation is in keeping with the spirit of mutual help and understanding which centuries of landlord-tenant system has created in West Bengal. The success of peasant proprietorship system anywhere postulates the pre-existence of a spirit of robust independence among the people but for decades past leadership in the villages has come as a rule from a particular section only.

Coming down to the practical question of the actual acquisition of lands from the rent-receivers for the setting up of ryotwari system, the Commission definitely sets its face against it. It says on page 276-77:

"From the financial point of view, therefore, it seems to us likely that the abolition of the system cannot be carried out within a relatively short time, without incurring financial commitments which might seriously restrict the sources of public borrowing available for other urgent schemes of development in the post-war period. Priority in the allocation of available resources should be given to large schemes of irrigation or industrial development which unlike a scheme designed to replace one land system by another, are calculated directly to increase the productive resources of the country." It can be pointed out "that the Government of India has enunciated its industrial policy entirely along the above lines, so that acquisition of existing industries to the detriment of the development of new industries may not be pursued on a narrow view of emergency."

If as is evident from the above, peasant pre-

the peasant proprietorship system for all practical purposes.

^{*} Famine Enquiry Commission Report, p. 252.

prietorship is not a suitable substitute for the existing land-tenure system of West Bengal, collective farming is also not. Collective farming may be somewhat better than State farming inasmuch as it leaves some incentive to the peasant members for the improvement of the farm because of its special method of paying wages and because of the ownership by the collective of the means of production. But in the detailed role that State officials play in controlling the collective it is as much open to the charge of nepotism and corruption as is the pure form of State farming. It is to be specially remembered that Government officials since the famine days in our country have not much reputation to lose on the score of incorruptibility. But, more than this, collective farming may be misunderstood by our peasantry as outright expropriation and raise many socio-economic problems. The deep attachment of our farmers to the ownership of land will seriously stand in the way of its introduction. Indeed when ownership in other fields of industry remains undisturbed, the peasant will not easily part with his title The peasant will simply refuse to be dispossessed of his land, his livestocks and implements, in short, to lose his identity altogether and be a mere wage-earner under the collective commune. Even Soviet Russia in the thirties had to pay disastrously heavy price in men, money and material in forcing down upon the peasants a collectivism which they openly resented, and had to introduce later a strong dose of individualism even within the collective framework to keep the peasantry contented.

It appears therefore that the system of farming which will not affect any of the fundamental social institutions or customs, will be appropriate to the native genius of Bengali farmers born and brought up in an atmosphere of mutual sympathy, understanding and tolerance and will yet give increased production. What is so greatly needed now is a network of multipurpose co-operative societies in which the existing interests in land will be commutable in their shares of equivalent dividend-yield. With intelligent government propaganda aided by the majority party in the countryside it will not be too difficult to persuade the peasants to surrender their lands while retaining the substance of their rights in them intact—for purposes of management and development and themselves working on the joint plot as so many part-owners. 1 1

This system of multipurpose co-operative societies will be more advantageous than state farming in that it will retain management entirely into the hands of local men while never shutting the door of state assistance. As against collectivism involving a wholesale revolution in society, threatening to uproot the basic structure of private property even, it will keep down the rights of private property in check in view of the national emergency for increased food production. In contrast with peasant proprietorship with small holding.

this system bids fair to raise the standard of living of the peasants not only for those who will be kept on the farm, but also for those who cannot economically be so kept but provided for elsewhere in the manifold spheres of activity of the multi-purpose society. In its astounding flexibility, the multi-purpose co-operative system can serve both as a short-term expedient and as a long-term solution, adjusting itself to the needs of the times in keeping with the availability of modern machines and technical skill. By bringing various types of people to work together in the same farm, the system will substantially help the people in mastering their caste prejudices and communal distinctions and activise national harmony. It will effectuate a smooth change-over from a much-maligned land-tenure systems to an admittedly modern method of farming and transitional hardship incidental to any change will be reduced to the minimum. Above all, it will render unnecessary expenditure of huge sums on payment of compensation which will be unavoidable in case of any other substitute-and the saved sums may then be utilized on important irrigational projects along the lines of recommendation of the Famine Enquiry Commission. In any case it will do away with any gap between the abolition of zemindaries and the setting up of a permanent substitute thereafter. Above all, this form of cooperative farming will automatically effect consolidating of farming even without a change in the laws of inheritance the scrapping of which the Famine Inquiry Commission could not recommend despite weighty arguments for the same. At the same time it will involve effective restriction on the existing rights of transfer of land as was recommended by the Famine Inquiry Commission in their Final Report, page 265. Not only by saving the huge amount of compensation money, but also by tapping private resources of West Bengal's millions of peasants and rent-receivers, it will make necessary finance forthcoming for the improvement of agriculture and by taking up subsidiary lines of work allied to farming it will throw open new avenues of employment to displaced personnel who cannot be provided for in the organised industries or in pure agricultural work. It will of course steer clear of excess of official interference but will not fail to secure expert knowledge and governmental assistance and co-ordination in the interests of better and greater production.

A carefully planned co-operative scheme of the above type which properly puts emphasis on the individual rights in land, though not on the individual holdings and which ensures the requisite degree of Government help and co-operation together with those of the people directly concerned should now be the aim of West Bengal Government for initiation. Reverberating faith in the possibilities of such a scheme should be created in the minds of the country-people by means of intensive propaganda at suitable sites under Government auspices. For if co-operation fails, with that will fail the last hope of rural Bengal,

THE ISLE OF WIGHT

By GEORGE EDINGER

Off the south coast of England, and separated from it by a channel that takes 20 minutes to cross, lies the Isle of Wight. Twenty kilometres across and 30 from end to end, this small, sunlit fragment of Great Britain comprises a great diversity of scenery.

Thou ands of tourists come over from the mainland to the 1sle of Wight to enjoy the sea-bathing and scenery of the island

From the rolling, bare, windswept uplands on the west you used to look out leisurely over the jagged line of rocks called The Needles at the great ships sailing to America.

On the sheltered, southern shore, where daffodds and almond blossom flourish among the beechwoods, the sheltering down and erag and forest have been diversified, by a generation that was nurtured on Victor Hugo and Walter Scott, with romantic bowers, "Gothic" castles and bow-windowed villas in the 120-year-old style that the British call "Regency."

The Island's attractions have been appreciated for a thousand years, as you can see by the tesselated payements of the Roman villas that have been found under the soft turf.

Queen Victoria built herself a house on the north coast at Osborne, and a few miles from it stands Cowes, the centre of English yachting. For season after season, thousands of tourists have come over from the mainland to sample the seabathing, to gaze at the famous daffodil fields or enjoy the spacious prospects of hills and the sea.

Then came 1940. France fell. Tl Holiday Island was overnight an outpost of the Free World. As

thousands of people who have taken one of those old-fashioned paddle stoamers that used to ply to Cherbourg and back on a day's trip, well know, it is only 100 kilometres across the water to occupied Europe. The hotel-keepers and the landladies of all the lodging houses that line the front in the more sophisticated stretches of the Island saw their livelihoods vanish overnight. When the bombers came, they were lucky if they did not see their lodging houses vanish too.

So there were few who visited the Isle of Wight, and those who did so had excellent cause. But visitors apart, there were 90,000 people living on the island, and they had no intention of leaving it. To many living in the cottage with white-washed walls and thatched roofs, and in the grey stone farm-houses away from the tourist tide, their island was the



Winkle Street, Isle of Wight

whole wide world. The horizon of their imagination, like the horizon of their vision, was bounded by the sea. Along with them, were many old sailors in the Navy or the Merchant Service who chose the Island to

end their days, and for whom the supreme happiness was to sit with a telescope in a cliff-side garden, watch the ships go by and (on special occasions) to fire a little brass cannon to salute a homecoming liner that had friends aboard or had accomplished a record run.

Suddenly and speedily these people had to adapt their ways to a new order which, even if it was not so drastic as Hitler's, needed a high degree of versatility and good humour.

For, the Island people was not only in the front line, they must virtually have been self-contained. Yet the shock was not, after all, so great as one might imagine. The Island had been in the wars before. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was repeatedly raided and ravaged by the King of France's ships. Queen Mary Tudor in the sixteenth century devised a comprehensive scheme for its defence. You can still see the bastions and ramparts erected by her Italian engineer, who, by the way, designed the fortress of Antwerp also. It was beset, too, by the privateers of King Louis XIV, and during the wars against Napoleon, it was necessarily an armed camp, garrisoned in part by a brigade of Dutch volunteers who risked all to share their sovereign's exile.

Thus the monunents of ancient greatness confront you wherever you go on the Island No Englishman can experience without a thrill that crossing from the mainland that carries him past Nelson's flagship and the chequered island forts that rose to bar the channel at the order of the immortal William Pitt.

Newport, the quiet capit on the Medina River, is overshadowed by the thousand-year-old keep of Carisbrooke castle, whose precinets, carefully preserved, enclose the traditional residence of the Island Governors, of whom the latest, Princess Beatrice, is the only surviving child of Queen Victoria.

For a thousand years this Island has supplied the Royal Navy and the Merchant Marine with some of its most venturesome recruits and the tradition that has taken its young men and boys for the sea service has only been slightly mitigated of late by the rival attraction of the Royal Air Force.

So the Isle of Wight was well able to look after itself. The call for Home Guards met a ready answer from the men who had seen, in the gatehouse at Carisbrooke, the searlet and buff coat in which their ancestors went out to face Napoleon. The batteries about Queen Mary's rampart, barked savagely at the intruding raiders. Old ladies, whose heads Queen Victoria had patted long ago in the gardens at Osborne, emerged from the Regency Villas to drive through bombed streets for the Red Cross or the A.R.P. The landladies shook their heads, locked the front door behind them, and went off to make munitions. This fighting answer somewhat confounded the enemy; invasion threats receded. Raiders became more rare.



Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight

And behind its barriers the holiday Isle was able to devise a new economy. Ploughs and tractors began to break up the grass slopes of the gentle hills. In the gardens along the sheltered Southern shore they are growing the early vegetables that had temporarily been lost to Britain with the Channel Islands.

Erratum

The Modern Review for June, 1948: "Mauritius Once Again" by Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen
The reference on p. 464 to the article in The Modern Review for April 1946: The article was
written by S. Balgobin, Mauritius.

RAJA RAVI VARMA A Centenary Tribute

BY SUDHA BOSE, M.A.

On the happy occasion of the centenary of Raja Ravi Varma, who was born on the 29th April, 1848, at Kilimanur, an extensive village in the Travancore State, it is our pleasant duty to recall and to review by the British rule in India, which pervaded every phase and aspect of Indian life. The English people in India took particular pride and pleasure not only in introducing the English language, and its rich and

varied literature, but all kinds of English customs, dress, manners, and fashions of social habits. which adversely affected the national ways of life in India. The introduction of English culture was not a matter of slow infiltration and gradual assimilation by a voluntary and conscious process, but a sudden imposition from without and an uncritical and an unintelligent imitation of everything English without relation to the character and the basic principles of Indian life. The importation of fereign ideas, very little understood, and badly interpreted, sapped the very foundation of Indian life.

Sakuntala-Patralekhan

In the field of Art the influence of imported ideas and methods was of much more fatal consequence to the life and gr. wth of national art. The

the works of a pioneer artist, who had initiated a new era in the history of Indian painting. Abandening the point of view and the idea's of the great traditional schools of Indian painting, he adopted the techniques and methods of the Western schools of painting with their scientific apparatus of perspective, chiaroscuro, anatomy, proportions and other aids of realistic and naturalistic painting foreign to the history of Indian and Far Eastern pictorial art. The last representative of the indigenous and traditional methods of Indian painting, Molaram of the great school of Kangra painting, died about the year 1837, and within ten years there appeared in the field of pictorial art a modern representative, "blissfully"



Draupadi at the court of Virata

ignorant of the qualities and ideals of the traditional Art of India and "un-hampered" by its age-long conventions, its peculiar types and imaginative methods of expression. The middle of the nineteenth century was the beginning of an orgy of foreignism introduced

captivating realism of European oil-painting changed the very outlook of the Indian connoisseurs who began to regard the conventions and the imaginative presentation of Indian life and indigenous themes followed by the old traditional painters, as due to an inherent incapacity of the language of Indian pictorial art to give a visual presentation of the ideas in an adequately convincing form. There was a tendency, therefore, to discard altogether the language of national art, then still surviving in various parts of India with all its inherited glory and vital powers of expression.



Ramachandra-Samudrashasan

Unfortunately the traditions of the old Indian pictorial art had survived more in the North, than in the South in living practices of indigenous artists, and Raja Ravi Varma had no opportunity in the faroff corner of India to come in contact with the great traditions of Indian painting, and quickly succumbed to the captivating manners, and the superficial grandeur of loudly expressed juxtaposition of colours in European oil paintings, which gave living likeness of the actualities of things, particularly in the branch of portrait-painting. And very appropriately, Raja Ravi Varma's initiation into the mysteries of European painting took place, when he watched Theodore Jansen, an English artist, at work on his commission to execute a series of portraits for the royal family of Travancore. It was indeed a thrilling experience .for a novice untrained in the technique of any language of pictorial art-Indian or European-to imitate without any proper guidance or discrimination the vocabularies of a foreign art, before one's judgment had any chance to develop through an understanding of his own national art. And when Ravi Varma started to illustrate the themes from Indian mythology, he had no idea that such subjects had for centuries before inspired the brush of generations of Indian artists in the great schools of Gujrati, Rajasthani, and Pahadi paintings. Even in the South, the interesting branches of the Ajanta school had survived in splendid forms in the frescos of Sittana-Vasal (Podukottai State, Tanjore District) and in some of the remnants of Chola painting in the Brihadeswara Temple, but they were forgotten records of antiquarian interest, which provided no living models to a practising artist bent on catering to the needs of his own generaton But Ravi Varma belonged to a family of orthodox religious beliefs accustomed to pay daily visits to the temples—a custom still followed by the present Maharaja of Trayancore.

And since some of the temples of Travancore are still covered by magnificent freecos, illustrating the Shiva and Vaishnava legends (c.g. those in the Ethamanoor Temple, and the Pudmanavapuram Palace), it is difficult to explain how Ravi Varma could flout or ignore the pictorial traditions of his own country. This can only be explained by the psychology which Pritish Dominion engendered in the Indian mind that the products of Indian culture were greatly inferior to those of Europe and particularly in the field of pictorial art, as Indian artists had not developed the scientific "appliances" of accurate representation of natural forms, typically discovered in the later phases of Renaissance art and applied successfully in the



Gangavatarana

Realistic Schools of Dutch painting and their derivatives and analogues in Frence and English art.

Anyhow, either through ignorance or through a depreciatory estimate of indigenous manners and

methods of painting, Ravi Varma swallowed with open mouth the lessons that the English artist could teach and demonstrate in the series of realistic portraits that he painted at Trivandrum. Ravi Varma had no systematic training in oil-painting in any school of Art, and he picked up the technique by imitation and superfical study. But, though not of a very high merit, judged by Western standards, his imitation of Western painting was acclaimed by enthusiastic admiration on the part of his royal patrons (Maharajas of Travancore, Baroda and Mysore) and particularly the English Governors of Madras and Bombay (the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Ferguson), who were naturally pleased with this obvious submission of an Indian genius to the influence of English art. And

studios did not usher in the masterpieces of the European schools of painting, which still remained a scaled book to Indians and Indian artists. Things might have developed in different ways, if Ravi Varma and his followers had any opportunity to study and assimilate the lessons, which actual contact with the masterpieces of European painting could have conveyed with dynamic consequences. For we know, how in the field of literature the study of Scott and Fielding, Dickens and De Quincey, Smiles and Johnson, Shakespeare and Shelley stimulated the growth of vernacular literature in India, particularly in the great novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in Bengal—the earliest product of the beneficial consequences of contact with English culture.



Vanity

the prizes and medals that the Indian artist won not only in the local exhibitions at Madras and Poona but also in the Indian and Colonial Exhibitions in London and in the Chicago International Exhibition, confirmed his own judgment that he was on the right track in the pursuit of his career of Art. The acquisition of a new language of Art, hitherto unknown in India and never practised, before Ravi Varma introduced it for the first time, is of some of consequence, though not to the extent that the learning of the English language and its repercussions on Indian intellectual and social thought produced in India. For, in the case of Ravi Varma, the introduction of this new language of Art did not introduce the host of dynamic ideas that could flow into India, at the time, through a study of the contemporary English, French, or Dutch schools of painting. The teaching of English brought in its train the whole panorama of the masterpieces of English literature, but, in the field of Art, the knowledge of the tricks of Western



Modesty

Raja Ravi Varma, therefore, began his career under two great handicaps: (1) an ignorance of or an apathy to the ideals and methods of the classical Indian schools of sculpture and painting, which had set very highly developed standards as to how to portray the gods and goddesses of Indian mythology by psychic realisations through spiritual contemplation (dhyana-mantras), and (2) an ignorance of the manners and methods of contemporary English painters by which the latter presented the mystic stories of Greek and Norse mythology. If our Indian illustrator of Indian myths had the chance to study how Rossetti (1828-82), and Burne-Jones (1833-98) in England were presenting mythical and legendary themes, things could have shaped differently in the field of modern illustrations of epic subjects. Bereft of any kind of respectable precedents in India and in England, Raja Ravi Varma was left to his own resources to fashion out gods and goddesses on the models of living men and women in the society

around him, and to clothe them in the costumes of contemporary life. Correggio, the decadent representative of the late Renaissance, has been reprimanded. by critics for introducing the portraits of the members of his own family in sacred Christian subjects. Such criticism applies with greater force in the case of the mystic and transcendent themes of Saivaite mythology. Shiva in Ravi Varma's illustration of the 'Descent of Ganga' is a self-conscious athlete, not the dreamy yoni, whose actions operate in self-forgetful moods of periods of spiritual scances. In the 'Vow of Vishma', the mystic hero of the Mahabharata is weakly rigged out in the personality of a Marhatta chief. By such prosaic methods it was impossible to call up the imaginative but radiant personages—the super-men and women of Indian sagas.

And very harsh, indeed, have been the criticisms that had greeted the mythic subjects painted by Ravi Varma. According to Havell:

"Certain it is that his pictures invariably manifest a most painful lack of the poetic faculty in illustrating the most imaginative. Indian poetry and allegory; and this cardinal sin is not atoned for by any kind of technical distinction in the execution."

The strictures of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy are more severe:

"Theatrical conception, want of imagination and lack of Indian feeling in the treatment of sacred and epic Indian subjects, are Ravi Varma's fatal faults. No offence can be greater than the treatment of the serious or epic subjects without dignity, and Ravi Varma's gods and heroes are men east in a very common mould, who find themselves in situations for which they have not a proper capacity . . . His pictures are such as any European student could paint after perusal of the necessary literature and a superficial study of Indian life."

The explanations we have offered above, can indeed provide no defence to the onslaught of attacks by two eminent critics and connoisseurs of Indian art.

But whatever may be the intrinsic merits of his illustrations of Indian Puranus, there is no doubt that Ravi Varma rendered signal service to the cause of Indian culture by broadcasting pictures embodying the ideals of Indian culture, at a time, when Indian national life and thought was under an eclipse under the dark clouds of Western influences, propagated through the educational institutions set up by the British Government and by Missionery enterprises, in which Indian culture was deliberately ignored or belittled. This new illustrator of ancient sagas was able to widely distribute his pictures through cheap reproductions, which found their way to all Indian homes, rich or poor, in all parts of India. This itself was a piece of achievement to be proud of by any exponent of Indian culture, particularly at a time, which witnessed a severe calamity in Indian national life. If Ravi Varma's pictures fell short of an adequate artistic ideal, they provided valuable

spiritual support to the illiterate and the uneducated and an easy visual aid to remind them of the glorious teachings of ancient sages.

This valuable national service Ravi Varma was able to render by setting up a colour printing press, imported from Europe at great expense. At this press he prepared cheap oleograph prints, somewhat too shiny and gaudy, but fairly accurate renderings of his original pictures. At that tune, excepting the coloured lithographs of the Calcutta Art Studio produced by Mr. Bagchi, no other form of reproductions was in use to disseminate works of Art in cheap and accessible copies for those unable to indulge in the



Raja Ravi Varma

luxury of possessing original pictures. Mr. Upendra Kishore Róy had not yet started his process studio to reproduce pictures by the photo mechanical process. So that apart from his artistic achievement, Ravi Varma could claim to be the first pioneer in a commendable publishing enterprise, dedicated to a national cause.

But even in the domain of art creations, his schievement was of no mean order, if we set apart the controversial character of his presentation of Indian mythology. In the branch of portrait-printing, and, in the rendering of Indian types and genre subjects, his creations were valuable contributions to a branch of painting hitherto unexplored. His merits as a portrait-painter was widely admired, and Duke of Buckingham, the then Governor of Madras, honoured him with several commissions to paint

portraits which still adorn the walls of the Government House, Madras. This was followed by other requisitions on his skill as a portrait-painter and he was commissioned to execute a series of portraits of His Highness Sir Chamarajendra Woodayar, the then Maharaja of Mysore. Of his studies of Indian types the most charming and convincing examples are his renderings of Nair ladies and a series of imaginative types, symbolizing "Modesty", "Vanity", "Reverie", "The Charmer", "The Worshipper" and a variety of other studies, which uphold a high standard of conception and execution, which are creditable successes in his search for Beauty in the current life of the society of his time. Even if he had not ventured into mythi-

cal themes, his genre paintings are enough to place him on a high pedestal as a talented and inspired painter of Indian tife and character.

To this great pioneer of modern Indian painting our respectful tributes are due for valuable contribution made to the aesthetic phase of Indian culture, which the lapse of a century has not tarnished or diminished.

We should like to conclude by paying a well-deserved compliment to the Founder-Editor of this journal, who was the first to publish an illustrated book on the Art of Ravi Varma with several reproductions of his works executed by the late Mr. Upendra Kishore Roy.

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A VISIT TO SEWAGRAM BY A PILGRIM

By JUSTICE SANKAR SARAN, President, Allahabad Harijan Ashram

What is this place, Sewagram, the world-renowned little village in the interior of the Central Provinces? Is it in fact a village, or a mere settlement, or just a camp where people meet for a purpose and then disperse, or is it a monastery where men and women of piety live in poverty and penance or indeed is it the sanctuary over which broods the spirit of God once embodied in the frail old frame of Gandhiji? Who can answer these questions? Certainly not one who knew Mahatmaji casually like the writer. Certainly not one who never had the good fortune of a pilgrimage to Sewagram when the Mahatma lived.

All I can say now is that it is a strange place. It is a village and yet not a village. It is situate at a spot where for miles there is hardly any habitation, one might almost say little vegetation and gives the impression of a deserted, rather desolate village. Yet the place is littered with huts, semi-pucca houses and blocks of buildings. There is no electricity at Sewagram and other amenities of the town are absent, yet it is not altogether typical of India's village because it is humming with life. All the same its chief aim is to serve the villages and raise them not to the level of the towns but to the level of ideal self-sufficient communities.

Sewagram is a settlement and yet not quite a settlement. It has not grown from a small village into a township. It came into being, so they say, because one day the spirit moved the Mahatma and he walked from his residence in Wardha and stopped under a tree in the locality where now stand his Ashram and the buildings of the other allied activities and decided to stay there. When his friends and followers found that Gandhiji was determined to

choose that site for his future scene of activities, they immediately put up a hut for him. After that other huts sprang up and gradually the place grew and people began to hve there. Mahatmaji chose that place in face of almost insuperable odds. It was malarial and one year he had severe malarial attacks himself. But Gandhiji was not the man to retrace his steps. If the place was malarial he should stay there himself and make it easy for others to live there. If it was inaccessible so much the better, for he could work there for the toiling masses undisturbed.

Is it a camp? Yes and no. It is a camp, because men gather here from different parts of India, indeed of the world on occasions and disperse. It is not a camp because there has always been a continuity of life. Men have come and gone, but the life that Mahatmaji infused in his followers has persisted.

Is it a monastery? Here again the answer is both in the affirmative and in the negative. Here at Sewagram are gathered men and women, many, if not all, of whom are pledged to poverty and chastity. They live, at least try to live, in a spirit of dedication and in pious observance of rules. But, unlike most monastic orders they have hardly any rituals, the rules that they observe are, for the greater part, self-imposed. No dogmas are imposed on them although most of them have a common ideology.

Is it then a sanctuary? I would unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. I am no theologian. I know not the attributes of God nor do I claim to know if He incarnates in human forms in a special way. But if there is truth in the theory of Avataras, then to my mind God manifested Himself in the form of the man we knew and revered as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Hiessed are we of this generation that we

had the privilege of being his contemporaries and doubly blessed are those on whom the Mahatma bestowed his special attention, I shall not say affection, for such men have equal affection for all. In every sense of the word therefore Sewagram is a sacred place, where in the years that lie ahead, yes, even in the dim distant future men and women will go to worship and be blessed. Human nature with all its weaknesses and frailties has an uncanny knack of discovering greatness sooner or later and luckily we discovered Gandhiji before it was too late, that is, in his life-time.

II

When I heard of the Constructive Workers' Conference I thought here was an opportunity for me to visit Sowagram and be near enough the Presiding Diety of that sanctuary. But fate had willed otherwise and the assassin intervened, I was deprived of the unique privilege which might have been mine of having the Mahatma's darshan in his Ashram itself. Subsequently the Conference was held and I did attend it. With him it would have been a rare delight to attend the Conference. In March it was a sacred duty to do so.

I arrived at Wardha in the evening and when I got to Sewagram it was dark. With the help of a hurricane lantern I discovered a corner for myself in a room where eight of us were lodged. We were a miscellaneous crowd. An Ex-Premier of a Province, a high functionary of the Congress, a simple volunteer and a worker among the youth were some of my room-mates. But next day I was assigned a semi-open doorless hut furnished with mats. There also we were a mixed crowd.

On arrival I needed a wash. The arrangements there were out of the ordinary. There were no flush arrangements for the Conference guests. I am told there are only two or three sanitary fittings in the whole place. It is hardly a subject about which one talks, yet at Sewagram this subject has received meticulous attention. The water closets are carefully planned and their cleanliness and disposal of their contents scientifically worked out. There are no sweepers at Sewagram, at least I saw none, and all the cleaning is done by the highly cultured inmates who see to it that the refuse substance is so put away that it becomes manure easily. I was greatly struck by it and I wish more people could see this system work so that it could be copied in our villages and towns. After my wash I was told to go to the temporary dining shed, where food was ready for the late arrivals. The food was simplicity itself. But naturally it was wholesome and clean. Each individual was given a brass tumbler, a cup and a plate of leaves.

In this connection I might mention that the habitual tea and coffee addicts were not ignored and with the frugal morning breakfast, one could have tea and ference. It was a gathering of disciples and devotees,

coffee, sugarcane juice was there for the abstemious. Anxious inquiries were made of each guest and there were hundreds of them, if they required special food. Care was taken to accommodate as far as possible the food faddists. I hope I shall not be accused of irreverence if I were to say that Sewagram attracts faddists and cranks. I am told, not only raw vegetables but grass, oil-cakes, and flowering neem, at times, find place in the menu of food-reformers. In the matter of dress barring European costume one came across all kinds of dress. Achkan and Pyjama were rare. Kurta, Dhoti and Gandhi Caps appealed to the majority. But there were the Lungi and Langoti-webs. When it was chilly in the mornings there were a few Kambli-walas. This was the crowd that I saw in the morning. But what a crowd? Ninety per cent of these so-called cranks and faddists had as their motto in life 'Do and die'. They were, till August 15, jail birds and had known suffering, more suffering and still more suffering as their lot in hie.

The next item in the programme was the evening prayer. It was scheduled at 8-30 p.m. On an open spot sat either on the bare ground or on mats the congregation. There were a few lanterns burning and a number of people were spinning in that light. Just as the prayer was to begin the lights were dimmed and in that semi-darkness some one chanted the Mantras in Sanskrit. It was followed in a melodious voice by the recitation of the Holy Qoran. Then a beautiful Bhajan was sung and finally the congregation joined in Ram-Dhun. Thereafter lights were put on, rather their normalcy was restored and the audience dispersed quietly.

Ш

Utility was Sewagram's motto and austere simplicity was noticeable everywhere in everything. In the Conference itself there was neither gloom nor rejoicing. It was not like a big Conference or even a public meeting where leaders are greeted with lusty cheering. It was a business-like assembly which had assumed a solemnity all its own on account of Manatmaji's absence.

But Mahatmaji's assassination has made Government vigilant and the Conference was simply infested with the Police. The majority of the guests were unhappy about it. They did not like their leaders to be guarded like this. But there was no disposition to take risks where the leaders were concerned and so people submitted to the strict checking of admission cards philosophically. Saturday, the 13th March, was the big day. On that day the Conference was to open. Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Governors Katju and Pakwasa and the Premiers of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces and Orissa and many high functionaries of State were there. They were meeting on a great occasion. It was no longer a Workers' Conference. It was a gathering of disciples and devotees.

portraits which still adorn the walls of the Government House, Madras. This was followed by other requisitions on his skill as a portrait-painter and he was commissioned to execute a series of portraits of His Highness Sir Chamarajendra Woodayar, the then Maharaja of Mysore. Of his studies of Indian types the most charming and convincing examples are his renderings of Nair ladies and a series of imaginative types, symbolizing "Modesty", "Vanity", "Reverie", "The Charmer", "The Worshipper" and a variety of other studies, which uphold a high standard of conception and execution, which are creditable successes in his search for Beauty in the current life of the society of his time. Even if he had not ventured into mythi-

cal themes, his genre paintings are enough to place him on a high pedestal as a talented and inspired painter of Indian life and character.

To this great pioneer of modern Indian painting our respectful tributes are due for valuable contribution made to the aesthetic phase of Indian culture, which the lapse of a century has not tarnished or diminished.

We should like to conclude by paying a well-deserved compliment to the Founder-Editor of this journal, who was the first to publish an illustrated book on the Art of Ravi Varma with several reproductions of his works executed by the late Mr. Upendra Kishore Roy.

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A VISIT TO SEWAGRAM BY A PILGRIM

By JUSTICE SANKAR SARAN, President, Allahabad Harijan Ashram

What is this place, Sewagram, the world-renowned little village in the interior of the Central Provinces? Is it in fact a village, or a mere settlement, or just a camp where people meet for a purpose and then disperse, or is it a monastery where men and women of piety live in poverty and penance or indeed is it the sanctuary over which broods the spirit of God once embodied in the frail old frame of Gandhiji? Who can answer these questions? Certainly not one who knew Mahatmaji casually like the writer. Certainly not one who never had the good fortune of a pilgrimage to Sewagram when the Mahatma lived.

All I can say now is that it is a strange place. It is a village and yet not a village. It is situate at a spot where for miles there is hardly any habitation, one might almost say little vegetation and gives the impression of a deserted, rather desolate village. Yet the place is littered with huts, semi-pucca houses and blocks of buildings. There is no electricity at Sewagram and other amenities of the town are absent, yet it is not altogether typical of India's village because it is humming with life. All the same its chief aim is to serve the villages and raise them not to the level of the towns but to the level of ideal self-sufficient communities.

Sewagram is a settlement and yet not quite a settlement. It has not grown from a small village into a township. It came into being, so they say, because one day the spirit moved the Mahatma and he walked from his residence in Wardha and stopped under a tree in the locality where now stand his Ashram and the buildings of the other allied activities and decided to stay there. When his friends and followers found that Gandhili was determined to

choose that site for his future scene of activities, they immediately put up a hut for him. After that other huts sprang up and gradually the place grew and people began to live there. Mahatmaji chose that place in face of almost insuperable odds. It was malarial and one year he had severe malarial attacks himself. But Gandhiji was not the man to retrace his steps. If the place was malarial he should stay there himself and make it easy for others to live there. If it was inaccessible so much the better, for he could work there for the toiling masses undisturbed.

Is it a camp? Yes and no. It is a camp, because men gather here from different parts of India, indeed of the world on occasions and disperse. It is not a camp because there has always been a continuity of life. Men have come and gone, but the life that Mahatmaji infused in his followers has persisted.

Is it a monastery? Here again the answer is both in the affirmative and in the negative. Here at Sewagram are gathered men and women, many, if not all, of whom are pledged to poverty and chastity. They have, at least try to live, in a spirit of dedication and in pious observance of rules. But, unlike most monastic orders they have hardly any rituals, the rules that they observe are, for the greater part, self-imposed. No dogmas are imposed on them although most of them have a common ideology.

Is it then a sanctuary? I would unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. I am no theologian, I know not the attributes of God nor do I claim to know if He incarnates in human forms in a special way. But if there is truth in the theory of Avatoras, then to my mind God manifested Himself in the form of the man we knew and revered as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Blessed are we of this generation that we

had the privilege of being his contemporaries and doubly blessed are those on whom the Mahatma bestowed his special attention, I shall not say affection, for such men have equal affection for all. In every sense of the word therefore Sewagram is a sacred place, where in the years that lie ahead, yes, even in the dim distant future men and women will go to worship and be blessed. Human nature with all its weaknesses and frailties has an uncanny knack of discovering greatness sooner or later and luckily we discovered Gandhiji before it was too late, that is, in his life-time.

\mathbf{II}

When I heard of the Constructive Workers' Conference I thought here was an opportunity for me to visit Sewagram and be near enough the Presiding Diety of that sanctuary. But fate had willed otherwise and the assassin intervened. I was deprived of the unique privilege which might have been mine of having the Mahatma's darshan in his Ashram itself. Subsequently the Conference was held and I did attend it. With him it would have been a rare delight to attend the Conference. In March it was a sacred duty to do so.

I arrived at Wardha in the evening and when I got to Sewagram it was dark. With the help of a hurricane lantern I discovered a corner for myself in a room where eight of us were lodged. We were a miscellaneous crowd. An Ex-Premier of a Province, a high functionary of the Congress, a simple volunteer and a worker among the youth were some of my room-mates. But next day I was assigned a semi-open doorless hut furnished with mats. There also we were a mixed crowd.

On arrival I needed a wash. The arrangements there were out of the ordinary. There were no flush arrangements for the Conference guests. I am told there are only two or three sanitary fittings in the whole place. It is hardly a subject about which one talks, yet at Sewagram this subject has received meticulous attention. The water closets are carefully planned and their cleanliness and disposal of their contents scientifically worked out. There are no sweepers at Sewagram, at least I saw none, and all the cleaning is done by the highly cultured inmates who see to it that the refuse substance is so put away that it becomes manure easily. I was greatly struck by it and I wish more people could see this system work so that it could be copied in our villages and towns. After my wash I was told to go to the temporary dining shed, where food was ready for the late arrivals. The food was simplicity itself. But naturally it was wholesome and clean. Each individual was given a brass tumbler, a cup and a plate of leaves.

In this connection I might mention that the habitual tea and coffee addicts were not ignored and with the frugal morning breakfast, one could have tea and

coffee, sugarcane juice was there for the abstemious. Anxious inquiries were made of each guest and there were hundreds of them, if they required special food. Care was taken to accommodate as far as possible the food faddists. I hope I shall not be accused of irreverence if I were to say that Sewagram attracts faddists and cranks. I am told, not only raw vegetables but grass, oil-cakes, and flowering neem, at times, find place in the menu of food-reformers. In the matter of dress barring European costume one came across all kinds of dress. Achkun and Pyjama were rare. Kurta, Dhoti and Gandhi Caps appealed to the majority. But there were the Lungi and Lungoti-wiles. When it was chilly in the mornings there were a few Kambli-walas. This was the crowd that I saw in the morning. But what a crowd? Ninety per cent of these so-called cranks and faddists had as their motto in life 'Do and die'. They were, till August 15, jail birds and had known suffering, more suffering and still more suffering as their lot in life.

The next item in the programme was the evening prayer. It was scheduled at 8-30 p.m. On an open spot sat either on the bare ground or on mats the congregation. There were a few lanterns burning and a number of people were spinning in that light. Just as the prayer was to begin the lights were dimined and in that semi-darkness some one chanted the Mantras in Sanskrit. It was followed in a melodious voice by the recitation of the Holy Qoran. Then a beautiful Bhajan was sung and finally the congregation joined in Ram-Dhan. Thereafter lights were put on, rather their normalcy was restored and the audience dispersed quietly.

III

Utility was Sewagram's motto and austere simplicity was noticeable everywhere in everything. In the Conference itself there was neither gloom nor rejoicing. It was not like a big Conference or even a public meeting where leaders are greeted with lusty cheering. It was a business-like assembly which had assumed a solemnity all its own on account of Mahatmaji's absence.

But Mahatmaji's assassination has made Government vigilant and the Conference was simply infested with the Police. The majority of the guests were unhappy about it. They did not like their leaders to be guarded like this. But there was no disposition to take risks where the leaders were concerned and so people submitted to the strict checking of admission eards philosophically. Saturday, the 13th March, was the big day. On that day the Conference was to open. Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Governors Katju and Pakwasa and the Premiers of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces and Orissa and many high functionaries of State were there. They were meeting on a great occasion. It was no longer a Workers' Conference. It was a gathering of disciples and devotees.

It was reminiscent of the meeting that was held two thousand five hundred years ago after the Buddha passed away. There was earnestness but there were misgivings. There was keenness to perpetuate Gandhiji's work but there was anxiety not to set up a new orthodoxy. The speeches were mostly impersonal. Mahatmaji's life and death were seldom referred to. His name was brought in only occasionally to strengthen an argument. I believe it was deliberately done. But I have a feeling it was a bit overdone. I am no Bhakta and seek solace in work rather than communion, yet I thought these earnest souls, some of his nearest workers, might have given us a little more of Gandhiji.

It was touching to find Pandit Nehru visit. Mahatmaji's hut before he went to the Conference. Yes, what is Sewagram without that hut? It haunts me till now. Pandit Nehru's speech at the Conference was characteristic of the man. It was frank, and torn as he was between conflicting views he did not know what to advise. He felt it was necessary to consolidate the work Mahatmaji had done and yet he was afrand of the birth of a new cult with its dogmas and beliefs. He put his point of view earnestly and sat down. Maulana Azad was definite that there should be set up an organization to carry on the great work. Make it broad-based as you like but set up an organization.

Even at a Conference like this heat was occasionally generated. Rajendra Babu presided. He was the most hard-worked man. He is an ideal though rather an indulgent President. But the proceedings terminated in an atmosphere of perfect friendliness. There was carnestness in the gathering. Some of India's well-known public men took part in the discussions, many of them played their part behind the scenes. The result was the decision to establish a Samaj which will owe allegiance to the Gandhian ideology. The fear that if the Mahatma's name was added to it there would grow up a Church, led to the naming of the new society as Sarvodaya (the Blossoming forth of all faculties) Samaj. The workers there seemed to pooh-pooh all ideas of visible memorial pillars or halls or other such manifestations of love, loyalty and homage seemed to leave them cold. How far this Samaj would succeed in keeping Gandhiji in the background I do not know. But of this I have no doubt that his name will inspire millions in the future as they never did in his life-time. Men and women will cherish his memory and worship at the shrines that will spring up all over the world not only in India, South Africa and London where he spent years of his long life but in distant corners of the world.

IV

I fear these are random thoughts not even properly arranged. Of the decisions at the Conference the public have knowledge through the Press. I just give my personal reflections of the few glorious days for me, days not necessarily of prayer and penance but of prayerful thinking. I was sad at heart that Bapu was no more but I rejoiced that I caught a glimpse of his greatness at Sewagram, the abode of service. Here let me record the most remarkable event of my visit to Sevagram. It was the pilgrimage to Mahatmaji's hut. It was a novel experience for me. I had heard and known of Gandhiji's life of austere simplicity and had read a description of his hut. But truth to tell I had never imagined that it could be such a small place. It is actually a mud but with narrow verandahs with two tiny little wooden windows. There was just enough room for a mattress to be placed for the occupant of the house and some space for visitors. Near him was a small desk, a rustic waste paper basket, a spittoon and an improvised sort of book case, where a Tew sacred books were placed. Nearby behind a partition was spread a mat and a desk, perhaps for his secretary. Near Gandbiji's pillow on the mud wall was written in mud 'Om' and on another wall hung two card-boards with manuscripts written by hand; one was a quotation from Ruskin's Unto This Last and the other a few stanzas from Qoran. As I entered the room I saw an oldish man sitting there all by himself, looking at the mattress where lay the Mahatma's rosary. With a sorrowful gesture he drew my attention to the long stick which Mahatmaji used when he went out for his walks. I came out of the room and noticed the palm leaves that were spread on the walls to prevent the heat. I saw no fan there. Here lived the greatest man of the age. Thus toiled the noblest Indian of all ages! How puny we are! What shadows we pursue!



SCHOOL-BUILDING IN BRITAIN

BY WILLIAM NEWTON

attention to the demands of modern education, and buildings made the British less ready to think the emphasize the needs of sunlit classrooms, air currents problem out anew. But development there was all the without draughts, insulation from external noises, and time, and its pace has been notably increasing throughaccessible playing fields.

The modern British school is well exemplified in this picture of an elementary school near London

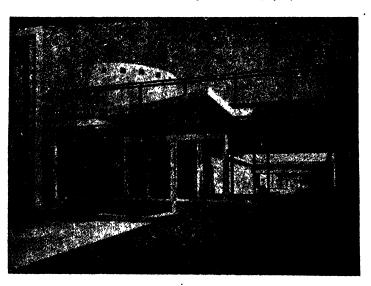
Architecture is the true international language. Music, the art which comes nearest to it in this respect, is apt to have a racial flavour which may be an obstacle to judgment. We might need to be schooled to appreciate the melodies of China or Abyssinia or Tibet; but their buildings we can at once understand from plan, section and elevation, see what their problems are, and compare their solutions with our own treatment of similar problems.

This is perhaps especially true of such buildings as schools and hospitals. Britain was a pioneer in school-building 70 years ago: and to some degree suffered the usual fate of pioneers. The building types evolved as a first solution of the

Architects of modern school buildings must pay it may well have been that the prestige of the pioneer out the last 20 years.

> A sketch of the development of the school "idea" would show first of all an emphasis on compactness, the teaching-rooms grouped round a central hall, into which they often open directly. This after all was vety natural. In old days, all had been taught in one big room; and it was a step forward when the teaching-rooms were made separate, even in the were only, as it were, annexes of the main meeting room. But the need for quiet and for ventilation soon moved the teaching room away from the Hall.

More and more attention is paid to them. The early ones have good light, but are often sunless. Now sunshine, and if possible early morning sunshine, is considered indispensable, and no less important is natural cross-ventilation from windows in opposite walls. Left-hand . light for the pupils, insulation from



The entrance to a school in Yorkshire, England

school problem were further developed and improved in external noise; air currents without draught, a blackother lands-notably by France in the last years of the board lit but not shiny, easy movement for teacher nineteenth century-while in England the earlier and pupils, easy speaking without echo-all these are schools had been so well and solidly built that they points in the design of teaching-rooms to which more were difficult to adapt and alter. And for a time, too, and more attention has come to be paid.

subjects taught grew in variety, so did the teachingrooms; standard class-rooms were added, with all their individual demands, rooms for teaching art and science, woodwork and metal work, cooking and laundrycraft, needlework and handicraft, and similar "practical" subjects—a list which is continually growing, orderly in their appointed place. The arrangement of



The modern classroom in a Council school near London

Meanwhile, the assembly hall expands in function. At first it is just a convenient space for collecting the whole school together; but it takes more and more a new importance as the centre of the school's life, where the unity of the whole is emphasised in speeches ceremonies, in music and and drama. Today it is coming to be thought of as the cultural centre. not only of the school, but of the whole district served by the school -as a regional hall to be planned and available for this double purpose-or rather these two aspects of one purpose.

It will be evident that the new needs and uses of these two constituents of the school-plan (the hall and the teaching-rooms) will have radically affected the old arrangements. Instead of being compact, the

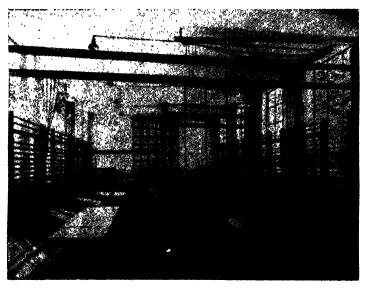
school building spreads itself out to meet the sunshine closets, reasonably subject to supervision, and not and open air; while the hall can no longer be embarrassing the teaching-rooms with noise and embedded in the other plan-elements, but must, with summer glare. Besides the playground, the modern its enlarged stage and dressing-rooms and foyer, be school provides a covered play-space, gymnasia, designed for the easy welcome of a crowd which may library, and dining rooms for mid-day meals, gardens come either from one school or from outside or from and lawns and flowering trees-all to be married with. both at the same time.

A school must always be able to handle crowds, the green playing-fields.

not only on the occasion of special ceremonies, but every day. For every day the children come-it may be four or five hundred of them-all within a few minutes. Within these few minutes all must take off hats and coats, and perhaps shoes, and be gathered

> entrances and cloak-rooms is thus a vital part of the school plan. The earlier solution of a single entrance and centralized cloak-rooms (duplicated where there were both boys and girls) perhaps made supervision easier. Now the tendency is to lessen supervision, to look to the self-education of the child orderliness and reasonable discipline, and in consequence provide open access and a number of cloak-rooms. This again influences the whole planning and grouping of the school units.

> Nor can the plan ignore leisure hours, and breaks and all that is needed for the young at exercise and play. The playground we have always had. It is still a problem to site it so as to be sunny in winter, easily reached, near a covered play-space and the water-



The interior of a Gymnasium at a grammar school in London

the building-plan and lay-out, the entrance drives and

These are the problems which designers of school-buildings in Britain have had to face and their solutions have been notably successful. In the years before the war Britain's modern schools were among the first in the world and certainly, in the present

times, school-building programmes can be put into operation again and we shall see this enlightened policy for design used to its best advantage for the rising generations.

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REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

BY RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D.,

Former Economic Advisor, National Economic Board, United States Army, Military Government in Koren

As urgent need. India is the revival of Buddhism, which was once is supreme religion and which is still the dominant religion in the Far East and South-east Asia. The meral and spiritual sources from which Paddhism sprang still exist in India. Buddhism more than any other religion realized the greatness of inner life and the importance of self-control as the means of achieving peace and tranquillity, both of which are essential today in the face of the rising tides of materialism. The moral and spiritual achievements of Buddhism are among the strongest pillers of the foundation of India's rising new civilization.

The time has come when Buddhism should be revived and reinstalled as a principal religion of India. There are several reasons why Buddhism is needed: (1) the decline of popular Hinduism, which was largely based upon caste, endogamy, tabeo (cating of beef), and similar other practices as well as on idolatry and symbolism; (2) inadequacy of such creeds as are based upon the concept of Hindu trinity, and the mythological concept of reincarnation of God as Rama (the hero of the Ramayana) and Krishna (the hero of the Mahabharata); and (3) the lack of presclytizing in Hinduism as indicated by the decline in number of the Hindus, as compared with Moslems and Christians.

Puddhism has surpassing moral and spiritual values. The grandeur and glory of Buddhism once after eted not only the masses but also the scholars, monarchs and conquerors. The messages of Buddhism long ago crossed the national boundaries and at present it counts among its followers a vast number of the humanity. Buddhism is a part of the moral and spiritual achievement of India and its teachings still form India's cultural heritage. After a thousand years, India should again welcome its own creed and establish, as her greatest religious teacher, Gautama the Buddha, the "Light of Asia."

The revival and regeneration of Buddhism in India should be attempted from different angles: First, like Christianity and Islam, Buddhism is a proselytising religion and its message should be brought to all classes of people. The possibility of converting the so-called depressed classes into Buddhism should be explored; second, the life of Buddha and Buddhism should

be a part of the curriculam of all the schools, colleges and universities in India and every Indian, irrespective of his creed, should be required to knew the life and teachings of Buddha. Buddhistic temples should be built at convenient places and Buddhistic literature should be made available in all Indian languages.

India should organize a Buddhistic council, which will be the fifth in its order, the fourth being held in the first century of the Christian era, preferably at Saranath where Buddha preached his first sermon some 2500 years ago, and all the Buddhistic countries, such as Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Tibet, China, Japan, and Korea, should be invited to send their representatives to the council. The council may last from three to six months and a program should be drawn up in consultation with the prominent members of the Buddhistic countries as to the subject-matter for discussion. But they should include such questions as (1) the present status of Buddhism in various countries; (2) the Renaissance of Buddhism and the adjustment of its doctrines and tenets in the light of modern science, art and philosophy and in accordance with the needs and requirements of men and women in modern society; (3) the establishment of an international university for Buddhistic countries; (4) an arrangement for periodic conferences of the Buddhists in each of the Buddhistic countries every two or three years; and (5) similar other subjects which may be decided upon by the council.

The revival of Buddhism will have several effects on India as well as on other Buddhistic countries.

First, it will elevate the moral and spiritual status of India and raise her in the estimation of the other peoples. It is a paradox that the people who contributed most to the concepts of monotheism, monism, and Buddhism would permit their own countrymen to follow the crudest idolatry and most obscene symbolism as their cults.

Second, it will bring India into close contact with the South-eastern and Far Eastern Asiatic countries, all of which have monsoon economy and some basic cultural unity. Hindu and Buddhistic empires were once established in Sumatra and Java and extended to Formosa and Luson in the north, and Bali and Lombok in the south, and some of the best Hindu temples are still to be found in Indo-China and the best stupa in Java. India has all the possibilities of enriching her moral and spiritual cultures from most of these countries, where Buddhism has been a living religion for the past ten centuries.

Third, a close relationship between India and these countries may facilitate the Renaissance of Buddhism so that its tenets and doctrines may be reoriented and readjusted in the light of modern art and philosophy and may form the moral and spiritual foundation of industrial civilization and may avoid some of the materialistic effects in the East as it has been the case in the West. India and these countries may even establish their own living and cultural standards in industrial centers, the possibilities of which have been created by the manuguration of regional

labor conferences by the international labor organization in Asia and America.

Finally, India must also actively participate in all international activities and attempt to establish international peace. As in the old League of Nations, power-politics have already appeared in the international affairs of the United Nations and groups and blocks have already been formed for working out their problems, such as the Latin American bloc, the Western European bloc, the Arab Moslem bloc (extending from Pakistan to Egypt), and the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have also their dependent countries. For her international activities India will be able to depend upon the South-eastern and Far Eastern Asiatic countries as her allies for the solution of some of the important international problems, especially with reference to Asia

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INDIAN STUDIES IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

By Dr. GIRIJA MOOKERJEE

I happened to be passing through Tuebingen one evening last winter and Prof. Von Glasenopp the great Indologiet asked me if I could not stay the night and take part in the meeting of the Indian Seminar in which Prof. Hermann Weller was reading a paper on Rayleavansam. I readily agreed and after ainner made for the chemical laboratory of the University where the meeting was to take place. It was not casy The approaches to the building were dark and when I eventually got inside the house, I could not find the way to the lab ratory. There was no porter and the passages were dark, the consumption of electricity being strictly rationed. At last, by following the direction of a streak of light come of out of a room, I finally discovered the place and was soon introduced to a group of a dozen people who had braved the weather to hear Prof. Weller speak. The room was not heated and it was a terribly cold night. Everyone had his or her overcoat on but even then one shivered. Prof. Weller spoke for about an hour and afterwards there was a general discussion on the etymological significance of the Sanskrit word "Uma". Prof. Weller ventured the suggestion that it might have something to do with the German word "Oma", meaning a grand-mother and thus "Uma" might really mean the mother of the earth;

At any rate, the whole thing was impressive to a degree. I could not for a moment forget that, most probably, none of the audience had a decent meal for months and it applied equally to the speaker, who leoked haggard and pale and could hardly move with ease. Still, their love of India was strong enough to make them forget all the inconveniences and to take part in the discussion of a subject which, to say the

least, was highly technical. I could not help being deeply moved by this scene and I felt that our people at home should know about it. After all, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to German scholars and German Indologists and the fact that even under the present circumstances, some of them carry on their Indian studies should not be allowed to be forgotten.

I carried on subsequently an enquiry in all the four zones of Germany and found to my pleasant surprise that most of the famous German Universities have already reorganised their Indian Seminars and students were flocking there from all parts of the country. Interest in India has grown even more than before and there is also a strong desire among the students to know something of modern India. Unfortunately, some of the well-known scholars had died during the war amongst whom the pride of place should go to Prof. Heinrich Lueders of the University of Berlin. He was a great authority on Epigraphy, Buddhism and the Vedas and he was well-known to several generations of Indian students who frequented the Berlin University. His wife who also had made a name for herself in researches on Buddhism, died during the war. Dr. Zieseniss of the University of Breslau (now in Poland) who was an authority on Shaivism is reported to have been killed in action. Among those who died after the war, Dr. Reinhard Wagner was well-known to the Bengali visitors to the German capital, for his painstaking attempts to write Bengali in Roman character had made him very dear to such well-known scholars of Bengali as Dr. Suniti Chatterjee and Humayun Kabir. It is reported that Dr. Wagner died in a concentration camp where he was brought after the armistice because of his being a

member of the National Socialist Party. I was told that before his death he was engaged in a German translation of Srikanta. Many Bengali visitors to Berlin will miss this lovable man whose modest flat in Tempelhof was always open to them and who had dedicated his life to the study of the Bengali language. Similarly, Dr. Beythan, the well-known student of Tamil, died after the war, as well as Prof. Bernhard Breloer of the Berlin University who had mude valuable researches in the study of Kautilya.

On the other hand, Prof. Waldschmidt, a great authority on Indian and Buddhist art, has begun his courses at the University of Goettingen and his lectures are very well-attended. The old Prof. Kirfel of Bonn is still active and has just published a new book called Die Dreikocpfige Gottheit based on his studies of the Puranas. Prof. Lommer had remained war and he is now in Frankfurt throughout th teaching the Vodas and Avesta at the University there. Prof. Weller who is in Leipzig says that the Russian authorities are giving him all facilities and he is now lecturing on Buddhism. Dr. Hoffmann has also been permitted to resume his lectures on Tibetan .Buddhism at the University of Hamburg and I found that Prof. Nobel of the University of Marburg was holding his classes on Alankara and Chinese Buddhism with great success. Prof. Von. Glasenapp was appointed the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Tuebingen (French Zone) and after having lost his home and famous library of Indian

manuscripts at Koenigsberg, has now settled down in this town. He has built up an Indian Seminar out of practically nothing and has already published another book called, .Die Weisheit des Buddha. I also came to know that Prof. Otto Schrader is teaching "Vaisnavism" at the University of Kiel,

Some of the Indologists have of course been not allowed to take up their former jobs. Among them is Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf, who was a close collaborator of Netaji during his stay in Berlin. He is engaged on his own in a study of Apabhramsha literature. Similarly, Prof. Hauer of Tucbingen and Prof. Wust of Munich have been debarred from rejoining their posts owing to their memberships in the Party.

Everywhere, however, people complained that the shortage of books and magazines was very great. For nearly twelve years, the Indologists have not been able to have contact with India and they are very eager to develop them again. But the postal system is primitive and as the German money is valueless they are not able to subscribe to Indian papers and magazines nor can they buy new books. They look upon former Indian students of German Universities to remedy this defect and any book or magazine sent, will be thankfully acknowledged. It is my belief that we ought to do everything in our power to be of help to these eminent men who are carrying on the torch of Indian learning in spite of hardships, the extent of which is almost unimaginable in India

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SCHOLARSHIP IN JOURNALISM

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"It is not the quantity, but the quality, of knowledge which determines the mind's dignity. A man of immense information may, through the want of large and comprehensive ideas, be far inferior in intellect to a labourer, who, with little knowledge, has yet seized on great truths . . . A good mind is formed by a few great ideas, not by an infinity of loose details."-W. E. Channing in Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Classes.

This is just the sort of subject that suits meinasmuch as I am, thereby, enabled to ramble at my sweet will and pleasure, to branch off into any tempting by-path or side-lane that crosses my pre-arranged path. Discursiveness is of the essence of essay-writing, and what was good enough for Dryden, Lemaitre, and Walkley-and, coming down to our own time, for that doyen of English dramatic critics, the late Mr. James Agate—is, without doubt, good enough for me, too. All the same I must, in the interests of historical accuracy, hasten to disayow any claim to scholarship—even "north-west." It is true, of course, that I have

could lisp in numbers) a vague hankering after that priceless jewel; but a concatenation of circumstances, over which I may rightly protest that I have had no control, effectively prevented that vague hankering of mine from realising itself to the fullest extent, of "expanding" itself, in Walter Pater's celebrated phrase, "to the measure of its intention."

A stronger mind than mine would, in all probability, have scorned to be defeated by the mere caprice of events; would even, on the contrary, have been spurred on to redoubled efforts just because of that formidable obstruction in its way. But it is useless to cry over spilt milk and to cast a longing, lingering, look over the "might-have beens." Had such and such a thing not happened I might (who knows?) have soared, on the wings of my innate ambition, to such and such a height. Vain consolation! In the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, however, such and such a thing did happen; and the Lord of Hosts Himself cannot put back the hand of the clock and start me-or, for that matter, anyone else-afresh on my brief sojourn in this most transitory of all the worlds. always had lever since, in a manner of speaking, I As Sir Thomas Browne puts it, "The iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy." The past is now a closed book, there is no known process by which we can remould it nearer to our hearts' desire.

"The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ, Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line, Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it."

II

I have not, then, any pretensions to scholarship. But this bitter pill is not without its sugar-coating, in that though I may have no pretensions to scholarship I am yet not unaware that there is such a thing as scholarship and that the man who possesses it has an immense advantage over the man who does not possess it. As Walter Bagehot observed shrewdly:

"While a knowledge of Greek and Latin is not necessary to a writer of English, he should at least have a firm conviction that those two languages existed."

(The profound truth of this observation will be brought home to us when we remember Gibbon's magnificent saying that the Greck language gave a soul to the objects of sense and a body to the abstractions of metaphysics).

Scholarship, indeed, is never wasted anywhere: least of all in journalism, which, in my humble opinion, is immeasurably enriched by it, being, in fact, transformed beyond recognition by the additional graces that it never fails to lend to anything that it touches. It is not given to everyone of us to be a scholar: this kind of thing cometh not out but by prayer and fasting. But, at any rate, we should not be guilty of the supreme sacrilege of looking askance at scholars and scholarship. The scriptures enjoin us to love the Highest when we see it If we cannot do even that we write ourselves down as no better than mere clods, as no better than hewers of wood and drawers of water. This may seem obvious; but it is far from being so.

Ш

We have arrived at a point when there are none so poor as to do reverence to scholarship; and especially is this evident in the field of journalism, that Cinderella of the professions. But, to quote the words of the immortal Sam Weller, this is wrapping it up in a small parcel. At the present juncture not only is scholarship conspicuous by its absence in journalism: it is severely frowned upon when it makes the slightest show of raising its head from the abysmal depths to which Fleet Street (and, even more so, whatever stands for Fleet Street in our hapless country) has, in the plentitude of its ignorance, consigned it. This is, preeminently, the Age of the New Journalism; and New Journalism and scholarship are as poles apart. As far as the New Journalism, at any rate, is concerned it is safe to say that no

". . . brighter Hellas rears its mountains From waves serener far,"

and that no

", . . new Peneus rolls its fountains Against the morning star."

Scholarship, indeed, can find no "abiding city" in the world of the New Journalism. If this is the case in England it must, a fortiori, be the case in India as well; for whatever passes for journalism here takes its cue from the journalism that flourishes there. We are not pioneers but imitators; and imitators have, as a rule, a penchant for copying the worst features of the thing imitated rather than the best.

There is that in the New Journalism which is inimical to the encouragement of scholarship; and those who would follow Apollo and the Nine would do well to apply elsewhere for admission. Matters had been different, of course, before the late Lord Northcliffe, the Father of the New Journalism, took Flect Street by storm. Then scholarship had a place in the sun: to the practitioners of the art in those days it was, as Dr. Johnson said of Greek, "like old lace—you can never have too much of it."

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, And to be young was very heaven."

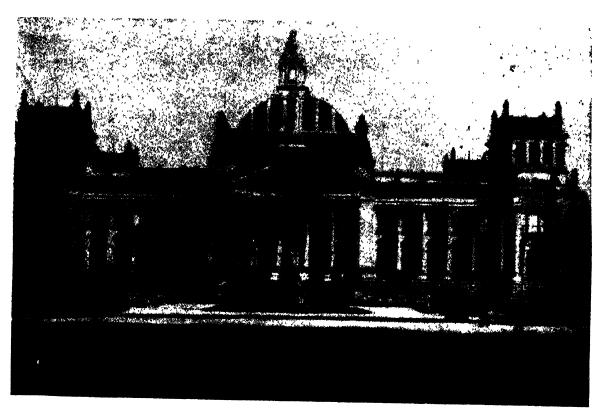
IV

If a slight exaggeration (pardonable in the circumstances) may be permitted, to be a journalist then was to be a scholar: the two terms were almost interchangeable. Those who were aspirants to the journalistic purple generally made sure that they had the requisite qualifications. Quite apart from the fact that they were not, like their successors, dead from the neck up, as the saying is, they invariably came to their tasks with the proper intellectual equipment as well as with a firm determination to leave their patrimony, like the old Athenian, not worse but something better than they found it. In other words, they took pains to be splendid. They regarded themselves as the inheritors of a fulfilled renown and, therefore, saw to it that they gave of their best to the noblest of all professions. You could never catch them napping. In especial, they were adepts in the instrument of their calling. In their hands English prose

"... became a trumpet, whence they blew Soul-animating strains."

They knew perfectly well that scholarship, by itself, cannot carry a journalist very far: he must learn how to put it to the correct use. That was why they took endless trouble to prune and to polish. In the matter of the mechanics of their trade they had a sort of sixth sense, as it were, that brightness does not fall from off the air; that, instead, brightness has to be cultivated—and cultivated, too, with assiduous care. Book-lore should never, it is true, be despised, but it would be all the better if it could exist side by side with the ability to write well: else it would turn no wheels and grind no corn.

The journalists that I have in mind were not only ripe scholars but excellent penmen; they were slive to the pregnant truth that literature should never be divorced from life. They did not subscribe to the



Reichstag before the war



Reichstag after the war



King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia (left) and King Farouk of Egypt conferring in a tent at Port Tawfik

theory that literature is only for the "high brows." They held, on the other hand, that it should be the possession of the common man no less than that of the dilettante. It was said of Socrates that he brought down philosophy from heaven to inhabit among men. The same can, with equal truth, be said of these giants in the different realm of the "humanities." They harnessed them to the fleeting needs of journalism. Such being their high endeavour it was no wonder that they touched nothing that they did not adorn. The tiniest paragraph that they wrote had distinction stamped upon it, was invested with a sort of plenary inspiration. Reading their articles was a liberal education in itself. You were not fobbed off with the crumbs from their table: you were served with a full meal, as delicious as it was wholesome. You expected a toothsome thing and you got it.

Who were these masters? In the main they were Scott, Spender, Massingham, and Gardiner, They formed a quartette that has never been surpassed anywhere. They have had no single successor. It was, probably, not quite an accident that all of them belonged to the great Liberal party. During that period there was an efflorescence of the human spirit in that party that was wellnigh unique. In politics as well as in the arts it "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." Look where you would it was a Liberal that dominated the scene. It was from that cultural Pamir Plateau that all-or nearly all-the rivers and rivulets of genius flowed and "winded somewhere safe to sea." That illustrious savant, Lord Morley himself, drew inspiration from the same prolific source. Naturally, these four figures whose names I have mentioned above had no option, so to speak, but to tread the same path of intellectual development.

It would be unprofitable to go into the question of who was the tallest among them. There can be no comparison where superlatives are concerned. The mountain-peaks are all snow-clad. Scott was, undoubtedly, the doyen among them. He had also the advantage of being associated with the best daily in England. That, of necessity, gave him a "pull" that was, unfortunately, denied to others. He was the seniormost among them. His noble example could not but have been an invaluable asset, acting, as it must have done, as a sort of beaconlight to the younger set. Scott was an institution by himself: the Manchester Guardian a veritable "school" of journalism. In English journalism Scott was, indeed, a landmark; and when he died the whole country rose as one man to render him homage.

VI

In so far as comparisons are possible among giants, however, it has always seemed to me that Massingham towered above them as Mount Everest towers above Kanchanjangha and Nanga Parbat and the rest. Massingham was in a class by himself, as Cowley said of Pindar, "He formed a vast species alone." His soul like a star and dwelt apart. He was the biggest

man of them all, though an unkind fate denied him the chance of becoming an institution in the same manner as Scott. His was a more flery spirit: nor had he the knack of suffering fools (and knaves) gladly, as anyone must have who is determined to make the best of both the worlds. Even idealists, if they do not wish to be "caught out," usually contrive to have a streak of materialism deeply embedded in their composition: if it escapes public detection it is because it is cunningly camouflaged and is made to form an inextricable part of the general colour-scheme. The lack of this protective principle, of this "safety-first" device, was Massingham's undoing.

Spender had neither the idealism nor the brilliance of either Scott or Massingham. He was not an out-and-out Radical like them and was noted for adapting "the middle-of-the-road" policy in most matters. He brought everything to the touchstone of practicability. The words of Sir William Watson about Matthew Arnold are equally applicable to him:

". . . for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll
The deep authentic mountain thrill
Ne'er shook his page,
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage."

This is not to belittle Spender's contribution either to politics or to journalism; but I am here dealing with the imponderables, and Spender, consistently displaying more of the diplomatist's skill than of the idealist's fervour as he was wont to do, has, obviously, no place in this "galley." Even his literary style was not comparable to that of the other Three Musketeers.

VII

As for A. G. Gardiner there is not a lover of journalism or literature who does not mourn his death, which occurred last year, though it had not been entirely unexpected. He had long passed the psalmist's span of three score years and ten. That, however, does not mitigate the sense of our loss to any appreciable extent; rather does it serve to heighten it. . We had been so very much accustomed to take his presence in our midst for granted that now we cannot bear to contemplate the void caused by his demise with any degree of equanimity. His was, indeed, a name to conjure with. The initials, "A.G.G.," were known and honoured wherever they were found: they were an instantaneous passport to our affection. We read every line of his that we could lay hands on, and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more. His writings were suffused with charm. No wonder that even his worst enemies could not resist their lure. It is no exaggeration to say that, once you come to him, you could not leave him without a pang of regret. I can still remember many a dinner that was allowed to get cold because I happened to be in the middle of an article, or essay, of his. It is equally true that I often neglected my more serious studies for the same reason. It can be said of him, as it was of someone also before him, that he "bemiled children from play and old men from the chimneycorner." His death is a loss in another respect also, as he was the last of a race of journalistic giants.

Scott in the Manchester Guardian and Massingham in the Daily Chronicle (and, later, in the Nation) and Spender in that "old sca-green incorruptible," the Westminster Gazette, and Gardiner in the Daily News "magnoperated," in the late Mr. James Agate's beautiful phrase, as no "foursome" had ever been privileged to do. It was the grandest symphony that anyone could have hoped to hear. For nearly two decades Gardiner preached the Liberal doctrine from the pulpit that the Daily News provided for him. I am not prepared to aver that he was a match for the other three in point of political lore. Politics was far from being his first love. He did not come to it con amorc. Pride of place in his mind was always given to literature. But, with all his limitations in that line, he managed to make up by unwearied diligence for what was lacking in primal impulse.

VIII

To the public Gardiner is known more as an author than as a journalist. It is probable that now many have forgotten his editorship days but still remember with inexpressible gratitude the pleasure his printed pages gave them. When the late C. E. Montague resigned from the *Manchester Guardian* in order to dedicate himself entirely to the service of literature a farewell dinner was arranged in his honour at the Reform Club in Manchester at which Scott presided. While proposing the guest, and after speaking of the affection in which he was held, Scott proceeded:

"We want to thank him for all he is and all he has done, the unswerving stand he has ever made for liberty, his deep and critical understanding of literature, the drama, the finer arts, for the crystal clearness of his style and its wonderful vigour and vividness, for the model he has set before them of English pure and undefiled."—C. E. Montague: A Memoir. By Prof. Oliver Elton. Chatto & Windus, 1924, p. 266.

We may transfer this well-spoken eulogy word by word to Gardiner himself. Scott then refererd to Montague as an author:

"Only in his books does he become completely himself. Montague has lived both lives, the life of the journalist and the life of the author—he has lived them hard, and he has lived them together. The paper of the day must die with the day, but its work, if well done, as Montague has done it, does not die; it enters into the life of the nation and helps to direct its mind and shape its destiny."—Ibid., pp. 266-7.

This tribute also can be applied to Gardiner verbatim. Gardiner lived in his books much more than Montague did. Montague's passion was at white heat even while writing the day's leading article in his paper or the notice of the previous night's play in the theatre. This cannot be said of Gardiner. He had always an eye to the future and practised a wise economy in his day-to-day work. While not stinting his service to the Daily News he looked farther ahead than most working

journalists do. He was an author first and a journalist afterwards.

IX

I have brought in these names-of Scott, Spender, Massingham and Gardiner, that is—with a view to pointing a moral and adorning a tale. They were journalists as well as scholars. Journalism, we may concede, is a lesser thing than authorship. In addition, it has the supreme disadvantage of being evanescent: it has its hour and then ceases to be. It is as fleeting as the raindrops on a widow-pane or as dictators in a South American Republic. Yet, because these four possessed minds that could transcend the hour they built for themselves monuments, not, indeed, of "storied urn or animated bust," but monuments much more permanent-monuments that reside in the recesses of thankful hearts. These names, however, do not, by any means, exhaust the list. Brave men lived before, as well as since, Agamemnon, and the ranks of English journalism were never devoid of illustrious personages, though they might not, intellectually speaking, have attained quite "the thewes, the stature, bulk and big assemblance" of the Big Four aforementioned.

There was C. E. Montague, for instance. He was, if not "the noblest Roman of them all," a Roman, monetheless, "of the same like," as the Scots would say. When he retired from the Manchester Guardian he left a legend behind him, a legend of his journalistic accomplishments. He was eminent both as a scholar and as a journalist. His writings were masterpieces of composition. The esteem in which he was held by his brothren of the craft can be glimpsed from the exquisite tribute paid to him by his father-in-law, C. P. Scott, which I quoted a few paragraphs earlier. Thus does Royalty salute Royalty. Montague was passionately in love with good writing and never grudged the time he gave to it. He was, by the example he set to others, responsible in no small measure for the general raising of the standard of journalism in his day.

X

Next to Scott himself the Manchester Guardian owed the greatest debt to him. It was a rare privilege, indeed, for anyone to be able to boast that he learnt journalism at the fect of such acknowledged masters as Scott and Montague. The late Mr. James Agate never tired of bestowing his meed of praise on "C. E. M." He would break off in the middle of a sentence and sing a hymn to the greater glory of that inimitable artist in words. And Mr. Agate could, in this matter, "tell a hawk from a handsaw."

In his Ego (the first of the series) Mr. Agate gives us this delicious vignette of Montague:

"One went into Montague's little room at the Manchester Guardian office and found him standing at a sort of writing pulpit, apparently, in view of the intensity of his attention, to you, utterly idle. Yet he was probably in the middle of a piece of pyrotechnics in comparison with which the virtue-sities of concert performers are mere rushinghts. Next morning, when you read your paper, you

realised that you had broken into the middle of some Liezt-like but purely English rhapsody, that the Great Man had stopped in the middle of his soaring octaves, suspended his performance to listen to your futilities, bowed you out, and resumed his passage at the demisemiquaver of his leaving off."—Hanish Hamilton, 1935, p. 45.

I have mentioned the name of H. W. Massingham. To my mind he was the greatest journalist that England has ever produced, the like of him we shall never see again. His fondness for literature was a by-word among his colleagues. As for his prose style mere words cannot describe its matchless beauty: the panting pen toils after it in vain. About his sense of literature his colleague, the late Mr. H. W. Nevinson, tells us:

"As I said, the creation and steady maintenance of the literary page on the old Chronicle, and of the strong literary side upon the Nation, so long as he remained editor, were characteristic. He never tolerated the fashionable separation of literature, or of any other form of art from actual daily life. His mind was keenly alive to beauty in nature, in pictorial art, in the drama, and especially in literature; but he detested the conception of an exclusive and cloistered beauty as a peculiar privilege of aesthetic and literary circles."—H.W.M., Cape, 1929, p. 154.

XII

I have written enough to indicate how a journalist is the better for at least a modicum of scholarship. All the great figures of English journalism were scholars, at any rate to a larger extent than we in our hapless country have any idea of. The journalist who comes to his profession via literature is any day bound to be head and shoulders above the journalist who comes via something else. Even when writing on the sterling balances or on that fantastic "Plan" to which Lord Mountbatten has given his august name a sense of literature never comes amiss. The share that the world's musterpieces have on that queerest of all trades, journalism, is incalculable. It is not the extent of one's knowledge that is the criterion but the wise assimilation of the little that one has contrived, in a busy life, to amass. It is not necessary to be a walking encyclopaedia. The gist of the matter was put by Milton

" Who reads

Incessantly and to his reading brings not A spirit and judgment equal or superior (And what he brings, what need he elsewhere seek?) Uncertain and unsettled still remains,

Deep-versed in books and shallow in himself."

ENCROACHMENTS ON PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY IN THE NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

By Prof. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., Hony. Director, Rajendra Institute of Economic Research

It is the Government of India Act of 1935 that for the first time definitely laid the foundation of federation in India and for the first time in our history, we worked and enjoyed 'Provincial Autonomy' during the last ten years (1937-1947). Provincial autonomy and federation mean that the provinces or the constituting units would enjoy complete self-government within the frame-work of the constitution, that is with regard to certain subjects that are specifically allotted to the provinces. In technical language, federation would recognise the splitting up of the sovereign power between the Centre and the Units, each being entirely equal to and entirely independent of the other in their respective spheres. Whatever might be the merits or demerits of this type of government, Indians have accepted this since 1937 and worked it enthusiastically for the last ten years and even zealously fought for it whenever the Centre tried to interfere with it. (The most notable case was when the Premiers of U. P. and Bihar threatened to resign when the Centre tried to interfere on the question of the release of detenus in 1938).

Having seen the taste of such autonomy, the people of India are now expecting only a sort of a federal government for India. This was the principle accepted by the Constituent Assembly and we expected the

Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly to keep 'Provincial Autonomy' safe while framing the new constitution. But unfortunately the Drafting Committee have not cared to bear it in mind, and, wittingly or unwittingly, they have produced a constitution that would give the Centre ample power to interfere in provincial matters, so much that the right of the people of the province to rule themselves according to their own wish within their sphere and by an executive of their own choice has been completely taken away from them. I want to give a few such instances with the hope that it will attract the attention of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

Such encroachments on Provincial Autonomy could be seen in the following instances and articles:

- (i) The name of the State.
- (ii) Selection of the Governor.
- (iii) Declaration of the 'Emergency' by the Governor.
- (iv) Impeachment of the Governor.
- (v) Amendments to provincial constitution.

THE NAME

Article One of the Draft Constitution says that "India shall be a Union of States." The Draft Committee assure us that there is nothing in the name and it does not in any way interfere with India being a federation. But if there is nothing in the name at all

why suggest a suggestive name and tell us it means nothing. From the general comments made in the Press on the Draft Constitution, the intention of the Committee seems to suggest that India should have a strong centre. Now among the federations of the world, some are strong and some are weak, in the sense that in a strong federation the bonds of union are tight and inelastic, i.e., the respective spheres of activity are rigidly laid down without any possibility of encroachment by either, any dispute about the interpretation of any point being left to be decided by the Courts. In such a category come the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Australia. Among the weaker federations could be mentioned the Union of Canada and the U.S.S.R., if the latter could be called a federation. Another feature of a strong federation is that the residuary powers should be left with the units as it is done in the U.S.A. In Canada the residuary powers are vested in the Centre. Is it an accident that where the units are weak when compared with the Centre, the country is called a Union? The residuary power in India vests with the Union.

THE SELECTION OF THE GOVERNOR

Article 131 of the Draft Constitution prescribes the way the Provincial Governor should be selected. Either-there is an option here-he is elected by the adult voters of the province directly, or he is appointed by the President of the Indian Union from among a panel of four candidates elected by the Provincial legislature by proportional representation with a single transferable vote. In either case the Governor need not belong to the province itself, it is enough he is a citizen of India and otherwise not disqualified. The Governor is the chief executive of the province and all acts of the government shall be carried out in his name, though, except when he could act under his discretion, he is to be guided by the advice and aid of a cabinet of ministers. The Governor, though the authors of the 'model constitution for the provinces' (a sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly with some of the Provincial ministers as members) intended to be a mere 'nominal or 'constitutional Governor' like the English King or the French President, has certain powers with regard to some 'emergency' situations and tribal areas. That he could be an outsider to the province, and, if the second alternative is accepted, that he could be indirectly elected and then selected by the President, is the first encroachment on provincial autonomy. Why not make the provision that the Governor should belong to the province itself. The authors of the original scheme suggested that an outsider would be impartial; but would he not be indifferent also? Another suggestion was that, though the provision was there, the adult voters of the province would not ordinarily elect an outsider, nor the members of the legislature. But this is not a safeguard. If a central party in power selects a name for the Governorship and the province does not elect him.

there might be all sorts of troubles for the province, as evidenced by the experience of Madras when Prakasam was elected Premier against the advice of the Congress High Command.

If the Governor is really a 'nominal' one, then it does not matter if he is an outsider or not. But the Governor in the future constitution is not at all nominal. He is the watch-dog of the provincial peace and tranquillity and when 'a grave emergency' arises he has to act promptly and, in this connection, he has sweeping powers, as we shall see presently. There are three kinds of nominal executives in this world today. One is the hereditary king of England who remains nominal by historical necessity and expediency. The second is the Governor-General of the Dominions appointed by the King of England and made nominal by law. Another is the elected (by the legislature) President of France who is also made nominal by law. He is given no powers and, though the Government is carried on in his name, every decree of his should be counter-signed by the concerned minister. Now the Indian Provincial Governor is not nominal in this respect and that is the real beginning of all trouble. Hence it is that he should be a citizen of the province and should be chosen by the province itself. Why should, if the alternative is accepted, the nominal and indirectly-chosen President of India have any power to select the Provincial Governor? This is not democracy.

'EMERGENCY' POWERS

Now let us see the provisions relating to 'emergencies'. Article 188 of the Draft Constitution says as follows:

"If at any time the Governor of a State (the provinces are also called states in the new Constitution) is satisfied that a grave emergency has arisen which threatens the peace and tranquillity of a state and that it is not possible to carry on the Government of the State in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, he may, by proclamation, declare that his function shall, to such extent as may be specified in the proclamation, be exercised by him in his discretion, and any such proclamation including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of this constitution relating to any body or authority in the State.

Provided that nothing in this clause shall

Provided that nothing in this clause shall authorise the Governor to suspend either in whole or in part the operation of any provision of this constitution relating to High Courts.

(2) The proclamation shall be forthwith communicated by the Governor to the President who may, thereupon, either revoke the proclamation or take such action as he considers appropriate in excercise of the emergency powers vested in him under Article 278 of this constitution.

(3) A proclamation under this article shall cease to operate at the expiration of two weeks unless revoked earlier by the Governor or by the President by public notification.

President by public notification.

(4) The functions of the Governor under this Article shall be excercised by him in his discretion."

. We do not know what kind of 'emergency' the authors of the original 'model' constitution had in their mind when they gave this power to the Governor which they ordinarily hope to be revoked within two weeks. This Article is the counterpart of Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935; and it is left to the discretion of the Governor to declare an 'emergency.' We are familiar with the abuse of Sec. 93 in India so far. In a democracy and under independence, we cannot imagine a situation when the majority would have refused to shoulder power and form a cabinet, the only contingency which was under contemplation when Sec. 93 was added to the 1935 Act. It would be impossible to imagine a normal situation that would compel the Governor to use this Article, but that is not my point here. My point is that when he uses that power under his 'discretion', he is made responsible to the President of the Union. One may say that this is a safeguard against the misuse of power by the Governor but this might also lead to abuses under certain circumstances similar to those that existed in the N.-W. F. Province after the 15th of August, 1947. Suppose the Governor and the President happen to belong to one party and the majority in the Provincial legislature happen to belong to another. Will it not give ample power to the Governor to coerce the majority in the Assembly?

Unfortunately the future of the party position in India gives enough scope to the Governor to play mischief. I visualise a situation in certain provinces, especially those with more than one provincial language to have many parties in the Assemblies, with no party having a clean majority. So the Governor could easily take advantage of this fluid position and with the help of the so-called 'independent' or unattached members make or unmake ministries according to his own convenience, as it happened in Sind and Bengal many times. But my main question is why should the Centre have any power to interfere in provincial politics? If the normal constitution fails, there is ample provision in the Draft for the Governor to act. If the crisis is a minor one, he can dismiss a Ministry and appoint another and face the legislature, or, if the crisis is a major one, he can dissolve the Assembly and order fresh elections, in a democracy. The electors are the final arbiters in such a matter. It is their business to select their provincial executive; but, instead of recognising their final and sovereign power, the authors have given that power to the President of the Union, who is another 'nominal' institution that is indirectly elected. And what happens to the province if the President agrees with the Governor is covered by Article 278 of the Draft by which the President may assume to himself the powers of the Governor and the Ministers and the Parliament (the legislature of the Union) may assume the powers of the provincial legislature. With this the picture is complete and any party that has a majority in the Centre can easily coerce a. Provincial. Ministry run by any other party. Even if this may not be normally used, this is a mischievous contingency which we have to reckon with under conditions like those existing in the N.-W.F. Province after partition as I stated earlier. This reduces Provincial autonomy to a farce. Of course, it is true that there is no provision in the Draft for the President to take the initiative in the matter, but the authors welcome a Governor who does not belong to the majority party in the Assembly and then give him this power so that he would himself be interested in taking an initiative. It is ridiculous that under any conditions a province should be administered by the President and the Parliament and this should be remedied by the Constituent Assembly.

IMPEACHMENT

Suppose a Governor misuses his powers and resorts to emergency powers and so on, the Draft provides for impeachment of the Governor for violation of the constitution. It is the business of the legislature to judge whether the Governor has violated the Constitution or not. Article 137 deals with this problem and it runs as follows:

Art. 137 (1) When a Governor is to be impeached for violation of the constitution the charge shall be preferred by the Legislative Assembly of the State.

(2) No such charge shall be preferred unless—a. the proposal to prefer such a charge is contained in a resolution which has been moved after a notice in writing signed by not less than thirty members of the Assembly has been given of their intention to move the resolution, and

b. the resolution has been supported by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the Assembly.

(3) When a charge has been so preferred, the speaker of the Assembly shall inform the Chairman of the Council of States and thereupon the Council of States shall appoint a Committee which may consist or include persons who are not members of the Council, to investigate the charge and the Governor shall have the right to appear and to be represented at such investigation.

Look at the cumbersomeness of the procedure and the delay that might be caused. Dirty linen is washed in public at least three times during the process, first before the Assembly presumably by the Ministers, and next before the Council of States (who washes there is not known and also is not known whether such a resolution passed before by the Assembly should make the Council of States automatically to appoint an enquiry committee or the Council will again sit in judgement) and before the final committee. Nobody suggests that an impeachment should be a cheap one and should be resorted to as often as the Ministers and the Governor quarrel; but, if it is found that the Governor is really violating the constitution, some effective remedy that will act as early as possible is required, because, otherwise as it is, it is not likely that any impeachment proceedings would be finished before the lifetime of a Governor. Again the question of violating the constitution is a legal matter that deserves to be examined by a committee of legal experts, but our Draft Constitution has made it a political matter throughout, unless the Council of States is wise enough to appoint a few legal experts on the committee. Why not refer the matter to the Supreme Court and, if necessary, appoint a few jurors also for the hearing?

Another question which is much more of importance for us now is why bring in the Council of States? The Council of States in India by no means corresponds to the Senate in America, nor does it possess the powers and functions of that body. To what extent the Governor of a province has violated the constitution is a matter in which primarily the province alone is interested, and as long as the Governor has got at least one more than a third of the members of his party in the Assembly, he need not be afraid of any impeachment at all ! I will picture to you some circumstances and you tell me what you can do if you are the chief minister of a province. There is a Governor in a province appointed by the President of the Union and the Governor has a third of the members of the House belonging to his own party. Now he begins behaving in an unconstitutional manner with a view to end the ministry and bring his own party to power. Now what will you do to remedy the situation? The Chief Minister cannot go to court as under the constitution whatever advice he gives to the Governor or whether the Governor is acting accordingly or not is not matter for the courts to investigate. Look at Article 143 which runs as follows:

(1) There shall be a council of ministers with the chief minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.

(2) If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under this constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion.

(3) The question whether any and if so what advice was tendered by ministers to the Governor shall not be enquired into by any court.

Clauses 2 and 3 are copied from the Government of India Act 1935. They were incorporated there in the 1935 Act by an alien government ruling over India to strengthen the hands of its Governor, who was endowed with extraordinary powers and 'special responsibilities' against a popular ministry hostile to the Governor. Our Governor now is not an alien nor has he any 'special responsibilities.' Then why blindly copy these provisions from the 1935 Act? A straight enunciation of the functions of the Governor in his discretion'

(which should be as few as possible and should be the normal constitutional requirements like the appointment of a ministry and its dismissal, etc.) and provision of a constitutional requirement that every other decree of the Governor should contain the countersignature of the concerned minister as in France, or the chief minister, would be a better arrangement than give the Governor ample discretion to act 'in his discretion' and then make it impossible for any court to sit in judgment.

What is, then, the constitutional remedy for the Chief Minister of a province if the Governor exceeds the provisions of the constitution? He cannot go to a court nor can he think of impeachment. Now impeachment is not a normal remedy and should not be resorted to ordinarily. And again for a sufficient case to be made up the cup of sin must be filled sufficiently, i.e., the Governor should have violated the constitution many times. This means that the Governor could easily over-ride the ministers in some cases till his cup is full, and, even then, he is safe if by doing so he is pleasing more than a third of the disgruntled members of the Assembly. Even if the Chief Minister is able to cross over these hurdles, then he has to please the Council of States who also should be satisfied with his case. We do not know who represents the case of the Chief Minister in the Council of States and who the case of the Governor. But there is every likelihood of the Council of States taking a different view, either on grounds of indifference (as provincial matters, specially of small provinces, may not evince much interest to the Council) or on political grounds. If that hurdle also is crossed, then comes the final enquiry, and meanwhile either the term of the Governor is over, or that of the Ministry, and again meanwhile the Governor could have done enough mischief.

The truth is that it is dangerous to give so much discretion and emergency power to the Governor, make it impossible for a Court to enquire and make a puppet second chamber of India to sit in judgment whether a committee should or should not be appointed! The best and democratic way is different. In a real democracy it is the people of the province that should decide whether they want the Governor or the Chief Minister if there is a tussle between them, and so the appeal from the Assembly should be to the voters of the province but not to the Council of States. The Drafting Committee have not taken into consideration such democratic devices as the initiative and the referendum. The Draft creates a dual executive in the province in the Governor and the Chief Minister and also a number of opportunities for quarrel between an undemocratic and ambitious Governor and a powerful Chief Minister with a majority in the Assembly, and, if there is a real tussle for power between them for leadership and differences soon arise, the sooner one is removed the better and option, to choose between them should be left to the people. of the province and to nebody else.

AMENDMENT

In a real federation based upon democracy, the people of a federating unit have full sovereignty as far as the provincial sphere is concerned, and, as such, they should have the full power to decide the way they would like to rule over themselves. Article 304 of the Draft Constitution deals with the problem of amending the constitution and provides the following:

i. Where the question of amending the constitution of India or the provinces as far as the Executive and the Legislature is concerned, the passing of the amendment in the parliament 18 enough.

ii. If it is a question that involves the allocation of subjects between the provinces and the centre, or the representation of the provinces or States in the Parliament, or the powers of the Supreme Court, the amendment should be passed, in addition, in at least a half of provincial legislatures and a third of the Chief Commissioners' provinces.

iii. Where the question of only the method of choosing a Governor is concerned or the number of houses of legislature, an amendment could emanate in the province and then it should be passed by the Indian Parliament.

Here again there is an encroachment on provincial autonomy. Why should the Centre have the right to amend the constitution relating to the provinces? One may say that it is to ensure uniformity. Now there is no special advantage in having a uniform constitution for the whole of the Indian provinces. We have already reconciled ourselves to three kinds of 'States' as the Drafting Committee call all the units of the federation,-to what are now called Governor's provinces, Indian States, and the Chief Commissioners' provinces and a fourth one if their suggestion for the rule of the merging states is accepted. The Constitutions of the Indian States are not uniform and not subject to the will of the Indian Parliament. Why should there be uniformity among the provinces. Suppose the people of a province are dissatisfied with this cabinet system of government (where there cannot be a stable ministry for want of clear majority as in France) they should have the power to amend their constitution within the general framework to suit their purpose , to choose the American presidential type or the Swiss federal type.

that feel the inconvenience of a bad constitution.

Again the Draft Constitution is not clear if the Parliament could amend the constitution of the provinces or not on its own initiative and, more important than that, if the Parliament could initiate amendment of the constitution of any single province. If the provision is so sweeping, and there is nothing to prevent us from interpreting it so, then it means complete subordination of the province to the Centre which is again undemocratic and 'unfederal,' if I may call it so.

In any case it is better to leave it to them as it is they

t Conclusion

I have come to the end of my article. I have tried to prove here that the Centre has been given too many over-riding powers over the provinces and provincial autonomy has been encroached upon in many respects. I agree that there should be 'checks' and 'balances' in a constitution, but the Drafting Committee have tried to get them from the wrong direction. The proper check and final arbiters in any constitutional matter are the voters. Instead of looking in that direction, the Drafting Committee are looking in the direction of the Centre which is a negation of the principles of democracy and federation. Such encroachments on the spheres of the provinces by the Centre, though normally intended to cover extraordinary situations, might also be used for political ends and that is a contingency which we cannot ignore, for, after all, morality and politics do not always go together. I do not for a moment deny that India should have a strong Centre or that it should not have the power to make the provinces follow its policy in extraordinary situations like war, etc. But for these purposes we can make other constitutional provisions. Already the Seventh Schedule (the schedule dealing with the list of Provincial and Central subjects) is strongly in favour of the Centre and there is also the provision that the Centre could declare an emergency. That is enough for an emergency. But under normal circumstances, and within the limited and clearly defined provincial sphere, the Centre should not have any voice. There is no justification for it and it is undemocratic.

My careful study of the working of Provincial autonomy in India under the Act of 1935 and the study of the Draft Constitution in the light of that makes me suggest the following to be incorporated in our future constitution:

i. The Governor to be elected by the majority of the Legislature. He should have no 'special responsibilities' and his powers 'in his discretion' should be limited to the normal constitutional requirements like the appointment of Chief Minister, etc., on strict democratic lines.

ii. The Governor could, be recalled by the people on the initiative of the legislature.

iii. The emergency powers should be used by the Governor for only a short period to enable him to dissolve the Assembly and appoint a fresh Ministry. The appeal should therefore be to the Provincial voters and Article 278 that gives powers to the President and the Parliament to assume control over the Province should completely be dropped. Excepting this and other of the limited discretionary powers, every other act of the Governor should be countersigned by the Chief Minister.

iv. The Centre should not have the power to amend the Provincial constitutions without their consent and in pure provincial spheres, every province should have the power to amend the constitution by direct democratic devices like the intiative and referendum.

COMMUNISM IN MALAYA A Menace to Indian Labour

By Dr. C. SIVA RAMA SASTRY, Ex-Medical Officer, Congress Medical Mission to Malaya

THE PRESENT SITUATION

A wave of unprecedented indulgence in murder and loot by politically inspired terrorists has created a new situation in Malaya. The terrorists are believed to be Chinese communists exclusively. Perak and Johore areas are the worst affected by these gangs. The total number of murders of businessmen (Chinese) and estate managers (British) has mounted up to over twenty since the beginning of May.

Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia, has stated that international communism is playing an important part in this unrest. From what I studied at close quarters, I have no reason to disbelieve his statement.

Mr. Creech Jones, the present British Colonial Secretary, stated in the House of Commons on the 16th of June, 1948 that the Colonial Office was considering the use of troops to restore order in Malaya.

To combat what is described by the police as 'Chinese gangster members of a communist strong Arm-Corps, out to destroy the rubber and tin industries,' Sir Edward Gent, the British High Commissioner, has granted to the local authorities very extensive and arbitrary powers. What is the background for all this explosive situation? How far does it affect Indians in Malaya?

Though Indians have no hand in any of these crimes, it is unlikely that the Indian labour can escape the dire consequences that will follow the closure of plantations in Malaya which is inevitable if terrorism continues.

INDIAN LABOUR HIT MOST BY COMMUNISTS

Of the 7½ lakhs of Malayan Indians, 3½ lakhs are engaged as rubber tappers. Many others are working as wage-earning labourers in plantations and mines. In September, 1946, I brought it to the notice of the Government as well as to the A.-I.C.C. the impending communist menace to Indians in Malaya.

The Indian labour did not yet fall by then into the communist trap. The reasons were not far to seek. Communists were controlling the better organised Chinese labour. On several occasions previously, these Chinese Communists dragged the Indian labour into strikes and managed to dump Chinese labour in their place at the most opportune moment. Further, most of the Indian workers were I. N. A. sympathisers and would not give up their nationalist sentiments. The Indian labour soon started to organise themselves into separate Indian trade unions. Thereupon the communists tried new tactics. This time they tried to buy off the Indian labour leaders with bribes, failing which they even wanted to use any force to win them over. If the communists did not actually harass by force any of the Indian labour leaders successfully, it was because of the fear of any possible reactions by the Indian labourers.

There were still many Indian labour leaders with character who believed in compromise as the bliss of life. They used to organise strikes, where inevitable, and whenever these people settled strikes amicably and justly, taking into consideration the investments, returns, produce and other factors, the communists used to dub these people as the agents of the British planters and instigate the Indian labourers to finish them off. The labourers are illiterate and are apt to believe this.

To the communist, conflict and not compromise is the basis of life. He does not care whether the immediate annihilation of his own people and that of his own State takes place. If all States die, and Russia alone lives, world communism will be a reality and he will be happy. Every word and action of his is tuned to the foreign policy of Russia and the every principle of Stalinism for export are planned for this purpose.

The communists hitherto hoped to bring about revolution by making labour demand wages beyond the means of capital to pay. Now they seem to have chalked out a new plan. Murder of industrialists and businessmen and the consequent effects of terrorism are the surest and the easiest ways of creating anarchy and chaos. Out of anarchy and chaos, the communists hope to wade through to power. They must be made to realise that crime does not pay.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN MALAYA

In Malaya most of the agriculture is industrialised. This capitalisation of agriculture is a step preceding socialism (of the Russian brand) according to Stalinism. Fragmentation is uneconomical from labour's point of view. The murder of managers and businessmen will mean closure of the estates with the consequent unemployment of millions of labourers.

Further, the future of rubber is very shaky in view of the development of the synthetic stuff. Plantations and mines in Malaya require huge sums for remodelling so that they may recover completely from war damage. Malaya is entirely dependent upon foreign imports for the supply of foodstuff, clothes and other basic amenities of life. Any dislocation of the economic life of Malaya at this stage will bring about untold miseries not only to the industrialists but also to the common men, if Malaya fails to produce more,

Every planter knows that the Indian labour wedded as it is to ethics and morality, has no hand in the ugly gangsterism now prevalent in Malaya, yet it will be the lakhs of Indian labourers alone that will be wiped out first, if the plantations are closed and business comes to a standstill. The communists (Chinese mostly) will be safe. It is high time labour

is organised on a sound basis to save itself from the clutches of international communism.

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM RESPONSIBLE FOR LEFT REACTION Capital tends to squeeze. The European planters should have been more liberal after war than what they were before. Several regional planters' associations unanimously passed resolutions to starve and subdue labour by prolonged lockouts where labour fought for the redress of their grievances. Labour did have serious grievances. Where appeal to reason and fairplay fails, labour will have no other alternative than to go on strike. The remedy for this is liberalism on the part of planters and not vindictive antagonism. The niggardly attitude of the planters drove labour into the other extreme. Ever since Lord Mountbatten left Malaya as a Supremo, the administration of Malaya fell into the hands of the most sinister right-wing rulers. Neither Mr. Gent nor Mr. Macdonald are the persons capable enough to view labour grievances dispassionately and with sympathy. In June last I received a letter from a lady controlling over twenty thousand labourers in Perak area stating that the labour policy of the Government was disruptive to the labour organisations in Malaya. Disrupted by the Government and oppressed by capitalists, labour, uneducated as it is, is very likely to fall an easy prey to the unscrupulous communist propaganda.

The Chinese labour has already fallen into communist hands. The Indian labour would have escaped and can still escape if it is allowed to organise on a

sound basis. The Indian political leaders are mostly the agents of Malayan Indian Chettiars. These Chettiars joined hands with the European planters to declare lockouts in isolated estates and starve labour if they demanded anything. As a rule the amenities offered by Chettiars to Indian labourers are less than those granted by other planters. They even planned to press the Indian Government to repatriate Indian labour so much so that the commercial interests are the exclusive Indian interests in Malaya. The Malayan Indian Congress, whose founder-president is today the Indian Representative in Malaya, is the defacto organisation of the commercial elements of Malaya. The Malayan Indian labour could not find either in this man or in other local Indian leaders people whom they can count as friends and guides.

THE PATH OF SAFETY

The path of safety for an Indian labourer lies in moderation and compromise and not in conflict and chaos. If Indian labour is allowed to drift with the wind, it is no use to repent at leisure for the dire consequences that will threaten his very existence.

The British Government must replace Macdonald with a more liberally minded man. The India Government must appoint a liberally minded man as its Representative in Malaya, one who can win the confidence of labour and lead them in the right path.

Malaya requires as no other colony does a group of trade union workers to organise its labour on sound lines. Will the socialists take up their cause?

THE PARTITION OF GERMANY

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BY SUBRATA ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A. (CAL.), B.A. (CANTAB), BARRISTER-AT-LAW

Ar the Crimea and Berlin Conferences that were recriminations, undignified abuse and bellicose propaheld in 1945, the Allied Nations in their exuberance of triumphant victory displayed a remarkable degree of unanimity that has since ebbed, disappointing millions. Broadly speaking their German policy was embodied in four "D"s-demobilization, disarmament, denazification and deindustrialization. Since then a bewildering mass of conferences have been held in Paris, Moscow and London, but each one ended in a deadlock. Eventually on December 16, 1947, there came from London the big news of the final parting of ways between the East and West. The division of Germany became an accomplished fact. It is on this basis that the occupying authorities of the Trisonia—the U.S.A., British and the French—along with the Benelux Powers, have lately agreed in London on the creation of a state in Western Germany, which is destined to play a decisive role in the economic rehabilitation of Western Europe.

Ever since this tragic failure of the Russians and Americans to agree, the ordinary man in Europe, as shower of vituperation and vilification, bickerings and prevail over the Trisonia.

ganda, that are too frequently hailing from responsible sources in Moscow and Washington. Both sides are to share the blame. Marshall has obstinately refused a fair deal to Molotov in his reparation demands—the principle of which Roosevelt had so generously conceded. Molotov, on the other hand, would not budge an inch to make reparation removals compatible with the economic revival of Germany. Anyone ideologically separated from a Communist or fellow-traveller, even though a staunch anti-Nazi, and inclined towards democratic Socialism, is marked out in Russian eyes as a dangerous Fascist, and hence his liquidation is the indispensable price for Russian co-operation for a United Germany. The Americans have reacted equally violently and are bent on shielding a Government of the right, led by the Christian Democratic Union, which is avowedly capitalist in outlook, and inspired by the near-Fascist industrial bourgeoisic of Germany. Schumacher's Social Democrats who predominste in the British Zone are too impotent to change elsewhere, has been dismayed at the disquieting American policy which, as it appears, will eventually



Barring the resurgence of a militant Germany is admittedly the declared aim of all the occupying Powers. But the gulf is widening every day between what is professed and what is performed. Four major symptoms are already visible which seem to indicate that once more in European history, German militancy may throw a menacing challenge to human civilization. These are, failure of the re-education programme, discarding the plan for decentralization, and survival of an industrial potential far in excess of peace-time needs, unchanged pattern of business ownership and the constitutional shape of the West German State.

Re-education in democratic ways is only a makebelieve slogan, and rather more apparent than real. Drastic economic reforms in the Russian zone have made the path towards socialism an easy one, but it is socialism without democracy, as one pattern of totalitarian regime is being replaced by another. There has been no appreciable changes in the psychological set-up of the Germans in the Western Zones, and it is the experience of many recent visitors that the average man there still remains a Nazi at heart. What Hitler taught for years went deep into his mind, and a few splashes of democratic white-wash will not help him in his political re-birth. He now feels he has to play the role of a major partner in the Allied Camp, in case there is an armed conflict with the Soviet Union. This eggs on his military instinct, and that is a task after his heart's desire, for which he does not require much persuasion. He therefore asks for guid pro quo. The semi-official document prepared by Senator Harmssen for circulation in the Western Zones contains an emphatic assertion that the Germans are already being unjustly treated and that, as a matter of right, they should not pay reparations. This is the same tune as piped in Mein Kempf, and little Hitlers, obstinate, arrogant and entirely unrepentant. are just biding their times.

There survives in Germany an industrial potential far in excess of peace-time needs. The popular impression that the country is so devastated that she will take many years before she can reach her peacetime production level is not true. This is what Mr. Jacques Rueff, President of Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, observed, "The over-industrialization of Germany for military purposes has created conditions in which, despite destruction and the exceptional wearand-tear of war, there remains an industrial potential which in any case and no matter what may be the outcome of the present controversies, is vastly superior to the requirements of peace-time economy." The U.S.A. is bent on building up a strong industrialized Germany that will, on the one hand, help to check the Westward offensive of Russian Communism, and on the other, act as integral part in the economic recovery and military planning of Western Europe. This will, of course, augment American business prospects and has therefore obtained the blessings of John Fosler

Dulles, the big brain behind the State Department. What is commonly known as Dullesization of Germany really means a programme of thorough rehabilitation of the Ruhr industries, so faultlessly thorough that even the French have started quaking in their shoes at the thought of its dangerous inplications. The French are aware of what happened under Dawesization of Germany when, at the end of World War I, American, British and Dutch capital poured in to strengthen the German monopolies and international cartels which served as massive pillars of Hitler's regime. The political motive is now, as it was then, the creation of an anti-Russian front.

It seems therefore that there is no room for surprise that in the Bizonia, one of the agreed D'sdeindustrialization-has been silently dropped. Many of the war plants scheduled in 1946 for immediate destruction have been preserved. Even the reduced dismantling plan is almost abandoned although, in Eastern Germany, the Russians have carried it out pretty thoroughly. Western Germany has a population of 45 millions as against 17 millions in the East. In the West are concentrated 86 p.c. of German steel, 80 p.c. of her coal and 61 p.c. of industrial production. The industrial resources of this part are only second to that of Britain in Europe, and it is mainly here and not in the Russian Zone, that one shall locate the potential danger of revival of a militant Germany.

The French have already given way on practically every issue. They wanted separation of Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany. This was not conceded. They asked for international control of the chief industries of the Ruhr. Here again they were disappointed. Now they are pressed by the U. S. to give up the idea even of an adequate control over the distribution of the Ruhr's output, except perhaps the allocation of exports of coal, coke and steel, and this takes away, as the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian observed, the last guarantee that the greatest industrial area in Europe shall not again become the anvil on which is forged a new aggressive German war machine.

International control of the Ruhr is meaningless without establishing a sort of balance of power inside the coal-iron-steel area of Western Europe, as suggested by Andre Geraud, which alone can take away German monopoly and equally distribute the productive power between interested countries in the West. The Germans will probably lose a number of blast furnaces and steel mills, but then, should they really nced more steel for legitimate purposes, they can always get it from their neighbours. One great merit of this scheme is that it makes effective provision for international control of German industrial resources without however retarding economic recovery of Western Europe. This is not acceptable to the Americans and the French cannot be blamed if they smell a rat in dollar-financed rehabilitation of war

potential of the Ruhr. I gathered the impression of their extreme uneasiness when I visited Paris last year.

The old pattern of ownership is still there in Western Germany. It is true that North German Steel Control is decartelised. In other words, twenty companies have been detached from the parent steel union. But individual ownership still remains private and there is hardly any bar for them to recartelise once there is a little slackness in Allied pressure. Moreover, German assets abroad have been veiled and protected in order that the vested private interests may remain intact. It seems therefore that Bevin does not really mean what he says about socializing heavy industries in the Ruhr. The situation as it prevails has been well depicted by the special correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation, "Heavy industrialists and financiers served in the highest posts of Hitler's Germany. They ran the country, they owned the State. In Western Germany today it is not a great exaggeration to say that they (or their strawmen) still own the state. The only difference is that they are not running it yet. Or not quite."

The constitutional shape of the West German State is a matter upon which every Frenchman I came across held a strong view. In the interest of their security the French are desperately trying for a loose federation of separatist and semi-independent Landers (Provinces or States) with a Centre holding the minimum of powers. It is their intention to prevent the Germans from waging another war—even though a war that it may again lose. The Americans, however, believe that economic progress is impossible

unless there is a fairly strong Central Government within the federal structure of the new State, and they are inclined to dismiss French apprehension as 'hyper-sensitive' in the same way as Lloyd George did after the end of the First World War. This is broadly speaking also the British view. The problem no doubt is one of degree, as the London Times recently observed, "An endowment of the Germans with full authority would risk the early emergence of persons and policies that belong to the heritage of Hitler; the stinting of authority beyond the point at which the Germans feel-themselves genuinely responsible for Self-government can only ensure lassitude and in-efficiency."

From September 1, the Constituent Assembly of the projected West German State is expected to commence its function. An occupation Statute is likely to be introduced which will provide for Allied control in matters of defence and foreign policy. Be that as it may, the Russians have cleverly contrived to throw the burden of dividing Germany on to the shoulders of America and Britain. The Sovietsponsored Peoples' Congress has already launched its unity campaign, which in all probablity will stir the imagination of the vanquished Germans. The Russians are also in a position to put unbearable pressure on the Western Powers to quit Berlin. They will probably make Berlin the sent of their 'real' German Government with powers actually confined to the East, but with an eye towards the West. Anyway, it is hard to believe that the political technique of partition which nowhere has worked satisfactorily will succeed in the case of Germany.

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NOTES ON THE MASANJORE DAM

By GOPIKABILAS SEN

THE Masanjore Dam forms a part of the proposed Mor Project. For some reason or other, the execution of the Project seems to have been held up for some time. There are however certain facts relating to the area in question which the public should know, so that they can realise why the work should be undertaken at the carliest opportunity.

The facts presented below will prove that the portion of the Santal Parganas which will be involved, if the Project is undertaken, is economically tied more closely with Birbhum than with the northern districts of Bihar which lie adjacent to it. The perganas of Belpata, Muhammadabad or Karaya-Kundahit have very close trade as well as social relations with the district of Birbhum. This is true particularly of the original inhabitants of the area and not of the Santals, who are immigrants. The language of this particular region has been classified as a dialect of Western Bengali by Grierson himself. Historically too, the area under review formed part of the territory of the Pathan Rajas of Birbhum, and was only torn

from the District for administrative asons after the rising of 1855.

The present trouble due to which the Project is being delayed seems to be due to the fear that if a region which is now under the administration of Bihar prospers by association with Bengal, then the latter Province may one day claim the area as its own. The present writer is however interested in showing that, whoever may rule over the land in the present or in the future, there are various urgent reasons why the work should be executed as early as possible. Then Birbhum will prosper, (not at the expense of anyone else); and at the same time, the contiguous area in Bihar will share in that prosperity, as it is already sharing in the economy of the former district.

ORIGIN OF THE SANTAL PARGANAS

1. The first thing to note about the Santal Parganas is that it is not their Pargana; they are neither the original inhabitants of the district that today bears their name, nor do they constitute the majority of the population there even now. In the

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (Edited by Mr. O'Malley, 1910) it is written:

"The Santals seem to have settled first in the district between 1790 and 1810, having made their way northwards from Birbhum where they had been brought in to clear jungle and drive out the wild beasts which then infested the country. The exact date at which the first body of immigrants came is not known, but the unpublished manuscript of Buchanan Hamilton shows that a number of them had settled in the Dumka Subdivision by 1819. Between 1815 and 1830 there appears to have been a further advance of the Santals. In 1818, Mr. Sutherland found them busy clearing the forests below the hills in the Godda Subdivision; in 1827, Mr. Ward noticed that they had settled in the extreme north of the Subdivision; while a report of Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur, shows that by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in the Damin-i-Koh 'inhabited by Santals and Bhuyas but chiefly by the former.' Under the administration of Mr. Pontet, who was directed to give them every encouragement in clearing jungle, the Santals spread far and wide without much opposition from the idle Paharias, and even penetrated to the Burhait Valley in the heart of the Rajmahal Hills."

The aforementioned Mr. Ward wrote:

"There are within this described line two or three villages established by the race of people called Santars. These people are natives of Singbhoom and adjacent country; their habits and customs are singular; they are of no caste, extremely hardy and industrious, and are upon the whole considered an extraordinary race of beings. They emigrate from their own country to those districts which are known to abound most in forests, and where they are welcomed by the zamindars who invite them to settle. From choice they select the mest wild spots, and so great is their predilection for the wildest places, that they are seldom known to remain at one station longer than it takes to clear and bring it into cultivation."

The migratory habit of the Santals is noted in the District Gazetteer:

"The tribe is still spreading east and north, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santal Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of semi-laterite known as the Barind. Dinajpur alone contains more than 48,000 persons born in the Santal Parganas, and Rajshahi and Bogra more than 8,000."

Mr. Carstairs who was Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas from 1886 to 1899, in his memoirs entitled The Little World of an Indian District Officer, writes thus of the Santals:

"But what of the Santhals? Where were they? That is the wonderful part of the story. So far as we know, at the time of the Permanent Settlement there was not a single Sonthal in the whole of this area. Bhunyas, Khetowries, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Highlanders—yes, but Sonthals—no."

But even after the great migration, the Santals did not at any time form a majority of the population of the district. In 1901, they were only 36.6 per cent of the population (vide Census Report, 1901). The ancient aboriginals, the Malers and Mal-Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills accounted for 4 per cent. The balance of 60 per cent or so was made up of Hindus and Muslims, Bhagalpur people in the north and Birbhum people in the south.

2. In 1855, the Santals rose in rebellion which was put down after an extensive military campaign. Among the causes that led to it were exaction of moneylenders and oppression of petty officials. Immediately after, as a measure of pacification, a new district called Santal Parganas was created. Out of its area of 5400 sq. miles roughly 3500 sq. miles were taken from Bhagalpur District, 1500 sq. miles from Birbhum, and 400 sq. miles from Murshidabad. The Bhagalpur portion went to form the Subdivisions of Godda, Rajmahal, the northern part of Dumka and a part of Pakur. The Birbhum portion (consisting of parganas Sarath-Deoghar, Pabia, Kundahit-Karaya, Muhammadabad and part of pargana Darin Mauleswar) went to form the Subdivisions of Deoghar, Jamtara and the southern portion of Dumka. The Murshidabad portion went to form a part of Pakur Subdivision. In the newly created district a special Non-Regulation system of administration was set up by Act XXVII of 1855 whose principles are summarised as follows:

"To have no intermediary between the Santal and the Assistant Commissioner; to have complaints made verbally without a written petition; to have all criminal work carried on with the help of Santals themselves."

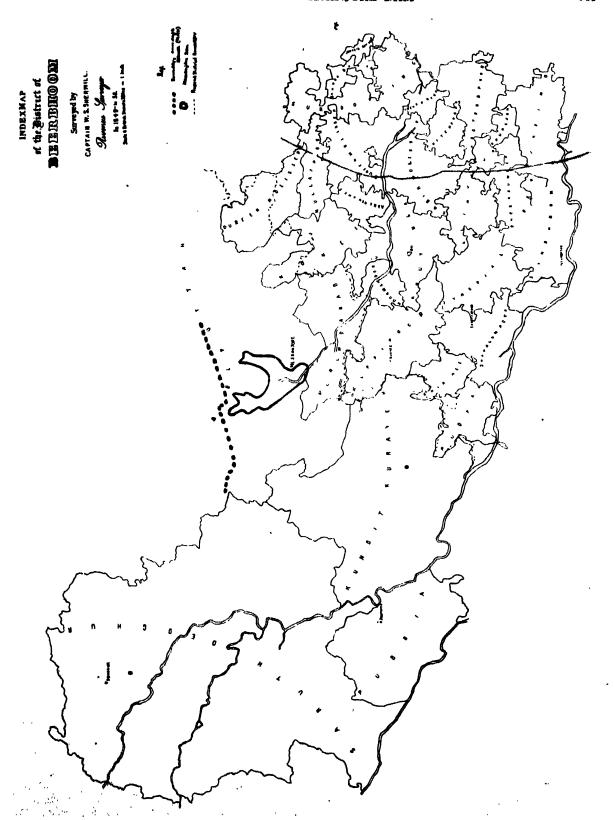
Mr. Carstairs who worked this system for thirteen years in his memoirs comments thus;

"The Sonthals were a minority of the people. They owned none of the land; they did not trade; they were looked down upon by the other inhabitants as little better than beasts. They had not even a reputation as fighting men: and if they had any, they lost it in the rebellion. They had been living for fifty years under the ordinary law of the land. Yet for their sakes a new constitution was devised, to which not only they but all the other inhabitants were made subject. I call this a wonderful turn of events. There is nothing like it in all history."

But the legal cordon thus drawn round large tracts of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts for the benefit of the Santal minority did not fundamentally alter the lives of the indigenous non-Santals, Dikus as they were called by the Santals, who continued to have trade and social relations with their friends and kinsmen across the new boundary.

ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE AREA IN QUESTION

3. For centuries Birbhum was a semi-independent principality on the border of the jungle country with its capital at Nagar (Rajnagar) first under Hindu, then under Muslim rulers. The Raja of Nagar took up arms against the British but was defeated in 1760. In 1770 was the great famine of Bengal. When the Permanent Settlement came in 1793, the Raja could not meet its demands and his extensive domain fell away. Birbhum in those days was much larger than the present district of that name. Major Rennel's map, based on his survey of 1767-71, which is accepted as authoritative by the highest law tribunals, shows that



Birbhum extended in the west to Deoghar and Jamtara, and on the north to Dumka including the pargana Belpata. According to Sheristadar Grant in his Historical and Comparative View of the Revenues of Bengal, published in 1788, quoted in the Settlement Report of Birbhum (1924-32), the zemindary of Birbhum consisted of 22 parganas covering 3858 sq. miles and assessed for the revenue-paying portion to a jama of Rs. 366,509 by Murshid Kuli Khan. Grant goes on to say:

"The remaining two-thirds proportion of territory were composed of the pergunnahs Roony, Kehtky and Selvor, Sarhaut, Gotby, Jamtara, Paunraw, Akerah, Ceeryah, Couhurt, Belputta, Buharrow, Noney and Malarpore."

There were ghatwal tenures under the Nagar Raja for guarding the hill passes. In a suit decided not many years ago between the Raja of Hetampur and a tenure-holder in the Dumka area, the Privy Council has held that the latter was a "Birbhum Ghatwal" and entitled to the privileges that appertained to that office. That the parganas Sarath-Deoghar (1114 sq. miles), Pabia (179 sq. miles), Karaya-Kundahit (406 sq. miles), Muhammadabad (133 sq. miles) and part of Darin Mauleswar (x sq. mile) were excluded from Birbhum as late as 1855 has already been stated. A map of the district prepared in 1852 by trigonometrical survey by Capt. Sherwill shows 38 parganas with an area of 3114 sq. miles. The proposed dam at Masanjore is to be built at the north-west corner of Pargana Muhammadabad where it meets Pargana Belpata. The dam will flood an area of 43 sq. miles between Masanjore and Dunka. All this is old Birbhum land. In point of fact, the village of Masanjore is in the Permanent Settlement Register of Birbhum.

THE AREA IN QUESTION: ITS CULTURE AND LANGUAGE 4. The Masanjore Dam is part of the Mor Project which aims at better utilisation of the water of the Mor river which drains the northern portion of Birbhum district and the central portion of Dumka Subdivision. It is, in fact, the Mor Valley Project although the Valley and Project are both comparatively small. In the upper valley is Dumka, in the lower valley Birbhum proper; both the headquarters towns Dumka and Suri are situated on the Mor and joined by a 28-mile metalled road. Two-third of the way up this road is Masanjore. The whole valley is one in culture and economy; the district boundary runs through it almost unnoticed. People on one side of the line give their daughters in marriage to their castemen on the other side. There is trade in country produce, timber. silk-cocoons, and hand-spun cloth. The principal trade centres are Asanboni, Raniswar, Ranibahal and Dumka in Santal Pargana and Suri, Rampurhat, Mollarpur and Mahammad Bazar in Birbhum. Numerous bullock-carts carry goods between these bazaars. Inter-communication is made casy by the fact that the people of this area. including many Santals (who however use their own Mundari tongue at home) speak the same dialect of Bengali which Grierson has termed Western Bengali. Speaking of Western Bengali, Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. V, Part I) says:

BIRBHUM, WHERE THE EARTH IS THIRSTY, AND MEN ARE HUNGRY

5. Much of Birbhum district is covered by undulating laterite ridges that rise in the hilly region of Chota Nagpur and extend eastwards to meet the Gangetic alluvial plain. The Settlement Officer in his Report on the Settlement Operations in Birbhum (1924-32) describes the soil thus:

"The soil is mostly covered with laterite nodules, while granite veins traverse the district at places running up on the surface for hundreds of acres in bleak barren plateaus which have not yet yielded to the efforts of man and made amenable to cultivation."

The Settlement Officer in another connection has said:

"If improvement in agriculture is to be expected irrigation will demand the largest attention."
With this kind of soil depending on chance rain, Birbhum has a long history of famines, the latest being in 1943. Since 1940, a total of Rs. 18,64,978 has been distributed as relief, the details of which are shown as follows:

Relief Expenditure in Birbhum District

| Year | | | | Amount |
|---------|-------|-----|---|--------------|
| 1940-41 | | | | Rs. 2.04,762 |
| 1941-42 | | | | Rs. 1,90,476 |
| 1942-43 | | | | Rs. 3,300 |
| 1943-44 | | | | Rs. 8.79.614 |
| 1944-45 | | | | Rs. 2,98,122 |
| 1945-46 | | | | Rs. 2,27,294 |
| 1946-47 | | | | Rs. 26,856 |
| 1947-48 | • • • | ••• | • | Rs. 34,548 |
| | | | | • |

Rs. 18,64,978

Even in normal years Government is required to issue large sums in agricultural loan to allow the marginal cultivators to tide over their difficulty. The Mor Project is essentially for the benefit of Birbhum district. If the entire scheme (including the Masanjore Dam), is executed 853 sq. miles or one half the entire district (1752 sq. miles) would receive irrigation. Only 387 sq. miles of the irrigable area will fall in the neighbouring districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan. Without the Dam at Masanjore the irrigable area would be reduced to a fifth, and the spectre of famine cannot be banished under the circumstances. The Dam site is situated in a tract just across the district border which is really not distinct from Birbhum proper. The population of Birbhum district is over ten lakes: the number of people who would be displaced by the construction of the Dam is estimated at 21,000 souls (including only 9,000 Sontals). The Bengal Government is understood to have made proposals for the rehabilitation of the displaced persons at considerable expenditure.

HISTORY OF PARGANA BELPATA

6. Belpata is a large purgana or tappa with area of 452 sq. miles in the southern part of Dumka Subdivision. Low hills run from west to east. The river Mor flows across it from north to south and breaks through the barrier of the Belpata range at the southern Before the end of the tappa near Masanjore. advent of the Santals in the 19th century and the creation in 1855 of a special administrative jurisdiction for their benefit called Santal Parganas, what is now Dumka was in two parts, one, Pargana Handwe, with economic and cultural affiliations to the north in Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and another, tappa Belpata. with similar affiliations to the south in Birbhum. The dividing line between them ran a little to the north of the present town of Dumka. In the Ain-i-Akbari "Hendowy" is listed under "Sircar Mungeer" while Birbhum is shown under "Sircar Mandarun" (Gladwyn's translation, 1897). Belpata was included in the Birbhum zemindary. Sheristadar Grant in his Historical and Comparative Views on the Revenues of Bengal, published in 1788 (Fifth Report of the Select Committee, Firminger's Edition, Vol. II) gives details of the settlement made by Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan with the Raja of Birbhum (Nagore). He says:

"The remaining two-thirds proportion of territory were composed of the pergunnahs of Roonhy, Kehtky and Selvor, Sarhaut, Gotby, Jamturrah, Paunraw, Akerah, Ceeryah, Couhurt, Belputta, Buharrow, Noney, and Malarpore."

Mr. (later Sir) Hugh McPherson in his classic

Mr. (later Sir) Hugh McPherson in his classic Report on the Settlement Operations in the Santal Parganas (1898-1907) has thus summed up the position in the Dumka area in the pre-British days:

"That Godda-extra Damin together with tappah Handwe of North Dumka were mostly dependencies of Kharakpur in Akbar's rent roll, but rarely paid tribute to the Moguls as the parent estate was constantly at war with itself, or its neighbours or its overlords; that the southern half of Dumka and the whole of Deoghar and Jamtara formed that portion of the zamindari of Birbhum which was unassessed till Kasim Ali became Subadar in 1760."

In Major Rennel's authoritative map (1767-1771) Belpata is shown as part of Birbhum.

7. When the Permanent Settlement was introduced in 1793, Belpata was recorded as one of the estates of the Raja of Nagore. The original register has been preserved in the Birbhum Collectorate. Soon after, in 1795, Belpata was separated from Birbhum in connection with the pacification of the Maler hill tribes in the neighbouring Rajmahal Hills. The transfer is mentioned in the District Gazetteer of Santal Pargunas (Edited by Mr. O'Malley, 1910):

"Mr. Fombelle also succeeded in obtaining sanction in 1795 to the proposal that pargana Belpata should be transferred from Birbhum and brought under the hill system—a proposal made by Cleveland some years ago—and also the hill portion of Pargana Nuni in the south-east."

The connection of the tappa with the Nagore Raj family, however, did not cease immediately. There is a document in the Birbhum Collectorate that certain lands in Belpata held revenue-free by the Raja of Nagore were resumed in 1800. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton has left a note written in 1810 on Belpata which is quoted in McPherson's Settlement Report. He wrote:

"Tappah Belpatta, originally part of Virbhum, on the sale of the Raja's estates, was purchased by Uttam Kumari, his widow, who is a sister of Raja Kader Ali. She is a lady much to be pitied as her husband's irregular and dissolute conduct prevented her from living with him and as his extravagance has ruined the family affairs."

8. Although Belpata was transferred from Birbhum to form part of a hill tract (now included in the Santal Parganas), in the final survey conducted by Mr. Ward in 1824-28 Belpatta was left out of it. Mr. McPherson in his Settlement Report has discussed Mr. Ward's Survey. He says:

"What Government wanted was a compact estate covering the general hill tract occupied by the hill people. The same considerations were applicable in the case of Belpatta and Noony. Mr. Sutherland had said of Belpatta that with a mere nominal exception of Soondardih, where a few hill people had huts, there appeared to be no real hill inhabitants. . . Pargana Noony had been added to the hill system in 1795 at the instance of Mr. Fombelle who discovered that some of the Ramgarh Hills in that pargana were inhabited by hill men, but both Belpata and Noony were integral parts of the Birbhum Raj, a fact recognised by Mr. Sutherland in 1819 and by Government in its Resolution of 1823."

Thus although Belpata did not serve the purpose for which it was separated from Birbhum, once the transfer had taken place it continued to form a part of Bhagalpur district, till 1855 when both Bhagalpur and Birbhum were partitioned to create the Santal Purganas. Capt. Sherwill's map of 1854 shows the position at that time. Belpata were included in the Santal Parganas, and the major portion of it, after many vicissitudes, passed into the hands of Rai Kamaleshwari Prashad Bahadur of Monghyr.

9. But the people of Belpata remain what they were, very similar to those of Birbhum. The Suri-Dumka road passes through Belpata. As one travels along the road, one sees similiar cultivation and the same type of faces as in Birbhum. The large village of Kumrabad halfway between Masanjore and Dumka is hardly different from a village of the same size in Birbhum. Probably there are more Santals about, more sal trees, and the hills are nearer, otherwise it is much the same. And one hears all round the Western Bengali dialect of Birbhum. All the settlement records are written in Bengali. Mr. Gantzer who conducted the last Settlement Operations (1925-32) writes in his Report:

"The proprietors of the Belpatta estate in Dumka subdivision applied to have the records of their South Dumka villages written in Hindi. All these applications were rejected."

STORY OF A GREAT BETRAYAL

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

THE Home Department of the Government of Assam addressed the following communication to all their "Clasetted Officers" on the 25th June, 1947. It is reproduced verbatim.

HOME DEPARTMENT Branch—Confidential No. C. 175-47-20

Dated Shillong, the 25th June, 1947. From—Sir Harold Dennehy, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of

Assam.

To-All Gazetted Officers of the Government of Assam.

I am directed to say that in view of the partition of India and the formation of the Governments of Pakistan and the rest of India in the near future, the Special Committee of the Partition Office, Government of India, New Delhi, appointed to work out the machinery for implementing the partition of India, has decided as follows:

(1) Every Government servant, Indian or

European, should be given an opportunity to elect the Government he wishes

serve; Government servant should be (2) Each asked to state at the same time whether he wishes to be given an opportunity to reconsider his choice within a period of six months from the date of the transfer of power.

2. I am to request the favour of your furnishing Government with your replies, within one week of receipt of this letter to the attached questionnaire in your own handwriting.

3. I am to make it clear to you that the representatives of the two future Governments mentioned above guarantee your existing terms and conditions of service.

QUESTION NAIRE

(All answers to be in Block letters)

1. Name in full:

2. Service and/or Department: 3. Substantive appointment:

4. Present appointment: .

Answers to all questions asked below should be

in a simple affirmative or negative:

(All Government servants are assured that their existing terms and conditions of service are guaranteed by the representatives of both the future Governments).

1. Do you elect to serve Pakistan?

2. Do you elect to serve in the rest of India?3. Is your choice final?

*4. Is your choice provisional?

The provision made for exercising such a choice on the part of Government servants, from the highest the lowest, is the name of democratic selfdetermination. But this provision has been twisted by the Assam Government to serve its narrow purposes of securing the monopoly of services and contracts for their supporters of the Assamese-speaking community of about 25 lakhs in a population of about 70 lakhs; their bete noir have been the Bengalee-speaking community

of about 35 lakhs belonging to the districts of Sylhet and Cachar attached in 1874 to the Brahmaputra Valley to constitute the administrative province of Assam with a view to pay its way. There was nothing unreasonable in this ambition if kept within proper limits; Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, rationalized it for us when he had said that "backward communities and groups are coming up in education and demanding their fair share in them." But what the Assam Administration and the cabal which upholds it have been up to has been demonstrated in and through what happened at Pandughat about five months back and at Gauhati in May last.

So, when the Bardoloi Ministry issued on behalf of the Central Government their intimation to their officers, the highest in the 1CS, and the lowest as policemen and postmen, to exercise their "option" for one of the States-Indian Union and Pakistan-they, perhaps, did not realize the full implications of this device. But it did not take them long to grow to a consciousness that here was an opportunity to get rid of the Sylhetees in their services after the Sylhet Referendum had gone against the Indian Union; they welcomed it as a God-send to realize their purpose. So, we find them issuing a Cabinet Decision (August 13, 1947) through the member of the "Steering Committee" of Assam. It has to be remembered that the decision was taken after the Bengalce Ministers-Shri Basanta Kumar Das and Shri Baidyanath Mukherjee-had come out of it as a result of the Sylhet Referendum; the only other Bengalee Minister left being Janab Abdul Matlib Mazumdar of Cachar whose status in the Ministry was almost negligible. This new circular trampled under foot the spirit of all the assurances given on June 25, 1947. This decision was intimated to all concerned in a letter dated August 22, 1947, In it occurs the following:

"The Government decision is that any Government servant who is a native of or domiciled in the Sylhet district and is posted on 14th August, 1947 in Sylhet, should remain there irrespective of his choice to serve in any dominion, and not be exchanged against an officer outside Sylhet who may have opted for Pakistan The Government of Assam will take no responsibility for such officers after the 15th of August. Those officers who are natives of or domiciled in the rest of Assam and who may have opted for Pakistan will not be allowed for the time being to exercise their option to join Pakistan" (Separation office Letter No. No 11 dated the 22nd August, 1947).

In Paragraph 3 of this letter the Government of Assam took occasion to describe their "policy" in respect of this personnel:

(a) Temporary personnel: The Government of Assam cannot give any guarantee as to continued retention. The Government of Assam will not appoint to permanent posts temporary Government servants who are natives of or domiciled in the parts of Sylhet district which form part of East Bengal.

(b) Permanent personnel: The Government of Assam do not undertake to retain in service

^{*} If your choice is provisional, you will have an opportunity to reconsider and indicate your final choice within a period of six months from the date of transfer of power. The provisional choice will not in any way projudice your seniority or other conditions of service.

Government servants who are natives of or domiciled in the parts of Sylhet district now forming part of East Bengal in excess of their requirement and create blocks for local recruitment. The Government of Assam will, however, take up strongly with the Government of East Bengal the case of all Government servants of the above categories, both temporary and permanent, who opt for East Bengal so that the East Bengal Government may employ them and guarantee them the existing terms and conditions of service

In the order requiring Government servants, natives of or domiciled in Sylhet, and posted on the 14th August, 1947, in Sylhet, that they "should remain there irrespective of his choice to serve in any dominion," particular care was taken to transfer from other parts of Assam as many Sylhetee employees as possible to Sylhet, so that they may be axed the more easily. We have known of cases where they were transferred to Sylhet as late And the cup of their as August 13, 1947. bitter disappointment was filled when the East Bengal Government refused to honour the pledge given by their Central Pakistan Government-to-be to Government servants as indicated in the letter of the Chief Secretary of Assam dated June 25, 1947. In the result, 1496 employees (including 422 temporary) were released from Sylhet by the Government of East Bengal. When at last, by their letter No. SS 11|94 dated December 6, 1947, the Assam Government decided to release the Pakistan choosers, their number rose to 1812. But 465 Assamese Muslims were not released, though choosing Pakistan originally, as they revised their choice in favour of India. No such revision from the Sylhet personnel in favour of Pakistan was accepted by the East Bengal Government.

This was not all. The Central Government of the Indian Union was misled by the Assam Government to make statements in this matter from which those made by the Premier of Assam, Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi, varied. Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru asked certain questions to which the Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel replied as follows on March 19, **1948**:

1. "547 permanent and 185 temporary employees were released by the Government of East Bengal." -(Ans. to Q. 906).

2. "It was not a guarantee given to the employees of any Provincial Government . . . This is, therefore, a matter for the Government of Assam to deal with."—(Ans. to Q. 905).

3. "Government of India understand that the

orders issued by the Government of Assam on 6th December 1948, (i.e. releasing Pakistan choosers at last) satisfactorily solved the problem created by their previous somewhat inconsistent orders." -(Ans. to Q. 905).

Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi gave a different story of These transactions in his reply dated April 3, 1948, to questions put in regard to these.

1. (a) Released by East Bengal-1496, including 422 temperary.

(b) Released by Assam—1812, 1553 Muslims and 269 Non-Muslims.

the rest of India after they were given the right to do so.

2. Government of Assam carried out certain instructions of the Government of India in this behalf and asked officers . . . the nature of option they would exercise on the basis of agreement between Pakistan and India whereby guarantees of service were given (Ans. 218(a).).

3. As a result of discussion with the Government of India this Government have accepted the principle that (i) vacancies created by options to Pakistan would be filled up by the permanent officers of Sylhet opting for India. (ii) The rest must be considered an excess to requirements in the province and would be dealt with under normal rules appertaining to retrenched personnel. —(Emphasis mine) (Ans. 221).

The opinion expressed by Sardar Patel that the problem has been "satisfactorily solved" appears to have emboldened the Assam Government to go forward more enthusiastically in their "evictions." Letter No. F.G. 45 48 1, dated Shillong, April 1, 1948, informed all concerned that, "Under Article 80 of the Assam Pension Manual, 3 months' notice of discharge with effect from 1st January, 1948, should be served on all the permanent released personnel who have not yet been permanently absorbed, stating clearly that due to the transfer of a major portion of Sylhet with its institutions their services will not be required on and from 1st April, 1948." And letter No. FG. 45|48|6 dated 5th of June, 1948, dashed the hopes of those who had been "temporarily absorbed."

"I am directed to say that as already instructed in this department letter No. FG. 45|48|1 dated the 1st April '48, permanent released personnel who were not permanently absorbed on or before 31st March '48 should be deemed to have been discharged on compensation, pension or gratuity as the case may be with effect from 1st April '48 irrespective of the fact that they were temporarily absorbed at that time, as they had no lien on any permanent posts on that date due to retrenchment of their substantive posts".—(Emphasis mine).

The story related thus far goes to prove that the assurance carried to Government servants in the letter of June 25, 1947, quoted in the first part of this narration, has not been honestly fulfilled by the Assam Government. And the Central Government submerged by the problems precipitated by Pakistan in West Punjab and in Kashmir have not found it possible to pull up "the men on the spot" on the other extremity of their Union. It may be that when the problem of 10 million people displaced from their ancestral homes, west and east, confronts the Union authorities and confuses them, the problem of a few hundred employees unjustly treated by a single unit of their Union appears to be small. But the betrayal of their hopes constitutes the drops that wear out the stone of the patience of many millions. And the Nehru Government has been ignoring the principle involved at peril to their own integrity. Dishonest or recalcitrant units should be called back to the decencies of social conduct. Otherwise disruption of morale is inevitable, leading to confusion unimagined today.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

-EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

NEW ASIA: By Dr. Kalidas Nag. To be had of the Prajna Bharati, 72, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is an opportune publication. Mankind must move towards greater and greater unity. That is a need which will be brought into more and more prominence with the march of time. The Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March, 1947, has prompted Dr. Nag to bring out before the public his thoughts and ideas on the different aspects of the problem of this large-hearted movement—thoughts and ideas which have already, to some extent, appeared as articles of various journals. Still, it is delightful to realise once again that our relations with Malayasia extend over so many hundreds of years or that Champa and Kamboj had inscriptions in Indian languages even as early as 3rd century A.D.

Advocates of Basic Education will note with pleasure Dr. Nag's views on their scheme which seeks to bring about a revolutionary chapter in the history of education in Asia. "The food and clothing industry for the 400 millions of Indiana, properly co-ordinated with elementary and secondary education may evolve tremendous expenditures of energy and resources; but may, at the same time, repay in human dividends beyond calculation" (pp. 75-76). This is viewing things in their proper perspective. We wish our educational experts could take to such a human

way in tackling their problems.

Additional attraction is provided for in the prefatory essay which appears under the name and style of Rabindranath Tagore but which is in fact a record of the symposium between the great poets and leaders of Iran and Iraq and our poet, near about 1932. There we find the raison d'etre of this book: "In the East we must never forget to link up our educational institutions with the fundamental values of our undivided spiritual life; because that has been the great mission of our ancient universities. which, in spite of political vicissitudes, never allowed their vision of humanity to be darkened by racial considerations. Asia owes it to humanity to restore her spirit of generous co-operation in culture and heal the suffering peoples of the modern age, now divided by cruel politics and materialistic greed which vitiate even the citadels of education." Great words, uttered by our greatest mind: the subject is provocative, and the book serves to bring it forward to our notice.

P. R. SEN

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN PHILOSOPHERS: By Benoy Gopal Ray. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 5-4.

In this book we have an account of the life-history of some of the great men that the last century produced in India. In about eight to ten pages each, the life, activity and thought of such great men as Rabindranath

and his father, Vivekananda and his preceptor, Rammohan and Swami Dayananda, Keshab Sen and Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi have been condensed. Naturally the accounts have been somewhat meagre and superficial, if not scrappy. The author's merit consists in the fact that he has brought together a galaxy of great names.

In the restricted and technical sense of the term, none of them were philosophers. That implies no disrespect to the illustrious names, A great man is great in spite of the fact that he is not a scientist or a mathematican. Christ was not less than Einstein because he did not know the Law of Relativity and Buddha was great in spite of the fact that he showed no knowledge of the Differential Calculus. So Rabindranath is a great man and Gandhi is a Mahaima even though they cannot be called philosophers in the narrow sense of the term. Still, words have their fixed meanings and we should remember them when we use them.

We wish the author had devoted more space to the discussions of these great lives he has selected. And for the sake of accuracy and to avoid raising a wrong expectation in the reader's mind, we would also suggest a change in the appellation of the book.

DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY: By Shulley Rahameem. Distributors (not Publishers): New Book Company Ltd., 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 124, Price Rs. 3-14.

The author has given a shape to his name which obscures his race and nationality. And he has given such an appearance to his book—it is printed and got-up so well—that the inanities contained in it are strongly barricaded.

The book is a complete misnomer. It is neither a dictionary nor is there anything approaching philosophy. There are, however, a number of words chosen, more or less at random, with an ostentatious show of wisdom; and sentences are placed under them sometimes of two words, sometimes of three and sometimes of four, which purport to explain them. Thus we are told that an Architect is a "stone poet", a "chisel aristocrat" and so on. In the group of three-word sentences we have "global uncommon sense", "world civic sense" etc., as example of thoughts in three words. Thoughts in four words give us "The march of isolation", "The march of Purdah", etc.

Portions of the book are written in prose and portions

Portions of the book are written in prose and portions in verse. And sometimes the sentences contain verbs and sometimes they do not. The whole book is a curious miscellany, a hotch-potch of thought and non-sense, a rabid display of hyper-activity of brain. The author expects that his book will have a tremendous sale in America. It is an atomic age and atomic sentences, i.e., sentences not fully expressed, will have the patrenage of the country which holds the atomic secret. We wish him success. He invites all thinkers of the wested to mitte and to put down their thoughts on paper. If paper is

scarce, they are advised to put down their thoughts in the blank pages of our author's book, and he purposely left some pages blank. We wish all the pages were blank. That would have been more profitable to his purchaser's as well as his reviewer. From what we have said above, the reaction of his readers after glancing at the pages of the book can better be imagined than described.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDIA'S NATIONAL PLAN: By K. T. Shah; Vora & Co., Publishers, Ltd. 3 Round Building, Bombay 2. First Edition: May, 1947. Price Rs. 3-12.

Prof. K. T. Shah, Honorary Secretary, National Planning Committee, has discussed in this book the nature, scope and administration of a National Plan for India. The present volume has been published not on behalf of the National Planning Committee but on his own authority.

It has history behind it.

The N. P. C. had begun formulating plans and schemes before government of the country came in Indian hands. The Interim Government took up the matter and appointed an Advisory Planning Board consisting of 14 membersofficials and non officials in equal proportion. Prof. Shah was also on the Board as Honoraty Secretary. According to him, 'The approach of the Board to the problems referred to them was fundamentally different from the lines laid down by the National Planning Committee. Their conception of the scope, nature and purpose of a National Plan, the technique of its preparation and the mechanism of its execution and administration also differed radically from those which had influenced the Planning Committee on the problems of machinery.' The present writer differed in these matters from the majority of his colleagues and recorded his views in a Minute of Dissent to the Board's Report. This volume contains the substance of the Minute.

Prof. Shah, an economist of repute and an acknowledged authority on the subject, has discussed the problems of administration and machinery of National Plan in details. As the political and economic conditions of the country have undergone great and unprecedented changes since August 14, 1947, plans drawn up before that date need be modified in the light of later events and adjustments.

For clarity of ideas, thoroughness of details, soundness of views and minuteness of schematic presentation the present volume will be of great help when appropriate administrative organisation and machinery will be set up to put the National Plan into execution. A Schematic Chart at the end of the book has greatly enhanced its value.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

INDIA'S LEADING COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS: Published by the Secretary, All-India Commerce Association, Allahabad. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 8.

The All-India Commerce Association was formed in 1947 with Sir Padampat Singhania as its President and Prof. A. N. Agarwala of the Allahabad University as Secretary. The first Conference of the Association was held under the auspices of the Lucknow University in December last and papers were read on the following subjects: (1) The Indian Taxation Policy, (2) the Planning of India's Foreign Trade, (3) the abolition of Zemindary and (4) the Indian Railway Transport

Zemindary and (4) the Indian Railway Transport.

All the subjects discussed at the Conference are of supreme importance to modern India, free as it is today to shape and mould her destiny. Altogether there are three papers on Taxation Policy all equally good in their manner of approach: Prof. S. N. Agarwala wants to make all investments tax-free with a view to encourage industries to solve unemployment. Prof. Bireswar Ganguly wants a regular and substantial 'Capital Budget' of the state to solve the problems of industrial development and employ-

mept. Dr. K. C. Sarkar aims at no taxation of necessaries of life and comforts. He also wants protection as a whole, On the Planning of Trade there are six papers. After the attainment of freedom our Foreign Trade must be reconstructed with a view to contribute the maximum benefit to the wants of the country. 'Favourable balance' with an export of raw materials should be a thing of the past and 'invisible imports' in any shape und form must be kept at the minimum. In one word Planning of India's Foreign Trade must be for India's interest and all state machineries, Exchange, Tariff and Taxation, must be applied to achieve this end Prof. B. N. Chatterjee's and Prof. Om Prokash's paper deserve special mention. On the subject of Zemindary there are six papers. There are a few suggestions about the reconstruction of India's economy, particularly agriculture, after the abolition of Zemindary system. Agriculture is a great problem of Free India and on its proper solution depends the happiness and prosperity of millions. During British rule India had been forced to be an agricultural country for the supply of raw materials to Foreign Capitalists at the cost of industrial development and this state of affairs must now change and a new adjustment brought about in the economic structure of the country. Most of the writers recommend peasant proprietorship in the new order as socialization in fullest sense of the term may not be practical in our country. On the subject of Indian Railway Transport there are three papers, Indian Railways were not constructed for the economic development of the country for the benefit of Indians but for political and economic purposes in which British Imperialism was interested. So from the very beginning we have anomalies not only in the layout but also in the financing and administration of the Railways. However, now almost all the Railways are State-owned, thanks to the Great War and the adverse finances of the British Government. Now is the turn of India to utilize the Railways for her own economic development. Management, production of railway materials and equipments, tariff all require thorough overhauling and a programme has already been laid down for improvement. All three papers prepared by Prof. V. V. Ramanadham, D. Pant and Sri Rama Murty deserve mention for dealing nicely with the different aspects of such an important subject.

We are confident that this volume will interest all students of economics and commerce and also the general public who are interested in these vital subjects.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BOMBAY INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT (Act XXV of 1938): By Prabhudas Patwari and Prascnnadas Patwari. Published by Chandrakant C. Vora, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad. 1944. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 8.

SUPPLEMENT to the above by the same authors.

1946. Pp. 88. Price Rs. 6.

This Act was enacted by the then Congress Ministry. It has proved a great success in keeping the relations of Labour and its employer harmonious, by settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation, and arbitration. The Act has been annotated not from the lawyer's point of view, but from the point of view of those who have to administer it, or those who are governed and are to be guided by its provision. In this object the authors have succeeded admirably.

BENARES AND SARNATH : PAST AND PRESENT : By Prof. A. S. Allekar. Benares Hindu

University. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1-4.

This small guide-book with many authoritative historical details of the temples and shrines will surely meet the needs of cultured visitors to Benares. The printing and get-up can easily be improved.

J. M. Datta

BENGALI

BANGLA SAHITYA KATHA: By Srikumar Bandyo padhyay. Saraswati Library, C18-19, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6-8.

The author's erudition and critical acumen are widely admired and respected. This book contains thirteen essays in literary criticism, viz., Folktales, Vidyapati, The Poems of Vidyapati in Grierson's collection, The Newly Discovered Manuscript of Chandidas, Characteristics of the Novel and the Method of Its Judgment, Bankim Chandra as a Novelist, Shelley and Rabindranath, The Dreams of Rabindranath, Rabindranath's Prose-poems, Rabindranath's Last Series of Poems, Raja-laxmi and Kamal-lata, The Growth of Bengali Prose, The Nature of the Bengali Novel and Its Future. The index shows that topics cover a wide range. They are all marked by keen perception, catholocity of taste and balanced judgment. The discourses on Bankim and Sarat Chandra are profoundly interesting and the estimate of Vidyapati's Kirtilata throws light on an important, but little-recognised work. To all serious students of literature, this work will undoubtedly prove useful.

D. N. MOOKHERJEA

CHOTODER DABA KHELA: By Swami Santananda Bharati. Calcutta Photo House. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-12.

There is a paucity of books in Bengali on chess, and this small book, written for the beginners, removes a want. The printing and get-up is good. The author should have added a chapter on Bengali games of Aswachakra, Caj-chakra and the diagrams are very useful for understanding the different moves especially to a beginner.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

MUKTI KI MASHAL: By Tej Narain Kak. Universal Publishing House, Shivcharanlal Road, Allah-

abad. Pp. 46. Price Rs. 2.

Here is a sheaf of songs of the downtrodden and the defeated in life, and also of those who are filled with dark despair. But the poet inspires them, in the ringing verse and voice of faith, with cheer and self-confidence, telling them that in the spirit of Man there is something of the unconquerable here who ultimately shall hew his way through bondage to freedom, through darkness to light, through poverty to plenty, and through misery to prosperity. This faith, therefore, should be revived and re-integrated in action so that the torch of freedom, handed down to him age after age, be passed on to posterity. The songs are marked by moving succeity and spiritual strength. The get-up and printing are a credit to the publishers.

BHOJPURI LOK-GIT MEN KARUNA-RASA: Campiled by Durgashankar Prasad Sinha. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad. Pp. 496. Price Rs. 6.

Folk-songs have an abiding insight, emotion and interest. And there is in them that innocency of the eye and the heart which has preserved them from the ravages of time. Therefore, they will ever remain a source of inspiration as well as information to all alike—singers, scholars, saints and sons of the soil.

alike—singers, acholars, saints and sons of the soil.

The present collection consists of Bhojpuri folksongs, that is, folk-songs sung for centuries past in
Bhojpur in the district of Shahpur in Bihar. The
compiler, who has been engaged in the task of collecting them for nearly two decades, has now edited and
annotated them with an ability and efficiency which
are well worth emulating by others working in the same

field. If the folk-songs of each province were published in this manner we shall have a people's history of Indian civilization and culture. The Karuna Rasa, in which most of these folk-songs are keyed, is a synthetic sentiment; as such, it has overflowed into every human attitude and activity, specially of those who, like our villagers, have still kept up their spontaneity and sympathy of reaction to their environment and inquition. The compiler has done a great work and has so earned the gratitude of all lovers of the people. The publishers too, have achieved an unusual distinction in performing their particular part.

G. M

GUJARATI

HAMARI JIBAN KAHANI: Translated from the English original into Gujarati by Mahadev Haribhai Desai. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Revised 3rd Edition. December, 1947. Price Rs. 6 only.

It would be as much ridiculous excess to try to appreciate Pandit Nehru's autobiography at this time of the day as to paint a lily and to gild refined gold. His autobiography, which gives a history of contemporary times and is at the same time a history of Indian Nationalism, has been hailed with acclamation by his contemporaries, and, deservedly, Mahadeh Bhai Desai, whose literary abilities were not in any way inferior in quality to his devotion to a life of sacrifice, had been the fittest person to render the English original into Gujarati. More than 20 thousand copies have been in demand. The book will be treasured not only by students of politics but also by students of Indian cultural life. The copious index will help the reader to use it as a work of reference as well. The Gujarati translation has marched hand in hand with the English original.

Every Gujarati would be proud of Mahadev Dasai's legacy in this particular respect.

P. R. SEN.

DEENBANDHU: By Rasulbhai N. Vohra, Baroda. Published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Baroda. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 340. Price Rs. 2.

Rev. Charles Andrews, who had dispensed with his religious orders and become a layman, had, as every Indian knows, devoted his life to lift up India in every way and for that reason, earned the surname of "Deenbaudhu" i.e., brother or helper of the poor. Every Indian language should possess his biography. This is a translation into popular Gujarati by a Mohammedan writer of a Hindi version. It should be well received, we think, by the ordinary reader as the story of his life is very well told.

THANDE PAHORE: By Muni Kumar M. Bhatt, Bhavnagar. Published by Padma Prakashan Ltd., Bombay. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 5.

"In the Cool of the Evening" is the title of this humorous book. People are inclined to relax at the end of the day and indulge in pleasantries. That is why this collection of 22 prose and 10 verse writings is named as it is. Humour, quiet and biting, subtle though laughter-provoking, peeps at one from every line of these writings and adds to the fame of the writer, as a humourist both in the platform and at the deak. A companion of his, an able first in the line, Jyotindra Dave, has written a Foreword, which brings into relief, both his own and Muni Kumar's latent powers of depicting wit and humour.

China - India's cotton market of the 4th century



There is plenty of historical evidence to show that China was one of India's principal cotton markets in the fourth and fifth centuries. But the brainy Chinese were not satisfied with the trade; they also imported India's Churga Gin and improved it by replacing the hand crank with a foot treadle. The illustration, taken from a 15th century Chinese Encyclo-

Founded in 1886, the Calico Mills form one of India's largest Single units and, with the Jubilee Mills, produce over 1,75,000 yards of fabrics a day. To-day, more than ever before, its facilities are serving the Nation's efforts to fight the cloth shortage.

paedia, shows the Chinese Gin in

operation.

Sarees—Dhotis—Mull—Printed Fabrics—Mosquito Nett-Ing—Sewing Threads—Furnishing Fabrics.

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WEAVING TO KEEP THE NATION GOING

Revolution Astrology & Astronomy in

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yogi vastly learned in the Astrology and astronomy of the East and the West, gifted with supernatural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.



RAJJYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

This powerfully gifted great man can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future, and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kayirajas, can help people to win difficult law-suits, and ensure safety from dangers, prevent childlessness and free people of family unhappiness. His three important predictions (prediction about the British victory on the very day—2nd September, 1939—of the declaration of last World War. prediction of the achievement of independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal

as the Premier made on the 3rd Sept., 1946, and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Mijesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1928 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India as for honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

Persons who have lost all hopes are atrongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji," Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State says:—"He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power." The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son." The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words." The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court says:—"He is really a great personage with super-natural power." The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot, says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities have struck me with greatest astonishment." The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Daa, of Keonjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my almost dead son." Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a Keenjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my almost dead son." Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, 2723, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America:—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China:—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." Mr. Issac Mumi Etia, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa:—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." Mr. B. J. Fernande, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colembo, Ceylon:—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas on several occasione", etc., etc., and many others.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



What is Culture

P. S. Naidu writes in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly:

The spirit of our age is at war with itself, teating its own body to pieces and paving the way for the final destruction of civilisation. When the situation is examined carefully, it is found that the disaster that threatens the whole world is due to the conflict of cultures. Arvan culture is arrayed against Semitic, White against Coloured. American against Negro, and Brahmin Aryan against Non-Brahmin Dravidian. The war of cultures is threatening to assume unmanageable dimensions. What, then, is this culture under whose banner so many peoples are pre-

paring to take the field?

Cultural objects, that is objects that are believed to be the expressions of the culture of individuals or groups that have produced them, are diverse in their nature and wide in their extent. From the cave drawings and the stone implements of primitive man to the pyramids of Egypt and the Ajanta paintings and frescoes —it is a far cry indeed. Yet all these objects are equally representative of the respective cultures of their creators. And the Futurist and Impressionist drawings too! They represent a very significant aspect of contemporary culture. Philosophy, art and science, language and literature, music and dance, painting, sculpture and even food (according to an eminent sociologist) are expressions of culture. What is the significance of designating this bewildering mass of objects by a common name? There must be some unity among them justifying the common name. They express an inner something of which they are but different products.

Treatises on cultures—and their number is legion—are not very illuminating. They fail to orient us properly in the midst of the vast mass of facts of culture gathered by painstaking research workers. Taylor, the great authority on primitive culture, says: "Culture includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society." There is utter confusion here between culture and civilisation, and between such widely differing aspects of experience as art and knowledge, Moreover, there is an implication that culture can be acquired by man only as a member of society. When we turn from Taylor's Primitive Culture to the well-known Encyclopaedias, we find that they are not any more illuminating.

The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics tells us that the most essential element in the psychology of culture is that which relates to the intellect and the will, with the accompanying contrast between the life of culture and that of activity. This definition neglects completely the effective aspect of human life which is the sole basis of culture; and exalts the intellect which plays only a subordinate part in cultural life. The Encyclopaedia of Social Science has a long article on culture full of brilliant suggestions. At times we feel that we are being taken to the centre of the problem, but at the critical moment a sudden halt is called, and thereafter there is a stendy sliding down. "Culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes,

ideas, habits and values. . . . The real component units of culture are the organised systems of human activities called institutions." This article recognises the need for a psychological analysis of culture, but lacking the proper psychological foundation it is not able to come to grips with the problem.

The New English . Dictionary defines culture as "cultivation, tending, cultivating or development of the mind, faculties, manners etc., improvement or refinement by education and training." Apart from the suggestion regarding cultivation, this definition is the least illuminating of all the definitions given so far.

Our need at present is an orienting concept, which will reduce to some pattern the vast mass of cultural facts and objects, just as a magnetic field reduces to a comprehensible pattern the widely scattered iron filings within the magnetic field. In the light of a simple orienting concept we should be able to grasp the meaning of cultural objects, and their proper relationships to one another and to the mind that created them. Any simple cultural formula is bound to be psychological for the very obvious reason that culture is the ordering of the mind in its endeavour to reach or create a better order of things than that which it finds in its environment. We propose to frame the simple psychological formula needed for understanding and into preting bunean culture in its broad outlines. This formula will be tentative in its application, and will bear modification and expansion indefinitely, but it will be sound in essentials, and will be a very safe guide for exploration.

CULTURE AND CIVILISATION: A CONTRAST

It is necessary to make a slight digression at this stage in order to point out the difference between culture and civilisation. The two terms are really opposed to each other in connotation. Civilisation stands for a certain aspect of life in the west which is the antithesis of culture. In the proper type of mental organisation there ought to be complete harmony between the inner mental cultural objects. True culture consists in this harmony between the inner and outer aspects of the organisation of sentiment-values. When such harmony is absent, or when disharmony is introduced out of set purpose, then culture ceases to have any meaning. In the so-called civilised life of today, lived according to Western standards there is complete lack of harmony between inner mental structure and the outer expression of it in the conduct. One may boil inwardly with fierce hatred or anger, but one should not express these feelings. One should put on an appearance of calm and friendliness. Insincere conduct is tolerated, nay even prescribed for keeping up appearances. This is civilisation, and such civilisation is not culture. Civilisation demands a certain type of conduct in society whether such conduct is or is not in conformity with the motive which animates the person concerned. Culture on the other hand demands strict conformity of conduct with motive, of outward expression with inner sentiment. Civilisation is the means of getting on in this outer world of mundane values while true culture is the means of getting on in the inner world of spiritual values.

State Language

Is it derogatory to adopt foreign ideas and institutions if they are found to be more conducive to progress and happiness than those found in one's own country? Writes S. S. Ali in The Insurance World:

Was it derogatory to have replaced our indigenous bullock-carts by motor buses, or railway trains? Or, the age-old patriarchal form of government by democracy? Or, in case of dog-bites, to use the Pasteur system of treatment in place of charms and incantations, even now in use in some of our backward villages? Did China harm or humiliate herself by embracing Buddhism? Again, did Europe insult her native genius by giving up paganism in favour of Christianity, a religion of foreign origin?

If the answer is no, then why should it be derogatory to retain English as our State language, if it be found to be conducive to the progress and happiness of our people than Hindi which is being recommended by some. Let us examine this question

from every possible angle.

Hindi certainly is known over a wider area in India than any other local language; but except in two or three provinces, where it happess to be the mothertongue of the people, it is not known well enough to serve any useful purpose. In the rest of the Indian provinces, its knowledge represents no more than the ability to articulate a few words or sentences, pre-posterous in respect of both grammar and pronunciation, and that also amongst a certain section of the urban population only. Its claim to be regarded as the Lingua Franca of the country, therefore, is without any foundation whatsoever. In order that it may be used as such, it will have to be taught the same hard way as English is now taught.

Now, it may be argued that since learning of both English and Hindi involves the same amount of time and energy, why not teach Hindi, which is,

after all, an indigenous language?

The counter-argument is that whereas Hindi is a purely local medium, English is almost a universal one. Once one has mastered this latter language one is no longer a citizen of India only, but a citizen of the world. And today, whether one realises it or not, we are all citizens of the world, it being no longer possible for a civilized nation to live in water-tight isolation in a specific geographical unit. For the first time in the history of the world, realization is beginning to dawn upon mankind that the world is one; that a diseased spot in one part of it affects the health and welfare of the rest; that it cannot settle down to peaceful and progressive conditions, if even one part of it remains diseased, or neglected, or is subjected to selfish treatment by another.

This being so, knowledge of an international language is essential, and since English is the only language which can claim that status, for us ,who have the 'open sesume' to it, to give it up willingly and deliberately would be a highly retrograde step. It would be like an island nation giving up its navy at the instance of a set of clamorous thinkers who have arrived at the conclusion that for creatures of the land, it is derogatory to use maritime transport or seek

naval protection.

It may be protested that it is not our intention to give up English altogether, but to retain it as an optional second language, together with such other European languages as German, French, and so on.

That I am afraid, will not take us very far. Second languages are never learnt properly, as we all know who have had Persian, or Sanskrit, or Arabic in our schools and colleges. If we are to learn it well enough to benefit from its virile literature, and to hold our own in markets and conferences of the world, it must continue as our State language. Human beings are essentially lazy, and the only way one can ensure their proper learning of a language is by way of reward through State recognition.

Is it possible to have Hindi as our State language, and at the same time learn English as proficiently as we do now? I am afraid not. The average man's time and opportunities are limited. He has first to learn his mother tongue. Then Ilindi, if it be adopted as the national language. Then, after having learnt these two, he will have to turn his attention to a third language. Now, where will he have the time for all these?

To adopt Hindi, therefore, as our State language is to impose upon a vast majority of Indians an added unnecessary burden.

From a purely cold-blooded business point of view, therefore, it would be a national economy to prescribe only two languages: First the language of the province, which one must learn; and then English, which will serve as an inter-Provincial, as well as an international medium. A Province can, if necessary, have two official languages, as in some parts of Canada: the local language as English.

Assuming it is a little more difficult to learn English than Hindi, does not the reward justify the additional labour? The learner is certainly acquiring a more useful equipment. It will always involve more labour to make a motor car than a bullock-cart, but does

not the product justify the extra labour?

Then comes the question of adequacy. Is Hindi, as it stands today, adequate to meet the requirements of a highly developed modern State which include, not only a comprehensive political vocabulary, but also vocabularies for the Army, the Navy, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Botany, Biology, Geology, Mining and so on and so on, in a never-ending array. A motor car alone has over four thousand different components, for each of which there is a specific or a generic name. Hindi not only has no names for these, but also, so far as I am aware, it has not even a recognized name for the motor car itself. This means new words will have to be coined in hundreds of thousands, probably in millions, to cover the entire gamut of the highly complicated modern life. Exactly how many years it



will take to complete the feat, and how many more for these newly coined words and phrases to acquire unequivocal meanings, through usage, through court judgments, and other processes, it is indeed difficult to forecast. And when, if even all this has been done, the language that will evolve will not be the homely Hindi we know, but a new language, probably very much more foreign to us than English. Is it worthwhile then taking all this trouble, and suffering so much inconvenience just to satisfy the over-sentimentalism of a few?

I say "a few" because except for some in the interior provinces, the people of the rest of the Indian Provinces simply dread the idea of having to replace English by a primitive language like Hindi. If a gallup poll were taken, I have not the slightest doubt that English would win, but unfortunately, the supporters of this language lack the powerful political magnetism of bigotry and intolerance. Politicians of the interior provinces, who seldom come into contact with foreignors are generally more intolerant than others, and therefore also more popular. This is indeed unfortunate, for through their reversion to the ways and habits of the past, their avowed attachment for everything indigenous, good or bad, and their blind antipathy towards everything foreign, regardless of merit, they have built up around themselves such a halo of patriotic glamour that it will be a long time before they can be dislodged from power by the more tolerant leaders from other more progressive provinces. who through constant contact with the British and other foreigners, have developed a more cosmopolitan outlook.

It is hotly argued that now that we are a free people, to continue to use a foreign language would be slavish.

This is, of course, rank nonsense, for language has nothing whatsoever to do with either freedom or slavishness, which are attitudes of the mind, and one can develop either under any set of conditions. I think I am right in saying that never was a freer man born than Mahatma Gandhi, and yet he lived all his life under foreign rule, and was a product of foreign education, received in a foreign country. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that it was his foreign education that was to a great extent responsible for his irrepressible urge for freedom. Take, again, the case of the unscrupulous "bania" who would sit hours at the door of a petty official, ready to pay any price in honour, dignity and bribes for a little monetary gain. Well, he will always remain a slave, whatever be the government he is under.

Examinees and Brain Workers need NEURO

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When we find that almost every leader of India's freedom movement was a product of English education, to say that learning of this language warps the mind, is sheer perversity.

On the contrary, it may be laid down almost as a general truth, that those Indians who have not had any English education are not by any means the most inspiring specimens of our countrymen. Our so-called Pandits and Moulvis are not only like children to talk to, but are also, as a rule, undependable, and can easily be swayed one way or the other. Black market and other anti-social activities are carried on mere by people innocent of English education than their more modern counter-part. English education at least improves them in this sense, that even when they do indulge in such activities, they are not altogether free from a sense of guilt.

Foreign education is again discountenanced on the ground that it tends to mix cultures. This is no doubt true, but it is a point in favour of such education rather than against it. I do not see any virtue in wanting to grow up along a rut shaped by men hundreds, and thousands of years ago, and who, in knowledge and experience, could not as a whole but be inferior to us. We claim affinity to them in such pride and affection because they are not here for us to sec. If it were possible to see them, we would probably find them more foreign to us than our most distant contemporaries. A modern Englishman would, I am sure, feel more at home in the company of a contemporary Indian, than in that of an ancestor of his who lived a thousand years ago, never bathed, dressed uncouthly, fought brutally and interminably with neighbouring clans or political parties, and dug his teeth ferociously into huge chunks of half-burnt

The world that we live in today is very different to the world of hundreds and thousands of years ago. when people, hving in narrow unsurpassable areas, not only did not have to come into contact with others, but did not even know of them. Their requirements were simple and limited too, so that they could live in blissful independence of one another. Fortunately or unfortunately, that world is no more. Science has annihilated distances, and crushed down all geographical barriers. The result is that our conception of units is becoming more ideological than geographical. We are beginning to identify ourselves not so much as Americans or French, British or Italians, but as socialists or capitalists, communists or democrais, and so on.

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Throws light on its different aspects. To be had of: Sen Ray & Co., 15, College Sq., Calcutta weapons of such terrible implications, that unless we hurry up and demolish our mental barriers and distances as well, in keeping with the exigencies of the times, we shall soon end by completely annihilating ourselves. It is necessary, therefore, that we take stock of things as they are now, and mould our outlook on that basis, rather than slavishly follow past ideologies of patriotism, nationalism, culture and so on

If by the word foreign is meant something that did not originate in a particular geographical area, to have antipathy towards it is sheer childishness.

To judge the merits of a commodity, or an idea, or an institution, the only tests to be applied are-does it beautify life? Does it help to establish better relationship between man and man? Is it conducive to general human welfare? If the answer is yes, it is no longer foreign, but belongs to the whole world.

To get the best out of nature, one must utilise

whatever one finds good or useful anywhere.

It is the same with regard to everything else such as language, literature, ideology and so on. If a nation is to grow to it full stature, it must be ready to assimilate whatever useful or civilising it finds anywhere in the world.

Every country has evolved something beautiful about art, science, religion, business methods, material things, methods of living, and so on. To get a really full life we must learn to co-ordinate all these. This

is not slavishness but common sense.

People cry themselves hourse on the subject of preservation of national cultures. But when you ceme to think of it, what is culture but habits of thought and action adopted by our forefathers to exist and thrive under certain geographical and other conditions, such thoughts and actions being naturally influenced by their knowledge and experience of things at the time? Also include in this list, if you like things created to give expression to the yearnings of the soul. These, again in their turn, were influenced by the physical and other conditions around them. As these conditions change and our knowledge of things improves, if we still want to mould our thoughts and aspirations after those of our ancestors, then we are just retarding growth.

What is the function of a language? To express ideas. Nothing more and nothing less. Now the language that does it most effectively and to the largest group of people is certainly

the most desirable language.

This is cold logic.

We have before us the choice of one of the two

languages—Hindi and English. Now let us see which is the most desirable.

Hindi is, firstly, utterly inadequate to meet the requirements of a highly developed modern State. Secondly, it is purely a local medium, not spoken or understood anywhere outside of some parts of India. Thirdly, from a literary point of view, it is primitive. If my information is correct, nothing original of a worthwhile character, has been written in this language since Kabir wrote his poems about 500 years ago. It has no literature which can profitably inform, educate, or inspire a modern man or citizen. Its past history of prolonged literary and intellectual barrenness does not inspire one with great hopes as to its future potentialities.

English, on the other hand, has the richest collections of words and phrases with accepted meanings on all subjects, such as physics, chemistry, medicine, engineering, politics, civil, criminal and constitutional laws etc., etc. It is secondly, the only language in the world that can claim an international status. Thirdly, its literature is rich, virile, comprehensive and up-to-date, and in all worldly matters more idealistic than any other. Close connection with this literature gives us an opportunity to imbibe the high efficiency, idealism, civic consciousness, the high sense of integrity of the world's most constitutional race—

commercial, or political can attain any marked degree of success.

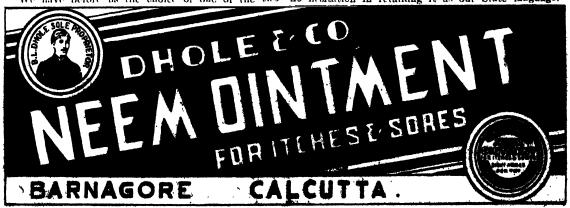
Those being the points for and against the two languages, the choice should not present any difficulty. And after all, English is not quite as foreign as some of us try to make it out. Two hundred years of association has robbed it of its newness, and Indians of all provinces have developed a peculiar aptitude for learning it.

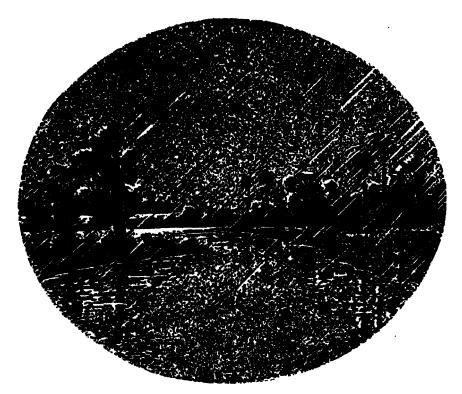
qualities without which no venture, social, industrial,

The ability to absorb a heucficient foreign institution is not slavishness. On the contrary, not to be able to do so is slavish. It is slavishness to the past which retards growth. And to cease to grow is to

head for destruction.

If it is a good thing to be patriotic to a portion of the world we call our country, it must be a better thing to be patriotic to the whole world—to humanity in general. To achieve this greater good, our narrow desire to grow up as a distinct entity must be discarded. Instead, we must face the world with an open mind, ready to adopt whatever helps progress of the world as a whole. One of the most powerful factors for bringing about a better understanding between the diverse elements of the world is language, and since there is no other language which is so widely spoken and understood as English, we should have no hesitation in retaining it as our State language.





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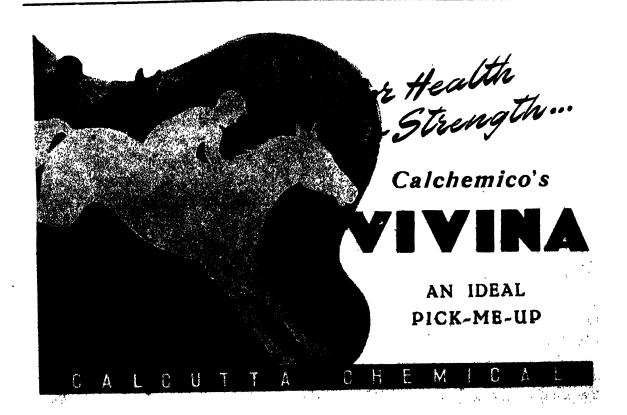
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



National Movements in Indonesia

Dr. O. B. Tio writes in the special number of Merdeka, May 1948, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of Indonesian struggle for freedom:

May 20 this year is a significant day for our Indonesian people. Why? It was 40 years ago, when the first organised national movement was founded in Indonesia. This does not mean that before 1908 no struggle took place in our country against the Dutch rulers. On the contrary!

A continuous wave of struggle for national independence was and has always been carried on against Dutch

colonialists despite the white terror.

The Java, Atjch. Bali-Lombok wars and others in the past were events of struggle, which signified the classmovements in our country to get rid of foreign rule. Unfortunately these were led in an unorganised and spontaneous manner.

To celebrate our 40th anniversary of national movement and to provide the reader with some idea of our Indonesian struggle in the modern organised way against Dutch imperialism, the writer would like to divide our

national movements into 3 (three) periods:
I. 1908-1918: Beginning of the foundation of organised national movements in our country. National consciousness and organised struggle against Dutch imperialism for

national independence.

II. 1918-1945: Period of mass-struggle, revolts, strikes against Dutch and Japanese imperialism for national independence. White terror and mass deportation to concentration camps by Dutch and Japanese imperialism against our Indonesian people.

III. 1945-till present date: Foundation of our Indonesian Republic. Continuation of our national anti-imperialist struggle for full independence, democracy, peace and prosperity of our masses.

I. THE PERIOD OF 1908-1918

The beginning of our organised Indonesian national movements dated from the year 1908. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 and the defeat of the corrupted Russian army opened a new page in world history. Here for the first time in the modern era, the "superior" white race was beaten and defeated by the "inferior" coloured race.

This event reflected itself not only in our country, but generally speaking in all Asiatic, colonial, dependent countries and oppressed peoples. It was the beginning of the awakening of national consciousness and organised

national movements in our country.

In the year 1908 a group of Indonesian students and intelligentsia in our country established a national organisation with the name of Budi-Utomo. (NOBLE ENDEAVOUR). The organisation had formerly no political aims. It had no deep roots among our masses. It was founded for the purpose of demanding better educational and social conditions from the Dutch rulers and was for a long period the organisation of the Indonesian educated class and restricted to Java only.

Shortly after the foundation of the Budi-Utomo, another national organisation was founded in the year of 1911. It had some political aims, but based on religious grounds. This national organisation was known its the Sarakat Islam (Moslem League). Since the majority of our people are Moslems, the Sarakat Islam gained populations. larity and influence among our masses.

The third national and political organisation which brought about conscioueness of nationalism was founded inthe year 1912, and known under the name of Indische Partai (East-Indies Party). Based on the principle of one people belonging to one nation and not on any religious belief, the East-Indies Party embraced all parts of Indonesia. The East-Indies Party then changed its name to Nasional Indische Partai (Indies National Party).

The strong Islamic ideological principles of the Sarekat Islam could not avoid the penetration of the new idea of nationalism which was growing up daily in our country. Our people at that time were not yet politically-minded, but strong national feelings found deep roots among our

people.

The Sarekat Islam had to consider the dialectical march of events in our country. Henceforth the organisation had to have its line of action not purely on religious, but also on more liberal and nationalistic principles.

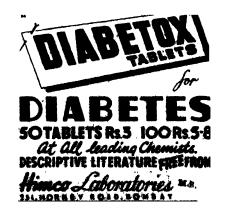
In 1914, just before the first World War, a new organisation was founded with socialistic principles. founders were Dutchmen and the new organisation was called Indische Social Democratische Vereeniging (East Indies Social Democratic Association). At the beginning only our intelligentsia joined this new movement, because our masses were just in the infant period of politics. Nevertheless the nationalistic ideal which had so far urged us for the attainment of national independence, from that moment onwards, gradually, took over to it more democratic and socialistic ideals. On account of these new political and ideological developments in our country a new period was ushered in the history of our national and massmovements.

World War I was raging in the West. In Russia the revolution broke out in the year 1917. The Russian masses smashed the power of imperialism and established a people's Government. In the same year of the Russian revolution the Communist Party of Indonesia was born.

The historic year 1917 paved the way to a Russian victory in the class-struggle against imperialism and found

an echo everywhere in the world.

The cycs of our people were opened. New forms and methods of class-struggle have been since then introduced and adopted in our national struggle for independence against Dutch imperialism.



II. THE PERIOD OF 1918-1945

During World War I, Dutch imperfuliam remained neutral. Due to the change in the international political situation and being afraid of losing their rich colony, the Dutch colonialists promised, under the pressure of our national movements, to give more liberties to Indonesians.

A well-known fact of imprialism is that it does not fulfil the promises made by it to improve the lot of the masses. The same happened with the Dutch imperialists. As soon as the dangerous period of 1918 was over, the Dutch rulers forgot the promises made to our people. The promised liberties and reorganised constitutional government in lindonesia for our people materialised merely in the establishment of the so-called "Volksraad" (People's Council). It was nothing else than a bogey institution. More than one-third of the members were niminated by the Dutch and the remaining members were not popularly elected and had absolutely no political power. Political power and administration remained in the hands of the rulers. It was a bitter blow for our national movement and was due to lack of experience. In the meantime repressive measures against the liberties and democratic rights of our people were introduced and increased.

Exploitation, poverty and repressive measures were carried to such heights that they became almost unbearable for our people. A revolution broke out in the year 1926-1927. For two months our heroic people gave resistance to the Dutch rulers and during this period the masses kept power in their own hands. It was the first experience in modern times for our prople to stage an open battle against the Dutch exploiters. After the revolution which failed in the year 1926-27, Dutch terror raged in Indonesia directed against the masses and the national movements,

Several hundreds of the best sons of our country were hunged and several thousands of the best sons and daughters of Indonesia, the flowers of the nation were sent to upper Digul in New Guinea. In this way the Dutch rulers took their revenge against our people who fought for liberty, justice and humanity. The Dutch colonialists tried to break the revolutionary spirit and struggle of our people. but in vain. Despite the horrible terror of the Dutch colonialists the struggle for freedom went on. In Europe, especially in the Netherlands, our students were very active. In the Netherlands Indonesian students had their own organisation the Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Association.) Originally established as a cultural and social organisation, the Indonesian Association turned over into a political national organisation and formed the nucleus of a struggle for our masses outside our country. It had close contact with the national movements and masses in Indonesia who were forced by the rulers to work underground in our struggle for national independence. In Holland Dutch imperialists took revenge against our students. Indonesians were arrested and their houses searched and raided.

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The Indonesian students' prosecution took place in the year 1928. Dutch imperialists accused the Perhimpunan Indonesia of having the aim of overthrowing the Dutch government! Lies of imperialism are well known facts in history. After detaining them for six months the Dutch government was forced to release the Indonesian students, because nothing could be proved against them.

No concentration camps, death sentences and white terror could break the will of our people fighting for a

iust cause.

In 1934, despite the work of Dutch agents in Indonesia, a revolt broke out among the crew of the Dutch cruiser, the Seven Provinces. Under the leadership of the Indonesians, with the co-operation of the Dutch hands, the crew bound their officers, took the command of the cruiser into their own hands and raised the red flag. That was a blow on the face of the Dutch rulers. Never in their history, had the Dutch capitalists experienced this. Before they were finally killed in battle, the crew were for two

days the masters of the cruiser.

(The blood which our people shed on the battlefield for freedom bears fruit on the soil of our country). The Dutch colonialists claim in their propaganda to the outside world that there is "quiet" everywhere in Indonesia. The frequent uprisings among the peasants, during this period, are facts which the Dutch rulers cannot deny. No amount of censorship, terror, etc., against our masses and national movements from the Dutch side can bring our people to their knees. We will not bow to the Dutch who are trying to deceive general opinion abroad with their slanderous propaganda, concerning our people, national movements and country.

The cowardly and treacherous policy of imperialism was demonstrated again when the autocratic Dutch government in Indonesia collapsed without resistance in the year 1942 at the time of the Japanese invasion. They fled with their entire belongings. These gentlemen left our people and country helpless and defenceless against the Japanese invader. Our people however despite lack of armaments and under the most difficult circumstances defended our country against the Japanese invader. The struggle for national independence went on during this period.

Not less than three millions were killed by the Japanese and four millions more were crippled during our

resistance movement against foreign invasion.

Immediately after the surrender of the Japanese our people disarmed the Japanese invaders and proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia in August, 1945.

III. THE PERIOD OF 1945-TILL PRESENT DATE

After the proclamation of our Republic a new danger is threatening our people and country. The former Dutch

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rulers with the help of their British and American friends have been able to despatch to Indonesia well-equipped troops to fight our Republic and people. Readers are informed by our Merdeka news of what has been going on during the existence of our Republic. The Dutch colonialists wish to regain their power of pre-war days and launch a colonial war against our Republic.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations between our Republic and the Dutch one thing is certain, that our people will defend our Republic and country with their lives against the Dutch colonialists to achieve full national independence, democracy, peace and prosperity. In building up a happy and prosperous Indonesia, let our people and leaders take lessons from the past and present,



Women's Awakening in Indonesia

Dr. Mrs. Soekanto writes in Merdeka, May, 1948:

With the birth of the National Movement in Indonesia 40 years ago, the necessity of giving better education to Indonesian girls was also felt. Hitherto, the task of Indonesian women had been to take care of the household and their children. In spite of the fact that women were often treated by their husbands as mere servants, getting married was then considered to be a great privilege. R. A. Kartini, a daughter of the Regent of Japara, was the first Indonesian woman who realised that better education must be given to Indonesian girls in order to improve the position of Indonesian women. She started a model institution for Indonesian girls, thus paving the way for the Indonesian women's awakening.

After her demise in 1905, several local Indonesian Women's Organisations came into being. Though they were only housewifery organisations, yet, at that time, it was a remarkable progress towards women's emancipation.

Now Indonesian women could hold their own meetings, speak in public as did the men. Then, several women organisations aiming at improving the position of Indonesian women grew gradually. In 1912, several national elementary schools for girls, known as 'Kartini Schools' were established. Though most of them did not go beyond the elementary schools, more and more girls went to school.

After the first great war, gradually more and more girls attended secondary schools. But it was still uncom-

mon for a girl to go to college.

An American lady, who was in Indonesia in 1925 and returned to Indonesia 10 years later, could hardly believe the great change that had taken place during the intervening period. It was not strange any more for a girl to go to college. Now they were as keen as hoys in studying law, medicine, teaching, etc. They even went abroad for higher studies—all alone. The lady would even he more surprised if she could see the present Indonesian women.

After the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesian women have become much more advanced. This can be attributed to the favourable conditions created by the Republic and the change that has taken place in the minds of the parents who used to object to their

daughters going out freely. Now, the parents allow their daughters to go everywhere to help the villagers, teaching the people to read and write and about hygiene, and supplying them information on important current events. During the fighting against the Dutch, the nurses risked their lives at the front in order to lessen the pain and the burdens of wounded soldiers. As in the new constitution of the Republic of Indonesia it is already provided that women have the same rights as men, women's organisations are no more at present fighting for the right of equality with men, but for making women conscious of their task as good citizens of the new Republic.

Now, there is no more objection to women taking to any profession. It depends entirely upon their ability. There have been women ministers in the Republica. There are women representatives in the Republican Provisional Parliament and local Councils, though the number of educated women is much smaller than that of educated

men.

It is a common thing now to see girls, even married women working in offices. They are happy doing work for the Republic. The young Republic with a high percentage of illiteracy cannot afford to let educated citizens do nothing. At least educated women can utilize their knowledge in teaching others who have been deprived of the opportunity of acquiring the arts of writing and reading. For this purpose they collect neighbouring women three times a week for an hour's course each time. This course is called the 'A.B.C. Course' and usually takes three months to complete. This course enables women to acquire the elements of reading and writing. Of course, much depends upon their practice in order to be able to read simple books and newspapers, and thus inform themselves of the outside world. The more advanced the women are. the lower is the rate of polygamy. Polygamy has not yet been abolished in Indonesia because its abolition goes against the Islamic religion. Some women organisations have fought for it, though without good success. But it is proved now that by educating the people, women will achieve what they want. Indonesian women are helping to build up the country. They have fought for a better position and are fighting for the benefit of all, towards happy and prosperous, independent and sovereign Republic of Indonesia.

THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: Sophia Wadia

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THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER



1948

Vol. LXXXIV, No. 3

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NOTES

The First Year of Freedom

The year has passed and it is time now for taking stock as to where we stand. The position to-day is more perilous than any of us imagined that it would be a year ago. There is no need to indulge in useless recriminations. But we have to understand the nature of the dangers that are before us first and then to survey the year in retrospect.

Our foreign relations to-day are as indeterminate as it was a year ago. This is due in the main to the rapid deterioration in World Politics, especially in Europe, and partially due to our own inexperience. Our Ambassadors and plenipotentiaries abroad have not yet been able to make any impress in the highly technical sphere of diplomacy, and on the few occasions where there has been any definite pronouncement of policy by our diplomats abroad, the effects have not been to our advantage. It is plain that as yet the novices that have been sent out, have not acquired the skill and judgment necessary.

Kashmir and Hyderabad are now major sources of danger to the State. The public is puszled at the turn of affairs and there is considerable uneasiness about the way the problems of the defence of the Ladian Union is being tackled. It is plain to all that mental is mounting between the two dominions and also that, as before, the initiative lies with Pakistan, whether it be due to our own errors of omission and commission, or to superiority in tactics on their part. Our intelligence departments do not seem to be functioning effectively where Pakistan is concerned. In Interested apprehension about foreign intrigue and the imponderables in the inter-party relationships in the Congress seem to have brought all action to a half.

draids the Union inflation is still going up in a steam entral. Unless some means are found hoon to

combat the forces that are inducing it, the economic collapse of the State may compel it to bow down before foreign dictation. Corruption and inefficiency in the government departments, accentuated by the money-bags of the black-marketeer and the tax-evader, have made it exceedingly difficult for the Government to take any action. Further the disastious experiments in decontrol have brought the smuggler into the game of economic destruction.

The Union stands to-day between the Devil and the Deep-sea. On one hand is Big-Business, totally devoid of any conscience or scruple, intent on filling its bags with illicit money, though the State may be destroyed thereby or its people brought into destitution. On the other hand is the fifth-column of the foreigner whose hands are being strengthened by the corrupt official and the complacent minister with his pets of the black-market. The common-man's hands are itching to put a rope round the neck of the black-marketeering millionaire and it is quit on the cards that the reactionary and the disruptionist might let loose mighty forces of lawles-ness under the plea of forcing the government's hands. The internal situation in the Indian Union is much worse to-day, thanks, to inefficiency, angle-track thinking and self-opiniontedness of those who have been placed in power by us. The bogey of communalism deranged the rainds of the "High-command" to a totally unconsciousble degree, vitating appointments, orders and administration. both at the centre and in the provinces.

The completency and a long-holiday mentality at the centre, that prevailed for a long period before the lotus-eaters of Delhi were radely awakened by one cataelysmic shock after another was responsible for most of our wees. We have to lace reality new, also there would be disserted.

A Year in Retrospect

Students of affairs, Indian and foreign, have come to the definite opinion that the consequences of the division of India into two States might have been worse than what these have been. They have been witnesses to the madness of popular frensy to the uprooting of millions from their ancestral homes. These two factors have coloured the life and conduct of four hundred million human beings, left scars on their hearts. The New York Times represented this feeling when it wrote its editorial entitled "Year of Independence."

"From the blood, terror and bitterness of those early months, India and Pakistan have rebounded to an extent not thought possible a year ago when Britain relinquished her centuries-old hold on her greatest possession."

Nursed under Pax Britannica we have not been prepared for the "harder way" in which freedom's lessons have to be learnt. Though the "architect" of this freedom of ours has been trying to discipline us to this, we have failed to rise up to his minimum expectations and in the result have demonstrated that under the veneer of an ancient culture what beastliness and fanaticism can lurk.

But there is something in human nature that has refused to accept defeat at the hands of this destructive impulse in us implanted there by Nature. And we are as sure as we believe in salvation that human nature in India will re-build out of the wrecks some values that will contribute to the enrichment of life in the modern world. That process has already started, and out of the many crudities and immaturities in the plans in this behalf, out of many failures in human spirit, there have been emerging signs and marks that something of enduring worth is being attempted. Success or failure as in the hands of an Intelligence that is not amenable to our control and direction. This has been the lesson of the ancient wisdom that the seers and prophets of our race have been trying to inculcate in us, and this lesson in detachment has, it has been asserted, seen us through the many crises of our people's life. It will help us during the present age also.

Forces, conscious and unconscious, influences, personal and impersonal, dictates of an alien State and national policy, have been trying to mould men and women of India into fit instruments for giving shape to modern values. The education that the British had introduced into our country created ideas that were condemnatory, implied or expressed, of India's social polity. This education helped to create a new "basic race", recruited from every stratum of social life, that came in the fulness of time, after a discipleship of a hundred years, to challenge and threaten British hegemeny over India. From Ram Mohun Roy to Mohandas Karamehand Gandhi generations of men and women have been striving to re-greate conditions in India that would recapture the initiative for moulding the India of the Free, secured of her dignity as one of

the standard-bearers of modern divilisation. Indianalism since the days of Plassey has consciously and unconsciously worked through Mir Kasim and Nanda Kumar, through the failure of the Markettas and the 1857 Reveit through Hindu and Muslim revivalism, through the Brahmo Samai, the Arya Samai and the Ramakrishna Mission, to prepare the ground on which to plant and establish what happened on August 15, 1947.

The last twenty-seven years of this period, since Gandhiji emerged into leadership of our National Movement, have been characterized by a new spirit of "do and dare," of a conscious attempt to sow the seedplots of a healthier, simpler and humaner national lifeself-reliant but unaggressive, rooted in honest labour but disdaining to exploit the labour of others. Through successes and failures, our people has responded to Gandhiji's call for this new pattern of human thought and conduct, and his successors in the leadership of the Indian people would have to justify themselves by the way they make the attempt to give trial to his programmes of reform and re-construction under the auspices of the National Government which they control. In the appraisement of their activities in this behalf during these twelve months, there is the danger that we may minimize the conditions of disruption that were created by the technique of division of an undivided integrity into the State of the Indian Union and the State of Pakistan. This operation imparted a shock that unbalanced human nature in India which expressed itself in the carnage that has upset the social economy of the country; ten millions of "refugees" took "every ounce of the energy" of States which had hardly any spare moment to collect themselves for a long-range attempt to give concrete shape to Gandhiji's plans and Pakistani dreams. It is, therefore, that we find them erecting tents instead of building houses. This one fact high-lights the stupendousness of the

The frustration created thereby had a disastrous effect on the morality of Pakistan; it was driven to launch an attack on Kashmir with a view to divert the fury of their nationals, unready, body and mind, to shoulder the new responsibilities of a free State, on their neighbours. We do not propose to discuss the contribution of the British imperialist towards poisoning relations between the two States. Human nature being what it is, allowance may be conceded if in their frustration created by the British Government's policy of evacuation from irresponsible authority over the State in India, they were tempted to nurse and encourage the designs of Pakistani fanatics on the territories of the Indian Union, But in the ultimate analysis. it will be found that the campaign of hatred which the Muslim League had been preaching since 1927 could not have worked its way logically except through the bloody path of the Punjah and the Kashmir adventures. The recognition of this factor in Indo-Pakistan relation will enable us to understand the gentain and progress of the Rudgeshad motogite as well. Tex-Dodging

During the year under review, tax-dodging has remained as acute a problem as ever. The latest development in this matter has been that the very same Finance Minister, Mr. S. Chetty, who had condemned this mal-practice in severe terms in his Budget Speech, had to relinquish his office because of mishandling the cases involving the greatest of the tax-dodgers. The Income Investigation Commission has, properly speaking, not yet started work. After the Chetty incident, it has been revealed that a group of 153 cases of suspected tax-dodging have been handed over to the Commission for investigation. The existing Income-tax law requires amendment in many matters in order to tighten up the loopholes through which the tax-dodgers make good their escape. Fortunately, this has been done and the Income Tax and Business Profits Tax (Amendment) Bill and the Income Tax Investigation Commission (Amendment) Bill have been passed by the Indian Parliament. The Income Tax and Business Profits (Amendment) Bill incorporates the amendments suggested by the Income Tax Investigation Commission. The Investigation Commission, appointed about the end of 1947, was asked to investigate and report to the Central Government on all matters relating to the taxation of income, with particular reference to extent to which the existing law relating to procedure for the assessment and collection of such taxes was adequate to prevent evasion. Soon after their appointment, the Commission addressed themselves to the task of examining the state of the law in so far as it acted as an encouragement to the tax-evader. During the debate on the Bill in the Parliament, the Acting Finance Minister said that it was anticipated-as a matter of fact it was suggested by the Commissionthat the measure should be passed into law during the last session. When the measure came up, the previous Finance Minister was expected to make a motion for taking the Bill into consideration straight away, but as a result of an amendment moved, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee. When the Report of the Select Committee was ready, it was found that so far as the main provisions of the Bill were concerned, the Select Committee had approved them and if they had made any amendments anywhere they had not touched the underlying principles of the provisions to which the mover of the amendment had referred. Therefore the delay was unnecessary as the matter was of urgency. But, of course, such moves were only to be expected. When the present Bill came up for debate on Aument 30 last, opposition came from those capitalis groups which were most concerned in the prevention of the passage of such active measures. www. stated that "the Bill gave wide powers the Department which had not been recom-Marie eren by the insuran Tax Strangestion

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Commission." The honourable member opposing the Bill invoked an assurance given by Sir James Grigg several years ago to the effect that junior officers would not be given the power to reopen cases of assessment. The member seemed to be very much alarmed about this feature in the Bill which the whole country considers as vitally necessary and important. An investigation would certainly reveal that assessments in many cases have been closed on considerations other than that of the welfare of the State and a reopening of them would make futile, costly efforts made in the past for closing them. It is a fact that assessees resorted to all kinds of underhand practices for evading taxation, and the bigger the assessee the more the malpractice. Referring to the Indian States, the Finance Minister stated that they had been the paradisc for black-marketeers and tax-dodgers in the past. In the new order, however, he hoped there would be a better degree of co-operation in respect of income-tax and that shameful chapter would be closed. The Bill even now remains defective inasmuch as it has not taken all the malpractices resorted to by Managing Agents into consideration. The practice of spiriting away production figures by not entering transactions in the Company Accounts under Managing Agencies has become widespread and a menace equally to the shareholder and the State. A drastic amendment of the Indian Companies Act should immediately be undertaken. It is necessary for tightening up the maintenance of Company Accounts specially under Managing Agents. The present Companies Act does not protect the rights of the State and the sharcholder to a sufficient extent. The British Companies Act have been drastically amended and the new law has come into force since July last. The maintenance of branch accounts, production figures and accounts and their audit should be made as rigorous as under the British law. The present practice of indulging in speculation by public companies, dealing in transactions of millions of rupees by companies whose share capital amounts to a few thousands and liquidation of companies with a view to tax-dodging should be prevented.

Development Projects

The first year of freedom has been a year of preparations and perfecting of development schemes in the Works, Mines and Power Ministry of the Government of India. The projects of the Ministry being long-term ones, the results of its work cannot be judged within a year. It san be said, however, that in respect of its major activities, namely, the great river valley projects, the rationalisaiton of the production and distribution of electricity, the promotion of a positive mineral policy, the expansion of the Indian Geological Survey and the vast building and town-planning schemes, the stage has been set for what promises to be very useful work in the near future,

For the period proved to be also the seed-time of India's great river settemes. Never before had the soundry been so multipurpose project-minded. Not

merely that Government had under contemplation and investigation a number of river development schemes, but they actually made a start by sanctioning two mammoth schemes, namely, Damodar and Hirakud Dam projects, estimated to cost in all Rs. 103 crores. After mature deliberation the Damodar Valley Corporation has been set up, the Tilaiya and the Konar Dam projects on the Damodar river being already ripe for execution. Work on the Hirakud Dam on the Mahanadi has started from April 12, when the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, laid the first concrete on the site at Sambalpur. Several other schemes of this nature are being investigated, the most important amongst them being the development of the Kosi, Narbada and Assam rivers.

When India was partitioned the bulk of the magnificent irrigation works of the country were found to lie in Pakistan territory. Out of the total of 400,000 cubic feet per second of water carried by the canals of undivided India, nearly one-half is now carried by the canals of Pakistan. Of the total of 70 million acres irrigated by the State-controlled canals, about one-third lies in Pakistan. Still India is found to be better placed than ever in respect of overall water resources and power potential. It is meanwhile realised that while a project conceived for a single purpose like irrigation or flood control might not be an economic proposition, it might become a financially feasible and productive scheme if it included other purposes like power generation, navigation, etc. This constitutes the rationale of a multipurpose scheme.

The Damodar Valley project, originally estimated to cost about Rs. 55 crores, is a typical example of the multi-purpose scheme. The original and most important object of the proposal is to find some means of saving the lower reaches of the river valley in West Bengal from the ravages of floods. There is an urgent need to control the floods of the Damodar which have caused great damage to the rice-fields of Burdwan and threatened even the safety of Calcutta. Mere flood control would, however, be an uneconomic proposition. But the scheme, as it is planned, will, when completed, irrigate about 763,800 acres of land in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Hooghly and Howrah and supply power to the extent of 200,000 kw. in addition to 150,000 kw. of thermal power to be installed in the region as part of the project. As all this power is to be generated in a region containing rich mineral deposits and high industrial potential, it may be consumed by the industries rising in them (i.e., in South Bihar and South-West Bengal) and be also available for the interprovincial electric grid which is contemplated. addition, it is intended to lead a navigation canal from the Damodar near Durgapur to the Hooghly at Raghunathpur. This canal would serve as a useful diversion for goods traffic from the railway line in that area, and will, besides, be continually flushing the estuary and rendering the Hooghly navigable.

The Hirakud project, which is part of a vaster

scheme involving the training of the river at three different points, will consist of a three-mile long dam constructed across the river about 9 miles upstream of the town of Sambalpur with gravity and lift canals on either side and two hydro-electric installations. It is expected that the project, which is to have a flood absorption capacity of 5.3 million acre feet, will extend irrigation facilities to about 1.1 million acres of land in Sambalpur and Sonepur, yield a total installed capacity of 350,000 kw. and in addition render the Mahanadi a navigable waterway with possibilities further development with the construction of a second dam either at Tikerpara or Naraj. In view of the immense possibilities of the Mahanadi Valley Scheme, Orissa has already come to be called the Ukraine of India, even as the Damodar Valley is described popularly as the Ruhr of this country.

Equally important to the future of this country are the twin projects in East Punjab, namely, the Nangal Barrage and Bhakra Dam schemes, which will depend to a great extent on financial aid from the Government of India. Work on these projects, temporarily suspended as a result of the emigration of the bulk of the workers to Pakistan, has recommenced and is in full swing.

A number of other river valley projects are also now in various stages of investigation. These include the Kosi Dam project in Nepal and Bihar, the Tikerpara and Naraj dam projects on the Mahanadi and the Muchkand project in Orissa, the Narbada-Tapti and Sabarmati Valley projects in C. P. and Bombay, the Indravati project in Bastar, the Chambal and Sons Valley in U. O. and Central India States, the Dochi scheme in Patiala, the Mor project in West Bengal, the Dihang, Manas and Baharuli and other tributary stream projects in the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam; the Rihand, the Napar Dam and the Ganga Barrage projects in the U. P., the Rampadsagar and Tungabhadra projects in Madras and the Koyana Valley scheme of Maharashtra. The total power generation on the projects already under investigation may come up to 41 million k.w. and the area under irrigation about 20million acres.

The enactment of the Electricity (Supply) Bill in the current session of the Constituent Assembly willbring to fruition the efforts of the Ministry to rationalise the production and supply of electricity and to evolve measures conducive to the electrical development of India. Taking the cue from the National Planning Committee which was set up in 1940 under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Electricity (Supply) Bill provides for the establishment of quasi-autonomous Boards with adequate powers to effect the rationalisation of electricity on the "grid" principle. These Boards will co-ordinate and stimulate electrical development and will effect a form of financial control over commercially owned undertakings which, while assuring the investor of an adequate return and industry of adequate capital, will, at that

same time, benefit the consumer by reducing the cost of generating electric power. The Central Electricity Authority which the Bill sets up will tender expert advice on all questions dealing with development projects and will also exercise arbitral functions in technical disputes which may arise between a Board and a licensee.

The Ministry of Works, Mines and Power has also planned to expand the Geological Survey of India to more than 5 times its pre-war cadre. The purpose of the expansion is to conduct extensive as well as intensive survey for minerals with the help of modern instruments and methods.

The sections which have recently been created in the Geological Survey of India for the purpose are the Geophysical Section, the Drilling Section, the Mineral Development Section and the Rare Minerals Section.

A Year of High Prices

The economic picture, as revealed by the General Purpose Index Numbers in the price trends of commodities, has been disturbing in the extreme. The inflationary spiral has taken several more turns upwards. The chase behind the price-level has continued unabated. Steep upward trend in the Index Number of articles, specially of food and vital necessities, have taken place. The cost of living has gone beyond the family budget of not only the common man, but even of the upper middle class as well. Economic distress in the country has been widespread and deep. The rise in the general index has been as much as 80 points between August, 1947, and June, 1948. Food articles have risen from 297.8 in August, 1947 to 377 in June, 1948. Prices of manufactured articles have risen from 280.2 to 366.6 for the same period, thus registering an increase of 86.4 points.

The steep rise has been attributed to the decontrol policy of the Government. Public had been irritated through the vexatious restrictions due to control which was thoroughly unplanned, and was worked with an unnecessary rigour. Removal of controls was therefore the popular demand and was fully backed by Mahatma Gandhi. The Government adopted the policy of decontrol but did nothing to check the cornering propensity of the capitalists and war-profiteers who have amassed enormous quantities of liquid cash through profiteering and tax-dodging. The policy of decontrol, in order to be successful, should have been coupled with a liberal policy of import and a rigid and incorruptible machinery for tracing and preventing cornering operations at their sources. Again, the policy of decontrol was a half-hearted measure. In cloth, rationing was abolished but the inter-provincial movement of cloth and provincial imports, the two vicious sources for keeping the market tight, remained. Restrictions on waggon allotments further helped the prefiteers in maintaining short supply in the markets of their choice. Smuggling of cloth through Bombay, East Punjab and West Bengal became rampant and while the Indian people went half-naked for want of cloth, Indian cloth could find its way to China and Arabia through the ports of Pakistan. Government of India's policy of control failed because it was operated through a thoroughly inefficient and corrupt administrative machinery and decontrol failed because it was half-hoarted, short-sighted and unplanned. While a small group of the blood-sucking multi-millionaires at the top equipped with two of the greatest engines of exploitation, viz., the Managing Agency and Group Banks control the nations finance and industry no liberal economic policy can in fact, ever succeed in this country.

An Industries Conference was held in December, 1947, at New Delhi, under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. P. Mookerice, Minister of Industry and Supply, which considered the many problems that beset the Indian industry. An Economic Sub-Committee of the A.-I. C. C., had also been formed with Pandit Nehru as Chairman which formulated the Congress Economic policy and advocated the abolition of the Managing Agency system as soon as possible. The Industries Conference emphasised the need for regulation of raw materials in short supply, for solving transport by rigorous planning and ending labour unrest through conciliatory measures. An industrial truce was concluded during that session for eliminating labour unrest. The truce has been violated in some cases but as the country is no longer in a mood to encourage stoppage of work on production, strikes have been continually and steadily on the decrease. The industrialists sought a clear declaration of the industrial policy of the Government. In early April, the Government of India released their resolution on Industrial policy which was adopted by the Indian Parliament on April 8, 1948. The official Industrial policy was well-received by the industrial circles because it removed two of their most outstanding fears in declaring that no immediate nationalisation of industries would be made and remaining silent about the demand for the abolition of the Managing Agency system. The principal objective of this great concession has remained unfulfilled; increase in production has not taken place. The industrialists, on the contrary. have taken the liberalism of the Government as its weakness and have succeeded in frustrating the Government's main purpose in the resolution.

The present distress of the vast masses of our countrymen can be removed only through larger industrial and agricultural production. The Industries Department, unfortunately, has failed to demonstrate the amount of determination and drive that the Agricultural Department of the Government of India is showing. We admit that the task of the former is bigger and more complex, but what pains us most is that not even a planned beginning has been made. The Industries Department is still a helpless victim in the hands of the war-profiteers and black-marketeers.

Corruption

Corruption in the administrative machinery has been as rampant as ever before, rather, during the past

year, it shows definite signs of increase. Nepotism and favouritism in appointments and supercession on the above considerations in ordering promotion have become sources of grave danger for the nation. Maintenance of integrity and efficiency of our public administration, without which no State can be built up or run successfully, has become truly a Herculean task. There has been more than enough talk about corruption in administration but little has been done to eradicate this evil. Indeed, during very recent months, a tendency has developed for getting rid of "uncomfortable" elements in the administration who refuse to fall in line with their corrupt superiors and sometimes try to expose them. Corruption is a case of moral turpitude and when an employee's immediate superior is suspected of corrupt practice, the employee under him must be given opportunity to report to higher authorities or even to the rolice. Unless the employee is protected in this endeavour, it will be wellnigh impossible to root out corruption. Unfortunately cases have come to light where efforts of employees to stand against their corrupt superiors have not met with the requisite encouragement and even dismissals of such employees have taken place. The Civil Supply Employees of West Bengal, in a recent Press Conference, revealed the startling fact that their effort to root out corruption from this festering hotbed of corruption has roused great resentment against them higher up in the bureaucratic and Ministerial ladder, and more than a dozon employees have been discharged for the "crime of combating corruption."

A still more worse instance has come from the Shipping Office at Calcutta under the Commerce Department of the Government of India. This office is under the charge of a Shipping Master whose main functions are to look into the interests of the Indian scamen who come under the purview of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act and to act as disbursing officer in the transactions taking place between the Indian seamen and the Masters or Agents of the different seagoing vessels who employ them. During the war, seamen engaged by Agents were sanctioned various allowances which amounted more or less to five times their wages. This huge sum was deposited, on account of those seamen engaged through the Calcutta Port, with the Shipping Master, Calcutta, by the various owners and agents of ships. The decision of the Government of India was that the amount so deposited with the Government would become payable to the respective seamen on the cessation of hostilities. The total amount thus deposited with the Shipping Master amounted to nearly Rs. 2 crores. After the official declaration made by the Government of India declaring cessation of war, disbursement of this money on claims by seamen has been going on. These deposits are known as post-war-credit deposits. Allegations appeared in the Calcutta daily Bharat to the effect that a group of officers have been misappropriating large sums of money out of these deposits on false and finitious

vouchers. After partition, many of the seamen have left for Pakistan, some have died and some remain untraced. It is therefore not much difficult to draw money in their name on production of false vouchers. Mushroom trade unions have come into being and they are also drawing large amounts in league with the officials. It was alleged by the same newspaper that a Muslim office-bearer of some of the Seamen's Trade Unions was freely allowed to draw heavy sums through cheques issued in his favour by the Shipping Master without production of any legal authority in the form of power of attorney or other authority to receive payment. The disclosures were followed by a search of the Shipping Office by the Special Police of the Government of India posted in Calcutta, An Under-Secretary of the Commerce Department also came down for investigation but the said newspaper, in a later comment, pointed out that this was the same official who had made previous inspections of that office, while the alleged fraud was going on. The persons against whom the serious allegations had been made were all familiar with him and no better results could be expected out of an investigation made by this particular functionary. Somebody else, not familiar with that group, should have been sent down. The result was exactly as anticipated. Nothing has since been heard of, either about the police investigation or the starting of any legal proceedings; instead, two employees on the audit staff, possibly suspected of having let out the uncomfortable information, have been discharged without assigning any reason. We wonder, how the Government of India expect to stamp out corruption if things like this happen under their own nose. We draw the special attention of Mr. K. C. Neogy to this affair and request him to go personally into this case. We strongly believe that an impartial enquiry by a reliable officer will reveal startling instances of long-standing corrupt practices in the Calcutta Shipping Office.

The most curious obstacle on the way of the anti-corruption drive of the Government of India has been the legal fineries in some of the judgments of the Criminal Bench of the Calcutta High Court, where the The latest judg-Law has moved inscrutably. ments in two serious cases of corruption have infused a good deal of encouragement in the hearts of those who are out to make money by cheating the Government and the society. In many recent judgments, the fundamental doctrine that "justice should not only be done but it must appear to have been done"-has been sadly violated. The judgments have led the public to believe that the judges were more keen on the niceties of the law than on justice. Some of the judgments have also come in for trenchant criticism in the daily press. It appears that a judgment in corruption cases has become one of belief, and not an attempt to get at the truth by weighing evidence on the balance of judgment. We must not forget that the accused persons in the corruption cases are men

of great resources. They get expert advice and help of lawyers, police, accountants and auditors at the time of planning and committing the crime and obtain the services of the highest luminaries of the bar to defend. them. If under such circumstances, through the vagaries or loopholes of law the "Benefit of Doubt" under the Criminal Procedure Code, which was devised for protecting an illiterate victim of police excess, is extended to the resourceful master criminals accused of corruption, trial of corruption cases is bound to degenerate into one of farce as has been actually happening. Unless terror is struck in the heart of hearts of those planning for crimes of corruption, this evil can never be rooted out. Drastic changes in the Criminal Procedure Code must be made and it is high time that the Government of India paid attention to it.

Communications

During the past one year communications have shown some signs of improvement but in many respects serious deficiencies have persisted. Postal services have definitely improved at least in the matter of reducing the inordinate length of time that was being required in delivering letters. Telegraphs have shown some improvement, now they occasionally reach the destination before letters. Telephones, however, still remain in a hopeless position. Delay in getting connections, frequency of wrong connections, disconnections in the midst of conversation, and discrepancy between calls made and calls registered in the Bill still persist. It appears that there is nobody to look after this section of Communications, which in the present day, is the most costly and the most important.

In land transport, timely running of trains has been restored to an appreciable extent. Number of trains in many sections have been increased and the attempt for improving the suburban railway service is appreciated. But congestion in third class accommodation still remains as severe as ever and little sign of improving the terrible travelling conditions in the third class, which is the main source of railway earnings, is visible. The Silver Arrow has been shown round the country only to placate the third class passengers. Whenever there is any agitation to improve the lot of third class passengers, promises of giving them luxurious coaches fitted with fans and other amenities are poured forth. This attempt to wipe out a real grievance with fictitious promises should now stop and real effort should be made to increase the number of coaches to remove third class congestion. Dangerous travel on footboards, bumpers and the roof can be eliminated only through an appreciable increase in the number of coaches. Shortage of wagons remains as acute as ever. India is now in a position to manufacture both wagons and passenger coaches; we wonder what prevents our Railway authorities from starting manufacture in right earnest here and now.

Corruption in railwys is a menace which is clearly on the increase and practically no effort has been made to remove it. Seizure of smuggled goods from the roof of the lavatories or other portions of the carriage, which required removal of planks and their replacement and repainting, clearly proves that railway officials are closely implicated in the smuggling business. Stoppage of trains in out of the way places by the running staff for the loading or unloading of smuggled goods continues unchecked. The Railway Grain Shops, which cost the tax-payer about Rs. 25 crores a year, remain a great source of corruption and blackmarketing. In the last session of the Indian Parliament, a Committee was appointed to investigate into the Grain Shop corruption but the findings of that Committee have not yet seen the light of the day. Priorities in wagon supply are still as great a scandal as ever.

Motor transport remains in the same old wartime confused position. The bogey of 'no juice' and the maldistribution of petrol has contributed to the maintenance of blackmarket of petrol. A cautious petrol policy could have transferred a large volume of congestion from railways to buses and lorries. With little chance of improvement in the petrol supply, lorries and suburban buses should have been ordered to run on charcoal-gas and the petrol thus saved, diverted to the removal of congestion in city traffic. Instead, we find large allotments of petrol being made to lorries, most of which are employed on the transport of smuggled goods across the frontier. West Bengal is now a frontier province and should have been more cautious. The West Bengal Government have sunk Rs. 50 lakhs on capital expenditure in running State Buses in Calcutta, with the evident object of improving congestion in the city traffic. As soon as State Buses have been on the road, private buses have decreased their number trips. The West Bengul Government explained the position in a Press Note which stated that reduction in bus traffic was inevitable due to petrol shortage and thus indirectly supported the action of the private busowners. In one breath they say that insufficiency in the number of buses is the reason for congestion and therefore half a crore was sunk on purchase of buses, while on the other breath the very same administrators declare that plying of buses must be reduced because there was no petrol.

In shipping and air transport, India shows definite signs of improvement.

Agriculture

Food scarcity in India and our dependence on foreign countries for our food continued during the first year of our independence. The redeeming feature, however, has been that with the appointment of Shri Jairamdas Daulatram as Food Minister, Indian agriculture has just started showing signs of improvement. The "Grow More Food" campaign of the past has been a very costly failure. More than Rs. 30 crores have

been spent on it which seems to have been totally wasted. After passing through "wheatless" and "meatless" days, this costly campaign has landed India in the grip of an "eat less" campaign assisted by statutory rules and regulations. The new Food Minister took over his department from Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a bad condition, but through serious efforts he has succeeded in improving things to an appreciable extent. In an authoritative article published in the new monthly Agricultural Situation in India we are told by the Economic and Statistical Advisor of India that the country is just round the corner and notable improvement has come during the past few months. The rabi crop position has been fairly good.

In the rice-eating areas of the Eastern region, prices have started showing the usual seasonal increase but procurement has generally been good indicating that the over-all position is not bad. In West Bengal rice prices vary between Rs. 13-12 and Rs. 22 per maund and procurement continues to be fairly satisfactory. Total procurement of rice in West Bengal from January to May 22, 1948 has been appreciably better than the corresponding figure for last year. Rice prices continue to be comparatively low in Orissa and vary from Rs. 9-8 to Rs. 13-6 per maund. Procurement has been satisfactory. The position is somewhat different in Bihar. Here rice prices are much higher than anywhere in the Eastern region and vary from Rs. 16 to Rs. 24 per maund. All these references are to mid-July prices.

The C. P. is now the most important surplus province of India and this year it has had good crops. The average price of rice is Rs. 14-3 and the correspanding figures for jowar and wheat are Rs. 10-14-7 and Rs. 29-7-11 respectively. There has been a tendency to rise in prices due to low arrivals. Believing that the Central Government would lift restrictions on the movement of foodgrains outside the province, traders have started hoarding foodgrains. The producers also have been withholding stocks in the hope of getting better prices later on. This has resulted in low arrivals in markets in higher prices and some decline in procurement. To check these tendencies, the C. P. Government has made it clear to the public that restrictions on export of foodgrains outside the province will not be removed. The Provincial Government have also frozen stocks in excess of 2000 maunds in producing areas. To step up procurement the Provincial Government has extended to the Chhattishgarh States (which have recently merged with C. P.) its order requiring the traders to sell to Government 40 per cent of all the rice produced by them.

In the deficit areas of the west and the south, however, the food position has not shown any significant change during May, although the downward trend seems to have been arrested. In Bombay rice prices vary between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 and Bajra prices vary mostly from Rs. 15 and Rs. 21. In the

deficit districts of Madras rice prices lie generally between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30. In order to help these provinces with a view to checking the rise in prices, the Central Government has made available to them in the first half of the year the greater proportion of ceiling import quotas. Thus by the end of May, Madras received 60 per cent of its ceiling import quota. During the same period Bombay received 72 per cent of its ceiling import quota.

The Provincial Governments of the deficit areas have been trying to help the poorer sections of the consumers by opening "relief quota shops." These shops supply a fixed quota to non-producers and partial producers with liberty to supplement it with open market purchases. The restrictive character of rationing is thus avoided while a minimum subsistence quota is assured to the needy. These shops have been popular both in Bombay and Madras. A number of "relief quota shops" have also been opened in Saurashtra. The position of the Government stocks continues to be satisfactory in Madras and this has enabled the Madras Government to increase the overall ration from 8 oz. to 10 oz. per day even under the present disquicting conditions of the province. The rice component of the ration has also been increased from 3 to 5 ozs. since June last.

The improvement in the stock of the deficit provinces has been due to timely imports. The alertness of the present Food Minister has given a good shake-up to the department and thus saved the country from the danger of living from ship to mouth. Great attention has now been paid to improvement in production. The long overdue fertiliser factory, suggested by Dr. Gregory in 1942, is at last going to be established at Sindhri. The only factory that produces fertilisers on a large scale is at present the Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore. The Government of India factory at Sindhri, when completed, will havea productive capacity of seven times that of the Travancore factory. We have been depending too much on external supplies of fertilisers and have been paying exceedingly high prices for them. The quantity imported is not even one-tenth of our barest minimum requirements. The sooner the Sindhri factory begins to produce the better for our agriculture.

Although agriculture is looking up, there is yet room for improvement in the administration of agricultural departments. West Bengal is lagging much behind in this respect. This is probably the only province where an Executive Officer remains at the head of this department as Director of Agriculture. Other provinces have placed agricultural experts in this vital position while in West Bengal a Deputy Magistrate has recently been appointed to this post. We must mention here that the services of the Director of Agriculture of the United Provinces, who is on long furlough, is available for utilisation in Bengal. This Bengali gentleman has done yeoman's service in the improvement of agriculture in U. P. under the

Agricultural Minister, Dr. Katju who is now the Governor of West Bengal. Dr. Katju will be doing a great service to West Bengal if he takes the initiative in securing the services of Mr. De. The Agricultural Department is at present run by people who know nothing of agriculture and it is imperative that an expert with wide experience should be placed at the top. An official machinery becomes effective only when a competent man is placed in charge of its direction.

Foreign Trade

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy, Commerce Minister. Government of India, warned the Export Advisory Council three days before the close of the first year of our independence that there was little room for complacency in spite of reasonable favourable balances. He said that "in order to achieve a higher standard of living for India's teeming millions and in order to pay for imports of capital goods and other machinery required for industrial expansion, we must be prepared to tighten our belts as and where necessary." His predecessor Mr. Bhabha, addressing the same Council on 8th November, 1947 pleaded for a vigorous export drive and wanted a target figure of Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 crores. Mr. Neogy also wants a target figure of Rs. 100 crores for expansion of exports during 1948.

It is apparent that both of our Commerce Ministers have fallen into the same error of looking only at the favourable balance of trade as such. The Special Delhi Correspondent of Commerce most pertinently points out that with millions of sterling locked up in the United Kingdom and with our inability to make use of the few millions of sterling balances released, there is undoubtedly no point in piling up more favourable balances, in the United Kingdom at any rate. Unfortunately, the export policy, as put forward by the Commerce Minister will lead only to this result. It is a well-known truism in economics that unless there are imports, there could be no export over any length of time. Unless a comprehensive policy embracing the whole question of both sides of the foreign trade and internal production be adopted, the present chaos in the economic sphere will continue. Question of increasing the standard of living apart, India is today desperately short of many basic consumer goods. This scarcity can be removed by following a liberal import policy in respect of essential commodities with yearly or halfyearly adjustments to suit increased internal production, if there be any. It is useless to talk of a high standard of living when the sufferings of the masses go on increasing with ever-increasing high prices due to scarcity. Fighting inflation will become easier only when basic necessities become available in the open market. Naturally we should give preference to plant and machinery and import them to whatever extent it is possible to do so and from whatever quarter it is possible to obtain them. It is no use, at this juncture, to shut our eyes to the fact that with the rocketing inflationary spiral in the country and starvation in consumer goods, there is an imperative necessity for importing large quantities of consumer goods. It is only with this weapon that the Government of India can fight the present capitalist-strike that is going on in the money market and the sphere of production.

In order to expand our trade with the U.S.A. it is stated that, after a careful examination, the Government has selected a few dollar-earning items like woodworks, toys, brassware, enamelware, embroidery goods, coir-products, and lae products! One can only gasp at this "expert" advice that the Government of India has received. Even a tyro in economics could have informed the Government that the demand for these articles is not only limited but also elastic and they could never be relied upon to earn the bare minimum of hard currencies needed for import of plant and machinery, etc., from the United States. After partition tea has become the largest single item on our list of export items. Tea is still a British monopoly. The entire tea trade-its, production, packing and sale -remains in British hands. Finland is the largest supplier of tea chests and India the biggest buyer; but India has not yet made any arrangement to purchase tea chests direct from Finland. Half a dozen export firms in Britain take over all the tea chests from Finland on monopoly contract and with a wide margin sell them to us. Our Commerce Department is not only oblivious of this fact, but has issued new quota rules which will further strengthen British Tea Trade in India, at the cost of the Indian Tea Trade, in the second year of our independence. This is only an illustration to show that so far as our foreign trade is oncerned, genuine Indian producers are labouring under several handicaps, most of which the Indian Government can mitigate, if complete removal be not possible at the present moment.

The Year in Pakistan

The new Dominion of Pakistan has paid serious attention to the development of the country. Since its birth, it has entered into an undeclared war with India in Pakistan where its role is becoming increasingly clear. But at the same time it has not lagged much behind in pushing forward with this development project. A general summary of her attempts in the direction of constructive activities has been given by the Karachi correspondent of the Commerce. He writes:

One of the main problems Pakistan had to face immediately after its birth was the problem of food. The Food Ministry of the Dominion, even before it had taken shape, was faced with an acute shortage of rice in East Bengal and, a little later, with an equally acute shortage of wheat in West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. By sheer tactful handling and able co-ordination of resources, Pakistan was saved from having to face starvation deaths. Although the present and the future are not entirely free from food problems, it is noteworthy that the Ministry is fully alive to them and is determined

to solve them satisfactorily, as also to take full advantage of whatever surpluses there might be.

The decontrol of sugar in India created a serious problem, as this Dominion is almost entirely dependent on India for this commodity. Pakistan's production of sugar is limited to 24,000 tons, as against its annual requirement of 2,50,000 tons. The price of sugar in India shot up to Re. 35-7 per maund and even at that price, sugar is not easily available. The Food Ministry has imported 20,000 tons and has placed orders for another 20,000 tons of Cuban and Brazilian sugar. Besides, arrangements for importing a small quantity, not exceeding 5.000 tons of sugar, from India have also been made.

The Statistical Directorate, Ministry of Foed, Agriculture, and Health, made earnest efforts to organise the crop forecast work on a sound hasis from its very inception. It now issues regular forecasts for the benefit of commercial interests in respect of as many as thirteen principal crops grown in Pakistan, such as rice, wheat, barley, gram, cotton, jute, etc. Statistics of the area and yield of the different principal crops have also been compiled on an all-Pakistan basis for the year 1941-42 to 1947-48.

The Directorate, it may be noted, has also arranged to collect information regularly regarding the prices of agricultural commodities prevailing in different units of Pakistan. A fortnightly statement containing over 100 questions relating to as many as 26 commodities is being prepared and circulated to all the Pakistan Ministries, Provincial Governments, and Pakistan Embassics in foreign countries. In addition to this, the preparation of a fortnightly All Pakistan Agricultural Index of the wholesale prices of principal food and agricultural commodities is proceeding apace.

The refugee problem, as it affected this Dominion, was perhaps even more serious in its incidence than that which confronted India, as Pakistan had none of the resources India had for tackling it. But, through an allout effort by the Government and the people, the problem has been tackled to a considerable extent, while concerted efforts are even now being made to rehabilitate the refugees and retain them in the State as useful citizens. It is estimated that Muslim refugees from the three East Punjab districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, and Hoshiarpur alone are some 7.6 lakhs, while the overall figure is about four millions. In the second week of September, 1947, a Refugees Ministry was established for directly tackling this enormous problem and, by the end of the month, it became clear that something even more was necessary. As a result, a Pakistan Punjab Council was set up and one of the first results of this organisation was the planning of a joint military evacuation scheme in co-operation with the M.E.O.'s of both the Dominions. By April, 1948, the majority of the Muslims from East Punjab had been evacuated.

But more than evacuation, it is the work of rehabilitation that is important. As a result of concerted planning, the allocation of the assets left by Hindu evacuees is nearing completion, but the census returns have shown that it has been very difficult to persuade refugees to take up non-agricultural openings west of the Chenab,

where there was very little land belonging to Hindus. Planning is in hand to provide financial and other aid for enabling the refugees to avail themselves of business openings in these areas. The West Punjab Government has set up five committees to explore the possibilities of creating new industries and openings in business, and report to the Refugees Council.

A Central Refugees Advisory Committee for Sind has also been constituted with the Pakistan Minister of Refugees as its Chairman. This Council is a non-official body which is to advise the Central and the Provincial authorities on matters concerning the welfare and rehabilitation of refugees in the Province. Out of a total grant of rupees one crore and fifty lakhs allotted in the Pakistan Budget of 1948-49 for resettlement of refugees, ten lakhs of rupees have been earmarked for Sind.

Of all the communication systems in the Dominion, the railways are the worst hit by the partition. However, the initial hurdles were got over with determined efforts, but the fuel situation remained acute for many months. On account of this, the percentage of train services on the N.-W. Railway had to be reduced to 12 per cent. of the pre-partition services. Various other methods were adopted to combat coal shortage, the most important being the conversion of locomotives from coal to oil-burning. It may be noted in this connection that attempts to import coal from foreign countries have proved successful, and, so far 26,950 tons of American coal and 17,544 tons of U.K. coal have been imported. In addition, arrangements have also been made to import 15,000 tons coal from the U. K. per month to supplement the month's supply of 1,00,000 tons of coal from India.

Schemes of railway expansion are also presently being considered. The Railway Department has already started the survey work in connection with the construction of a new railway line to link Khulna with the East Bengal Railway and the work is expected to be taken in hand soon. The Department has also sanctioned 26 new broad-gauge passenger steam locomotives for the East Bengal Railway, and plans have been prepared for obtaining a few broad-gauge main line passenger-cum-goods diesel electric locomotives for experimental purposes of the Karachi-Lahore section of the North-Western Railway.

Development of ports is also receiving the serious attention of the new State. Ever since the establishment of Pakistan, the development of Chittagong Port, one of the best natural harbours of the world, was a main concern of the Government and, therefore, in order to examine the possibilities of its development on the spot, the Minister for Communications visited Chittagong early this year. After close observations, a three-phase development programme has been prepared. It provides mainly for the extension of jetties, erection of sheds, and the prevision of training walls. The capacity of the port will thus be considerably increased with the completion of this programme by the end of 1948-49.

Finally, a brief reference to forestry development in Pakistan here will be found interesting. Plans are now under consideration of the Government for starting a

Forest Research Institute which would carry on wood and fibre research. As a result of a survey of the Dominion's forest resources, it has been discovered that Eastern Pakistan has sufficient raw material to feed two big paper factories. Plans have also been prepared to plant species of trees required for the match industry in the irrigated plantation areas. In addition, schemes have also been prepared for the exploitation of forests in the Chittagong hill tracts.

Press Laws

The Press Laws Inquiry Committee has submitted its report. Before the Inquiry Committee "generally speaking the witnesses . . . were divided into two camps; one the official group and the other the journalistic group. The former is generally in favour of retention of all the Press Laws." The recent executive tendency has not only been in favour of retention of the very press laws so long cried down as "Black Acts" but they have favoured a further increase in the rigorous provisions of the press law.

Despite, however, official objection, one major reform has been proposed, viz., the repeal of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1933, If this recommendation is accepted, the Government will lose the power of demanding securities from a newspaper and the press that prints it. The Committee rightly says that this Act is one which "does not exist in the laws of progressive countries." Another important consequence of the repeal of this Emergency Powers Act will be loss of governmental power to order forfeiture of a press. The majority of the Committee, however, considers that a Court should have power to close a press temporarily if the law is repeatedly violated. The following is a summary of the other features of the Report as appeared in the Statesman:

The Indian States Protection Acts, 1922 and 1934, have now lost their function, and repeal is recommended; the law of sedition would be amended to cover States which have acceded. The Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, has been stream-lined, mainly at the instance of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference. Despite serious misgivings in some quarters about recent use of the powers of censorship in the Indian Telegraph and Post Office Acts, no change is recommended by the majority; the Committee is content with an exhortation to moderation and proper procedure. Similarly with the Official Secrets Act, 1923. Objection that its application should be confined, recommended at the Geneva Conference, only matters which must remain sccret in the interests of the State is met by pointing out the impracticability of definition; only one prosecution was launched from 1931 to 1946, and the Committee hopes a popular Government will be equally tolcrant. The scope of the Foreign Relations Act, 1932, on the other hand, is proposed to be considerably extended "on a reciprocal basis to protect heads of Foreign States, Foreign Governments and their diplomatic representatives from defamatory attacks and to prevent the circulation of false or distorted reports likely to injure India's friendly relations with foreign States."

Under the Codes, the Committee finds the present law of sedition, as defined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, too wide and agrees with proposals recently made to Government that it should be redrafted, to approximate to British law. Section 153A, I.P.C., should, it thinks, be amended to permit advocacy of social or economic change it not intended or likely to lead to violence. Section 144 Cr. P. C. should not be applied to the Press.

The present Report is a step forward in freeing the Indian press from the chain that kept it bound for more than a century.

Nationalisation of Imperial Bank

Presiding over a general meeting of shareholders of the Imperial Bank of India, Sir Badridas Goenka, Vice-President of the Calcutta Board of the Bank, stated on Monday that the nationalisation of the bank was under consideration of the Government, whose decision would be communicated to the bank in duc course. The Board was carefully watching the position and would apprise shareholders of developments as and when necessary.

The Chairman said that since the Finance Minister's statement of the 4th February, 1948, the question had been fully considered by the Central Board of the bank at its meeting held on the 6th April. It was then resolved that (1) the Government be informed that their proposal to nationalise the bank, while leaving other commercial banks untouched, was regarded as being totally unjustified and unnecessary and representing a dangerous experiment which would-only result in the loss of the bank's present business, which must in turn react to the detriment of the economy of the entire country; (2) that the Board failed to understand why the Imperial Bank of India, which was essentially a commercial bank, should be singled out for nationalisation and what material benefit was expected to accrue to Government, the country and the shareholders from such action; and (3) that the importance of the bank's branches in Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon in ensuring a free flow of trade and promoting good relations between the Dominion of India and those countries be brought to the notice of the Government. A memorandum prepared under the Board's authority setting forth the considerations which had influenced the Board in arriving at their decision was forwarded to the Finance Minister, Government of India.

On the question of Indianisation, Sir Badridas said that the Central Board of the Bank (which consisted of a majority of Indian directors) and the management had the question well before them and considerable progress had been made in this direction. The latest position was that the Bank had 94 Indian officers and 72 European officers. The Government had been requested to arrange for the amendment of the Imperial Bank of India Act to provide for the appointment of an Additional Deputy Managing Director, of which post the first incumbent would be an Indian.

The Chairman said that the situation following

partition and been energetically ackled and remarkable success had been achieved in restoring law and order in the affected areas and in dealing with displaced persons and various of her problems. In so far as the Banks were concerned, their most immediate concern had been the respectation of the Bank's business in West and Paktetan where, owing to the migration of their Edindu staff of India, their business in the West Proposition and the N.-W. F. P. was almost completely analysed, necessitating the closure of 10 branches and Espay offices. Their efforts to re-staff the affected branches and to put their affairs in order, by the tiransfer of volunteers from various parts of India and a lange-scale recruitment of Muslim staff, had met with partial success.

The Chairman continued that the management of the currency and other central banking functions in Pakistan were taken over by the State Bank of Pakistan from the Reserve Bank of India on the 1st July, 1948, on which date the latter bank ceased to operate in that Dominion. At the request of the State Bank, the Imperial Bank of India had entered into an agreement with them for a period of one year from the 1st July, to act as their agents and conduct Government business in Pakistan in the same manner as they were acting for the Reserve Bank of India there. The question of their future relationship with the State Bank would be considered at the end of the year in the light of the conditions then prevailing. "Meanwhile," continued Sir Badridas, "a monetary agreement has been concluded between the two dominions to ensure a smooth flow of funds for inter-Dominion trade. Whatever differences exist between India and Pakistan, there is no gainsaying that each country is vitally dependent on the other where trade is concerned."

We consider nationalisation of the Imperial Bank desirable from a different angle. This Bank has been a bulwark of British vested interests in India. With its extensive organisation in Pakistan, it has now assumed a double role of financing Pakistan's Indian wars and consolidating British vested interests in that new Dominion. The deposits of Indian money in the Imperial Bank will certainly be used to a large extent in the fulfilment of the Bank's abovementioned projects. Pakistan has severed her connections with the Indian Reserve Bank with the establishment of the Pakistan State Bank, but it depends for its finance on Indian deposits through the Imperial Bank by accepting the latter as its business. In India, again, the Imperial Bank enjoys a far more advantageous position than the commercial banks of the country because here also it acts as the Agent of our State Bank where the Reserve Bank has no branches.

Demand for a Purbachala Pradesh

The demand for a Purbachala Pradesh is gaining in momentum and it is high time that this just claim was pressed in the Parliament and Constituent Assembly. The following statement, in this connection, has been issued by Sri Assanga Mohan Dam, ex-M.L.A.:

I have always held the opinion that "Assam" is a misnomer for the North-East Frontier Province of India. The area which is considered to be the seat of Ashamiya culture, does not cover the whole of the geographical region, now called Assam. Recently there has been an ugly demonstration of anti-Bengali (and for the matter of that anti-Indian) feeling sponsored and developed by the leaders of Ashamiya culture.

The creation of an administrative unit based on culture affinity has therefore been a historical necessity. What is Ashamiya culture, pray? The Assamese language is 95 per cent Bengalee. Their script is cent per cent Bengalee and what they called Ashamiya culture, is nothing but the part and parcel of the great Hindu culture which rules Assam, Bengal and the rest of India.

A section of the people of Sylhet (Indian Union) and Cachar thinks of a 'Purbachala Pradesh' consisting of the present district of Cachar, Manipur State. Tripura State and Lushai Hills. I think, it will be wise and strategically important to have a 'Purbachala Pradesh', consisting, in addition to the above areas, of Cooch Behar Saute, Goalpara, Garo Hills and Khasi Hills. The Khasi people being more enlightened will like to be in the company of this culture group. This will cover an area of 39.972 sq. miles with a population of 41,51,344, consisting of 29.39,000 non-Muslims and 12.12.344 Muslims.

This administrative unit will be broad-based on cultural and linguistic homogeneity, which is the main factor in the ideal of human unity.

Considering specially the recent attitude of the Assamese people and Government to the non-Assamese people who constitute more than twice their number in the province, and the recent tendency of the Assamese people to join hands even with Pakistanis in order to evade the just claims of the non-Assamese population, we think the creation of a 'Purbachela Pradesh' as essential for maintaining peace and tranquillity on India's eastern frontier.

Jute in Partitioned India

Partition of India has placed the jute industry of this country in a very peculiar position. The major sources of raw jute have been divorced and segregated from the manufacturing centre. As long as Bengal remained a single unit under one administration, there was little difficulty in procuring raw jute either for manufacture or for export. As a result of the partition, however, the Ludian Union has been left with all the mills but little raw jute, while Pakistan obtained the major jute-growing areas but no mills whatever.

Statistically speaking, Pakistan has obtained through partition, about 71 per cent of the total jute-growing acreage of all India. The Indian Union has been left with barely 29 per cent of the total all-India acreage under jute. But all the jute mills, numbering 104, and baling presses, being situated in and around Calcutta, have remained with the Indian Union. Thus the partition gave rise to a new situation in the jute industry, something like severing the head from the

trunk, and all through the season efforts had to be made persistently by one or the other Dominion to enable the industry, both on the growing and on the manufacturing side, to run its normal course till November 1947. In that month Pakistan violated the Standstill Agreement with the Indian Dominion, according to which it had been agreed that during the period August 1947 and March 1948, the two Dominions were not to instal any trade or customs barrier as between themselves. Pakistan levied an export duty on jute transported across her land frontier. This untlateral action of the Pakistan Government was naturally construed by the Indian Government as a hostile act and for some time, there was a serious talk of some retaliatory measure from the Indian side. Fortunately, for Pakistan, the Government of India finally stayed its hands. It only declared the Dominion of Pakistan to be foreign territory for the purpose of levying customs duty on exports of raw jute and jute manufactures from India to Pakistan and stopped at that. In the last week of May, however, as a result of the Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement signed at Karachi. Pakistan has agreed to supply 50 lakhs of bales of raw jute to the Indian Union annually. In consequence, the prevailing uncertainty about raw jute supply, for the time being at least, has been climinated. It remains to be seen, however, if Pakistan will be in a position to honour its commitment in regard to India, while at the same time, maintaining its jute exports to earn dollars. During this season, low stocks of jute in Pakistan have been reported, but in view of the great productivity of jute in East Bengal and the need of Pakistan to earn both rupees and dollars, it is expected that Pakistan will adjust and regulate its production to meet both the demands. But it will have to meet a formidable difficuity in the continual expansion of acreage under jute in the Indian Union. If Pakistan fails to maintain friendly relations with her neighbour, a proper adjustment of jute in her own dominion may become problematic. It is only natural for the Indian Union to attempt self-sufficiency in respect of jute, and to augment her supply even by means of the introduction of substitutes. A good substitute has been suggested by Shri Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, of which an account is given below

For several years past we have been growing Chukai in our Ashram gardens. It is an elegant shrub which sometimes grows as high as eight feet and above that. The crimson-coloured juicy sepals of the fruit are being cooked as an acid preparation and served in the meals. The peculiar behaviour of this acid preparation is that its beautiful crimson colour at once vanishes when it is mixed with dal. Its fresh leaves are eaten as salad and also cooked as bhan or sag.

It was simply by chance that in trying to twist and break away the stem of a plant in our kitchen garden. I found its green bark to be very strong and unbreakable. It occurred to me that this malvaceous plant possesses a fibre which may be equal to jute. I retted two plants when they were in flower and found the fibre to be much more glossy and stronger than jute. The two plants with their branches yielded eight cunces of fibre about five feet in length. Some time back I submitted a sample through a friend for test, and I have since learnt that the fibre may be regarded as a "jute substitute" according to the laboratory test of the Research Institute of the Indian Jute Mills Association.

This Chukai plant is common in Bengal. It is called Mesta. It is also called Chukair. In some parts of Bengal, particularly in Midnapur and 24-Parganas, the vegetable-growers and the local seed sellers call it Tak-Dhanrash. In Orissa it is known as Kaunia, and in Telugu it is called Gaogaila. In Bilar it is known as Kundrum or Kudiun and Pattua. In winter, the crimson-coloured fruits are seld in the Botthskkhain Bazar, the Bow Bazar, the College Street Market and the other markets of Calcutta.

It is grown as a hedge-plant in Madras, Central Provinces, Bombay and also to some extent in the United Provinces and the Punjab. It is also called Indian Rozelle or Red Sorrel. Its botanical name is Hibiseus Sabdare. The flowers are like that of the ordinary Kapas. The flowers are of very light yellow colour with a dark crimson eye. Its sepals are soft and juicy which are largely eaten in the form of jellies and chutnies. The seeds yield oil which has medicinal properties and is used particularly in frosted feet.

For the purpose of cultivation the seeds may be sown in March-April The plant is very hardy. On account of excessive heat and loss of moisture in the soil, its leaves may wither away but the first shower of rain brings life to the plant. It successfully resists both drought and water-logging. It seems that the areas that are not considered suitable for grewing jute may be well utilized in growing this substitute. It is to be noted that Chukei-fibre is extracted more easily than jute-fibre.

We have this season under cultivation a small patch of land measuring 45 feet in length and 20 feet in width so that a quantitative test may be made both as regards its yield as also its actual spinning and weaving quality. The plants in our Ashram are now about four feet high.

As a potherb the plants are sown about four feet apart and they branch out It is to be seen how the plants fare under close sowing conditions like jute. Our experimental plants are branching out although closely sown. It seems that this behaviour of the plant has got to be controlled.

The peculiar feature of the plant is that it can grow on the high lands of West Bengal and is definitely hardier than jute. It is for the Agricultural Department of the West Bengal Government to follow up this matter. The attention of the Central Gevernment is also drawn to this. The plants may be seen at the Sodepur Ashram of Khadi Pratisthan and the fibre may be seen at the Khadi Pratisthan office, situated at 15 College Souare, Calcutta, and at Sedepur (24-Parganas, West Bengal).

Innocents in Our Central Government

The External Department of the Government of the Indian Union in charge of the Prime Minister issued on the 6th of August last a laboured apologia for the way in which they utilized their knowledge of a top secret of Pakistan's participation in the raid on Kashmir. It appears that the Bits of Bombay featured a front-page article telling the world that Sir George Cunningham, Governor of N.-W. Frontier Province under the Jinnah regime, had written to General Rob Lockhart, the then Commander-in-Chief of Indian Union, a letter, "a private communication," telling him that

"Tribesmen from the frontier were going to infiltrate into Kashmir and that members of the N.-W. Frontier Province Government were actively helping in this; he doubted whether he could stop

The charge of the Blitz was that Sir Rob Lockhart had "deliberately withheld" the information from the Indian Cabinet. The External Departments' communique exonerates Sir Rob by saying that he had "actually" communicated it to other chiefs of the staff. For instance, the then Chief of the General Staff, Major-General Kalwant Singh and the then Director of Military Intelligence, Major-General Thapar, were "perfectly aware of the receipt of the latter and of its general contents;" the communique has further told the world that "it is understood mention was made of it at a meeting of the Defence Committee." The communique also pleads that "it is quite possible that in those anxious early days when the fate of Kashmir hung in the balance this fact was not remembered;" that "in retrospect one might regret that the letter was not preserved"-that the importance of "the first authoritative intimation of impending trouble in Kashmir" was not realized either by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Department or Sardar Baldey Singh's. We are also told that the latter utilized the information only to the extent that it expedited arrangements for the dispatch of arms asked for by the Maharaja's Government.

This episode illustrates again that we are innocents in politics, and that there would be many a tumble and plenty of hard knocks before we find our feet. We hope Kashmir and Hyderabad have driven some sense into the smug mentality of our rulers.

Bihar's Dilemma

We discussed in our August number the shift to which Babu Rajendra Prasad had been driven justify his facit approval of the factice of the Bihar Government in opposing the transfer of Bengali-speaking areas transferred to Bihar in 1912 so that the "baby" province could be nursed into youth. The leaders of Bihar of those days recognized that this could be a temporary measure of help only, and in a statement issued in January, 1912, they took meticulous care to indicate the boundaries of the areas which will return to Bengal when the need for this help was no longer necessary. The present generations of Biharce leaders, Babu Rajendra Prasad not excepting, have forgotten that pledge. They have been doing something more. By acts of administrative discrimination, they have been estranging the feelings of Bengalis in Bihar. These acts were adopted in the name of securing to

Biharces their legitimate share in the economic arrangements of the province. The field of Bengali recruitment to Bihar's administrative services is being progressively narrowed; now has come the turn of industries, factories and mines. In course of an editorial in Harijan (June 27), Shri Kishorelal Mushruwala published a circular letter said to have been issued by the Revenue Department of Bihar to mining concerns in the district of Singhbhum inviting their attention to the necessity of appointing Biharees in non-manual posts; the threat was held that failure to follow this policy would entail the discontinuance of leases. Since then, Kishorelalji has been informed that the circular was not "by the Bihar Government or an authorized body, but by a so-called Joint Committee of officials and non-officials;" Shri Krishnaballav Sahay, Revenue Minister, wrote to him that "according to the information of the Government, no such body, as a matter of fact, exists," Kishorelalji made his "amends" in the issue of the Harijan, dated August 8, 1948. And on the 19th of August appeared a letter over the signature of Shri Akshaya Kumar Das in the daily Hindusthan Standard of Calcutta. The letter is significant for the fact that it contained a circular making enquiries about appointments in industrial or mining concerns-We print it below:

Office of the Inspector of Mica Accounts, Kodarma. Memo No. 936. Dated Jhumri-Telalya, 15th July, 1948. Dear Sir.

I am directed by the Provincial Government to request you to furnish the following information: in the form detailed below at the latest by 25.7.'43. The matter may be treated as most urgent.

1. Name of the industrial or mining concern or its location.

What the concern deals in.

- Number of persons appointed to manual
- Number of persons appointed to non-manual posts under each section.
- Number of Biharces employed-manual.
- Number of Biharces employed-non-manual. Percentage of Biharces as compared to the total number of non-Biharees as employed under head-non-manual.

Yours faithfully, Sd. Illegible Inspector of Mica Accounts, Kodarma.

The purpose of this Circular is plainly to squeeze Biharces into posts that had been hitherto held by non-Biharces or non-Hindi-speaking Biharces. This Circular is not different from what has been denied by Shri Krishnaballav Sahay as having been issued by his Department. It is regarded a new weapon forged by the Bihar Government in its anti-Bengali campaign which has poisoned relations between the two peoples. And the Central Government, appears to be unwilling to remedy this state of things.

The irritation would not have been so intense if Babu Rajendra Prasad and his followers had the honest desire to do the decent thing by the people of the Bengali-speaking areas which were transferred to

Bihar in 1912 and which have been inhabited by Bengalis for the last six hundred years at least. An article published in the Bihar Herald of June 12, 1948, brought out this fact. The writer, Shri Manindra Chandra Ghosh of Bhagalpur, put the matter in true perspective when he wrote:

But the tragedy of the whole affair is that a person—earrying a "Bengali" surname as "Ghosh," "Dutta," "Bandopadhyaya," etc.—must produce the certificate of "domicile" though he is a "native" of the province, whereas a 'Sahai,' a 'Tiwary,' a 'Sinha,' a 'Mishra' coming yesterday from C.P., U.P., or Rajputana would pass for a genuine "Bihari" with impunity. Is an inhabitant of the Manbhoom District or other border tracts which were given to the present province of Bihar after the annulment of the partition of Bengal, "native" of the province or has he become a "stranger" to his homeland overnight by creation of a new province?

The Editor of the Harijan will be able to apprecrate the point of the present agitation with the help of the quotation above. And he should not take at facevalue the brazen statement of Bihar's Education Minister, Shri Badri Nath Varma, that "not less than 70 or 80 per cent of the population of Manbhum is either Hindi-speaking or speaks one or other of the tribal languages, mostly Santal." Babu Badri Nath Varma forgets that his leader, Babu Rajendra Prasad, had sponsored a resolution as President of the Manbhum District Conference in 1031 wherein it had been stated that "89 per cent of the people of Manbhum speak the Bugali language." We would ask Shri Kishorelal Mushruwala to enquire inot the genesis of this latterday miracle that has been able to transform in course of 17 years a Bengah-speaking area into a Hindispeaking one. In reality this attempt by Babu Badrinath Varma is on a par with that of those agile gentlemen who change number-plates and file off chassis numbers of illicitly acquired automobiles. correct analysis may help Bihar's ruling class to regain sanity through informed criticism of their conduct, and thus help them get out of their dilemma.

Linguistic Provinces

The Provincial Congress Committee of Bombay, representative of the island and its immediate neighbourhood, has suggested in a resolution that the question of the re-constitution of the Provinces on the principle of linguistic kinship should be postponed for ten years. The reason for this appears to be that the outburst of bitterness between people speaking different languages in India is regarded as a great stumbling block in the solution of this problem in an atmosphere of peace and sweet reasonableness. From our own experience in eastern India, in Bihar and Assam, where compact and continuous areas are inhabited by Rengalis who desire to have these returned to West Bengal or to be constituted into a separate province to be known as Purvachal Pradesh, the fear appears to be justified. In the case of Bombay, the claim by the Marhatta-speaking people that the city and port of Bombay should be included in their province appears to have been at the back of the suggestion advanced by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. When it is further analysed, the fact emerges that the Gujatatis who play the dominant part in Bombay's financial and commercial life are epposed to the Marhatta claim; they are afraid that under Marhatta regime there would ensue various discriminatory measures directed towards consolidating exclusive Marhatta domination over the city's life.

Further north, there has appeared an angry controversy round the claim for a Punjabi-speaking province. The Sikhs have been sponsoring the idea as a partial compensation of the loss sustained in course of their forceful evacuation from Pakistan-Punjab. In the undivided Punjab they were a small minority, but in East Punjab they are in strength, and with the Sikh States to back them up, they have been insisting on their special interests in words that were made familiar to our eyes by Muslim Leaguers. But remembering that for a few generations at least, the Muslims have alienated the Sikhs by their barbarisms of 1947, we may count on a Sikh-dominated province as the keeper of the north-western marches of the Indian Union.

"Story of a Great Betrayal"

Under this heading appeared an article in our August number describing the way in which the Assam Administration has been breaking all the conditions that were implicit in the "option clause" embodied in the Circular of the Special Committee of the Partition Office, Government of Assam. By it, every Government servant, Indian or European, high or low, was given the opportunity to elect the Government he wished to serve-the "rest of India" or "Pakistan." The writer appears to think that the Assam Administration has sinned the most against the spirit and letter of this Circular But we are afraid that the Central Government of India cannot escape the verdict that it has failed to the same degree. Sardar Patel's reply to Pandit Kunzru's Question 905 on March 19, 1948, exposed this ugly disposition when he said that the Circular was not intended as a "guarantee" to employees of the Provincial Government. If the question be further pressed, the fact would come out that in those anxious days the Home Minister of the Central Government of "the rest of India" had his eyes closed to the stampede of all Government servants—high or low, from the I.C.S.-men to the post-men or Civil Court peon or the constable—for the Dominion of their choice. It would be disingenuous to plead today that the "option" was limited to a few only. And it is arguable that the Assam Administration was encouraged to play the dirty game by this failure of spirit on the part of the Central Government of the Indian Union. And we are not surprised that they would better in course of their betrayal the melancholy example set by New Delhi.

The questions and answers exchanged in the Central Legislature will indicate certain of the elements that make up the problem in Assam. On August 12 last Shri Arun Chandra Guha asked whether the Government of Assam had asked for Central direction authorizing them to prohibit the entrance into the Brahm :putra Valley of Assam of Bengali emigrants, Hindu or Muslim. Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Minister without portfolio, replied that the Assam Administration had asked for an Ordinance, but the Central Government did not think it "advisable to promulgate an Ordinance for this purpose before an inter-Dominion Conference was held"; instead they were told that it is "within the rights of the Assam Government to regulate or check the influx for the purpose of ensuring security and avoiding prejudice to internal economy." There after ensued the following argument:

Sjta. Renuka Ray: With regard to the non-Muslim refugees, is it intended by the Government that their entry into Assam from East Bengal should be stopped?

Sj. Ayyangar: The Assam Government has strongly objected to the influx of both Hindus and Muslims from East Bengal into Assam. What powers could be applied to check this influx are being considered.

Sjta. Renuka Ray: With regard to non-Muslim refugees is there any direction as to whether the Assam Government should receive them or not?

Sj. Ayyangar: I am not aware of existence of

any such specific direction.

Sj. Mihirlal Chatterjee: If the Assum Government is not in a mood to receive any more refugees from Eastern Pakistan and if Coochbehar and Tripura are also unwilling, does the Government of India consider the desirability of finding some space where the East Bengal refugees could go?

Sj. Ayyangar: The idea, at present, is to prevent the refugees coming from East Bengal to Assam as far as possible. If in spite of attempts in this direction refugees do come, arrangements will have to be

made for their settlement in other areas.

Sj. Mihirlal Chatterjee: Owing to the situation developing in Hyderabad and Kashmir and the introduction of permit system for refugees from the Western Pakistan, there has been lately a large influx of people coming from Eastern Pakistan to Indian Union.

Sj. Ayyangar: We have no information on that.

Sj. Kuladhar Chaliha: Is it not a fact that from East Bengal there has been continuous flow of people into Assam?

Sj. Ayyangar: The Government of India are aware of that.

Sj. Sures Chandra Majumdar: Will the Government of India enquire whether the Government of Assam has not had the capacity to entertain refugees from East Bengal?

Sj. Ayyangar: The Government of Assam has definitely stated that they could not afford to receive any more refugees from East Bengal.

Sj. Mihirlal Chatterjee: Have the Government of India placed any money at the disposal of the Assam Government for the refugees?

The attitude of the Assum Administration, if persisted in or encouraged, would lead to a situation that circumscribed the citizenship of the Indian Union, that would enable Provinces to raise a wall in front of Indian citizens, to impose conditions of citizenship apart from and in addition to those that are being framed by the Indian Constituent Assembly. Whether this development would serve the abiding interests of India's unity and integrity, disrupted by Mushm League fanaticism, the future will show. But railing at "provincialism" is not the remedy; something more positive will have to be done so that Indian citizenship may not be hatted by a Bishnu Ram Medhi or a Krishnaballay Sahay.

Orissa on the March

The people of Orissa have been relieved of their anxiety with regard to the activities of certain of the rulers of her 23 States who were trying to sabotage their surrender of authority finalized on December 15, 1947. It has been announced that the rulers have given up their idea of working for a Union of Eastern States in direct relation with the Central Government of the Indian Union. With this diversion out of the way, Orissa can go ahead with her plans for a brighter future. It is not of the new capital rising near Bhubaneswar that we look forward to, nor to the other institutions of autonomous development as a unit in the Indian Federation. We think of the Hirakund Dam the foundation stone of which has been laid down by Pandit Nehru testifying to Orissa's importance in the new set-up. The following description of its potentialities summarized in Progress, Orissa's weekly will be found inspiring:

The Hirakuad Dam will be nearly 3 miles in length and 150 feet bigh, and will cost nearly Rs. 48 crores. It will help to irrigate 11 lakh acres of land in Sambalpur district and Sonepur State and greatly mitigate the severity of the floods which have been devastating large areas of Cuttack and Puri Districts. It will generate 3,50,000 K. W. of hydro-electric power by means of which it will be possible to set up an industrial town in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur. Since the final report on the Project of the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission was published in 1947, much work has been done in making preliminary drill holes and trial pits, in erecting buildings for staff, stores and workshop, and in accumulating equipments and machinery. The Project is expected to be completed in 1953.

Indian States Under the British Plan

It was on May 12, 1946, that the Cabinet Delegation handed over to the Secretariat of the Narendra Mandal, the organization of the Princely Order set up to mediate between them and the Paramount Power, a secret Memorandum intimating that with the retirement of British power from India, Paramountcy would lapse. Neither the Congress nor the Muslim League were told of this declaration of policy

before May 22nd, 1946, six days after the publication of their plan for the solution of the constitutional difficulties in India. And in the innumerable reports of interviews between representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League with the Cabinet Delegation we did not have any indication that these organizations had any opinion to offer in support of or in epposition to this secret Memorandum. Individual members of the Congress Executive appear to have suspected a trick in this Memorandum, but they did share their opinion with the public. Dr. Pattabhi Sectaramiyya is one of the exceptions, but even his criticism or denunciation was not timely voiced to be effective in deciding the attitude towards the Cabinet Delegation's approach to the problem of India's freedom. Since then, others have been more vocal. The latest in the field is the first Indian Governor-General of India, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari In course of a speech on the occasion of the installation of the new Maharaja of Cochin Sri Raja Ravi Varma, he expressed himself in plain language, hard to the cars of the members of the Cabinet Delegation two of whom are even now members of the Attlee Cabinet We do not know their reactions to this criticism from the head of the Indian Administration. But it is good that they should be told what India has been feeling about this jugglery about Paramountey. We append below the rather long extract from this speech delivered on August 22 last:

With a legal detachment bordering on recklessness, a theory was propounded that hist ry could be reversed and that with the withdrawal of British power, Indian States comprising a third of the land must revert back to a state of unorganised political isolation. The constructive work of a hundred years was undone at one stroke and the gift of freedom was associated with potential chaos as a result of lapse of Central authority over a third of India. Imagine British railway engineers propounding a theory that when the British retired from India, the railway and telegraph systèms should be sabotaged because they had been built by the British. Whether it ran in the name of the Crown or that of the Government, what was part and parcel of the machinery of Central authority in India was no less an asset than the railway or telegraph wires, and could not be rightly dissocusted from all that had to be transferred. The doctrine of lapse of Paramountcy over Indian States was propounded perhaps by British legal acumen for the laudable purpose of conserving the authority and prestige of Maharajas, in a context wherein the complete withdrawal of British power had not been fully envisaged as a real possibility. But it was persisted in when it was clear it would lead to unadulterated chaos. A great lawyer Viceroy had, a little over twenty years ago, firmly and clearly negatived the possibility of reversing history or of whittling down the Central authority of India on the basis of a fictitious sovereignty which had no relation to reality. But this was forgotten or treated as irrelevant. With the greatest difficulty and the help of God we have done something to sterilise this most reckless theory of lapse of Central authority. The people of India are grateful to the Princes who, by their noble coepetation, made this task possible, and gave a lead in this direction.

The States Ministry under Sardar Vallabhbleti Patel has been rightly congratulated for success in straightening out the knots tied by British policy. But a very heavy price has had to be paid to the Princely Order for their "patriotic surrender" to democracy in India. We have seen an estimate which says that an annual subsidy or pension of rupces ten crores have been secured to the 500 and odd Princes, Princelings and Sardars, that about Rupees two thousand to two thousand five hundred crores worth of jewellery and properties and palaces has had to be handed over to these remnants of an expiring order. Perhaps, the price was worth paying. For it defeated the British plan the consequences of which was described by "a very senior officer of the Police Department" who had told the Secretary of the States Ministry "just before the transfer of power that he was wasting his time over accesston and Stand-Still Agreement and that not one State would accept the accession as proposed by the newly-formed Ministry of State." Sardar Patel's comment on this alien anxiety, as published in the Independence Number of Indian Information, may be quoted here: "These officers are still alive and must be wondering how the changes that occurred since they left have really been brought about,"

Department of Scientific Research

All the visions for better life in India are in the stage of plans and schemes. Both in the Central Government and in the Provincial Governments, committees and boards whose number is legion are being set up, and in the multiplicity of advice tendered by these, the Government and the people appear to be getting confused. We very much wish that there would be a bedy of men and women who will be set up to work beyond the heat and dust of controversies, and who will be competent by their aloofness from the market-place of affairs to co-ordinate the various plans and schemes that infest our life to-day. As long as Gandhiji was in our midst, the majority of us used to depend upon him to do the thinking for us and to indicate the lines on which this thinking should move towards concrete shape and form in social institutions. While he lived even our Planning Committees could not run on their own lines; they had to be watchful so that all their plans and schemes could pass the searching scrutiny of the master planner of Indian reform. With him gone beyond, our leaders are being thrown more increasingly on their own resources. Such is the cause of the foundation of the Department of Scientific Research set up on June 1, 1948 by the Prime Minister of the Indian Union. The Department appears to have adopted the Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research as its organ, and in its July (1948) number we have a

bird's-eye view of cetrain of the plans that have for their purpose the building of a fuller material life for our people. Reports of research on various subjects of immediate interest to our development have been summarized in the present number. Appropriately enough the problem of expanding our food production is given pride of place in which the new Department can, no doubt, play a significantly helpful part.

United Provinces' Rural Areas

The "revitalization" of the United Provinces' rural areas has been given a start, we are told in a "write-up" dated August 13 last published in the Leader of Allahabad, About 900 "development blocks" covering 15,000 villages - one-sixth of U. P. rural population-have been humming with activity as a result of the "drive" launched by the Government in July last with the co-ordinated effort of the public and the administrative machinery to re-construct U. P.s' rural areas. About another 900 "blocks" covering about 14,000 villages will be formed by the end of next year.

The main achievements of the development drive are:

About nine lakh tons of village compost has been prepared which will yield about nine lakh maunds of additional agricultural production. The target is to manufacture 30 lakh tons of compost. During three drives in the current year, about 50,000 tons of compest under the Town Refugee compost scheme has ripened and about one lakh tons of compost is under the ripening process.

About 800 tanks have been deepened. According to reports received so far, this will irrigate an area of about 17,000 acres of land. The Government expenditure on it was Rs. 30,000. If it be done without any public effort it would have cost the

provincial exchequer about Rs. 3 lakhs.

The Government also propose to set up 85 pumping plants which are expected to irrigate about 20,000 acres of land. Only 50 per cent of the working expenses will be charged to the farmers. This might cost the cultivator about Rs. 6 per acre.

The Government also paid so far Rs. 10,000 as grants for establishing nurseries in twelve districts of the province. The horticultural service brought 1,000 acres of land under new orchards and rejuvenated about 15,000 acres of land of the old orchards.

Up to March, 1948, about 24 tube-wells and 1.000 wells were completed and boring was done in 12,000 wells. The target for the current year is 100 tubewells. Four thousand Persian wheels and 4,000 masonry wells.

About 7,000 Co-operative Societies have been formed in the development blocks.

The other Provinces in India will watch with interest the course of this development Divided Bengal has special reasons to be watchful of this experiment in better living; what she has lost in area to East Bengal, should be made up by special exertion of her man-power. The Damodar Valley Project is a pointer to what is possible. But without the use of the brawn and brain of her people, nothing

worth while can be built up. The days of servicehunting should be forgotten.

Utilization of Sewage

The Public Health Engineering Department of the United Provinces Government are reported to have worked out a scheme for the production of methane gas from sewage which at present pollutes the water courses and adversely affects public health. The scheme is proposed to be given its first trial at Benares, the oldest city of the Province of immemorial history. Bombay has installed a piloplant for the production of gasoline out of sewage and is reported to be satisfied with the result. In Calcutta the sale of gas brings about 31 lakhs of rupees to the coffers of the Corporation. The Benares trial is being looked forward to as a measure for the safety of public health and for the utilization of a waste product. In the U. P. scheme for Benares it is estimated that the "digestion" of 3,00,000 cubic feet of gas will produce 1,200 gallons of petrol. The 10 million gallons of sewage that runs down the Ganges and the Varuna will, it is expected, produce gas sufficient for the fuel supply of 2,000 families, and the affluent will be able to fertilize 4,000 acres of land near the city providing "compost" for the "grow more food" campaign. As Benares does not happen to have a sufficient number of motor vehicles within its city limits, it has been proposed to make this part of the scheme available for Lucknow. About 70 per cent of methane gas evolved from sewage has been used in Germany and other countries for running cars within towns. We are sure that as time passes more will be heard of this; more extensive use of sewage converted into manure is a worth-while experiment.

Ceylon Citizenship for Indians

There are about 10 lakh Indians in Ceylon, most of them labourers from Tamil Nad and Malabar. They went to the island, or their ancestors did, as indentured labour to help open the tea and rubber estates of the island during the sixties of the last century. By the sweat of their brow they created wealth for the proprietors of these estates, the majority of them British. They also helped build up the port of Colombo, the railways of Ceylon and establish many modern amenities of life. The natives of the island, nursed in their old traditions with their simple wants, did not feel tempted to share this labour; they were satisfied with the economic arrangements of their society. But with the progress of time, they have been driven to revise their attitude as these old arrangements have failed to meet their growing needs. And when they turned to the bubbling labour market of their island, they found the South Indians in possession, apparently shutting all the doors to avenues of employment. This was a cruel situation, and the only way that the intelligentsic of Ceylon could think

of in getting out of it was to get the Indians out of their jobs in Ceylon. This in a nut-shell is the genesis of the Indo-Ceylonese problem of which we hear so much. It is of the same pattern as those in Burma, in South Africa, in East Africa, where Indians have laboured to help create wealth, and the natives either directly or indirectly claim the heritage of their labour. Ceylon's mind was reflected in the speech of Mr. Bandaranaike, leader of the Lower House of Ceylon Legislature delivered on August 20 last, in course of the debate on Indian Citizenship Bill which has since been passed into law. Mr. Bandaranaike was at least frank. He said:

"We now feel, on economic grounds, that the continuance of the services of a major section of the Indian working population would affect the problem of employment which this country is faced with. We now wish to send back these Indians not needed. It may be this will be an unfriendly attitude to India. But we are fully prepared to face any situation that may arise in our efforts to solve the economic ills of our land.

It is not easy for Indians to reconcile themselves to this loss of opportunities for earning a livelihood. In our neighbourhood, in Burma and Ceylon alone, they number about 20 lakhs. Their loss will affect India's internal economy. We have not witnessed gratitude or generosity to characterize the solution of problems like this.

"Pacific" India, "War-like" Pakistan

While the public of India have been assured that their Government was fully prepared to meet all eventualities, they appear to be growing restive in reaction to the stream of malice of Pakistan. Even foreign observers appear to be doubting whether India's proverbial patience can be long maintained in view of the bellicose attitude of the Muslims League's Qaid-c-Azam. The latest demonstration of this has been noticed and commented upon by British correspondents in connection with the "Independence Day" celebrations.

The London Daily Telegraph's Karachi correspondent described the "war-like mood" of the Pakistan festivities; he contrasted with it the "pacific tone" of the Indian celebrations, and specially noted the broadcast of Pandit Nehru infused by the "Gandhuan tradition." The London Times Delhi correspondent also harps on the same theme. He describes it as "noteworthy" that while the Indian leaders referred to the tragic events of last autumn more in sorrow than in anger, the statements from Pakistan have been "less conciliatory." These utterances have been described as "hardly conducive to the good relations between the sister countries."

We have known for the last ten years at least that the propaganda of the Muslim League boded no good to anybody in India. And even when they have been helped to their Pakistan by British policy, the evil tendency continues. For a remedy, we can hardly think of a peaceful method. Hoping for the best, our leaders, we believe, should actively prepare themselves for the worst.

"Deceit and Falsehood"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's opposite number in Pakistan, Janab Liaquat Ali Khan, was found foaming in the mouth when the former hurled these words as constituting the basis of Quid-c-Azam Jinnah's diplomacy. Since then even Pakistani papers have been constrained to come out with facts that substantiate Panditiee's charge-sheet. The Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore, an upholder of the Kipling traditions of British imperialism, featured a seven-column story in its front page, flaunting Pakistan's participation in the Kashmir war. Janab Liaquat Ali Khan's Department has not questioned the authenticity of this report. This has been known all along since October, 1947, though representatives of the British Government to the U.N.O. has tried to slur over this fact; the British Press generally have co-operated in this game of suppression of truth and suggestion of falsehood. And their protege, Pakistan has flourished under this protection. But now, even they have been forced to take the cover off, and let the truth, Pakistan's participation in the unprovoked attack on Kashmir, see the light of day.

The Socialist weekly of London, Nation and New Statesman, appears to be specially bitter. The writer shows sensitiveness with regard to his country's position; if the U.N.O. Commission fails to settle the Kashmir dispute, and "a full-scale war" ensued between these two member-States of their Commonwealth, Britain should declare her attitude "unequivocally"; it would be "totally impossible" for her to do nothing and continue sitting on the fence. He suggests, however, a heroic remedy—exclude Pakistan from the Commonwealth—though he does not yet recognize that there is really a war between India and Pakistan. But of Pakistan's guilt he is sure.

"To us the manner of Pakistan's intervention in the whole affair seems to make her the guilty party. Disavewing the raiders she was all the time supporting them and inserting her own army. Placing no reliance on the possibility of a democratic solution, she deliberately resorted to force."

This disavowal constituted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's charge-sheet that Pakistan's policy was built in "deceit and falsehood."

Limit to Which S. Africa Will Go

The Government headed by Dr. Daniel Malan has been contemplating to move the U. N. O. General Assembly to authorize the repatriation of Indians resident in South Africa. This repatriation cannot but be forceful; for, the majority of these two lakhs fifty thousand people—men, women and children—have been born in that country and have but sentimental

relations with the land of their ancestors. Their life and labour have created the wealth of Natal where they form about a quarter of the population. The whites of this province of the South African Union have forgotten this history; the Boer and the Briton are ek dil in the pursuit of their anti-Indian policy. This forms part of the philosophy of their life which was indicated in the Charter of the Transvaal Church laid down 70 years back that "in Church and State there cannot be equality between the white and non-white." In this conceit there is nothing to choose between a Smuts or a Mulan; both are racialists of the deepest dye; the former, perhaps, a little less blatant in the assertion of their inner feelings. Both of them desire to continue the supremacy of the white minority of 25 lakhs over the State where the non-whites, Bantus-original inhabitants of the country—are more than 75 lakhs. Successive generations of white usurpers have been working towards increasing the white population in South Africa by immigration from Europe, This policy has been a sheet anchor of their State, Field-Marshal Smuts, now leader of the Opposition, indicated in a speech on August 16 last in the Assembly:

The Government did it for industrial purposes in the first instance, but they always had the idea at the back of their minds that it was a great service nationally for South Africa and to European society in South Africa.

You talk about the future of White South Africa. You talk about the security of future White generations. These reinforcements have come forward in the battle for White supremacy for South Africa. Are you going to jeopardise this?—he asked the Nationalists.

This is a call to war to the majority in the world; to the majority even of South Africa who happen to be non-whites-black, brown and yellow. It is almost a challenge to the principles of modern democracy, to the ideals which the United Nations Organization has accepted as the law of its being. It is quite possible that South African Government will make an attempt to throw out the two and a half lakh Indians, and the U. N. O. may be a helpless witness to this outrage. But we should like to see how they tackle the 75 lakhs Bantus whom they have dispossessed and who have been rising to a consciousness of their dignity as human beings. There are any number of causes of a new world war. The impudence of South African whites will precipitate a new war that may end modern civilization. Field-Marshal Smuts talks of "white supremacy." He has lived through two world wars which have not enhanced the white man's prestige; he may yet live to lament the decline and eclipse of that "supremacy" if, with all his experience of men and things, he cannot advise a retreat from a position which will lead to a war between races.

The Germans

News from Germany tell the world of the conflicts and competitions between the two groups that divide the victorious powers of Europe today. A non-European power, the United States of America, is the leader of one group, the Soviet Union of the other. Between them they have been trying to draw as much of Germany into their own parlour as is possible. In this tussle the Germans do not receive as much attention and consideration as would indicate that human beings are concerned in the matter. There are individuals among the victorious people, however, who cannot ignore the human element in this drama of the rise and fall of a great people. Devere Allen, editor of the Worldover Press, a News Agency that interprets news, is one of these. His writings show that behind the controversies live a people who are down and out with "political leadership" that is "appallingly old and tired . . . practically all in their sixties;" the ranks of the young have been "more than decimated." And what of the people who are to build Germany anew? An American "top official of the finer type" describes them thus:

The people are just encreated. They have gone too long without enough to eat, too long without hope. They have actually gone downhill, where it was believed there might be a steady, if slow, recuperation. Absentecism is still bad, and why_not, when a workingman can do more for his family by going out to the country, laboring a few hours for a farmer, and coming back with a sack of potatoes? We've been trying to induce women to go into the factories, but they have responded poorly. After all, it is a literal fact that a woman can sometimes make more for her household by hunting all day for cigarette butts than by laboring at a machine.

And what of the surroundings amidst which they live?

You can look at the pictures of the devastation from afar, but it can never convey a fraction of the terrible consequences felt by the German masses from the war. Nuremberg was 93 per cent destroyed, Munich 70 per cent, and other great cities are more or less the same sprawling, hideous ruins. One of the reasons why so many of the United States troops fail to sense more sympathetically the paralyzing emotional shock to the residents is because they have never seen these towns in their original proud beauty. As the people pick their way through the narrowed, rubble-bound streets, they know-certainly if they are of middle age or over-that never again in their life-times will they inhabit anything but ruins. The German city administrations have worked out time schedules for reconstruction; it is estimated, probably with undue optimism, that Frankfurt can be rebuilt in 40 years. In other places it will at best take longer.

And people so circumstanced have become like a foot-ball between two competing groups who have been making bids for their bodies and souls. The world can only look with pity on this scence.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE INDIAN STATES

BY HARNAM SINGH, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.,

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August 15, 1947, marked the end of British rule in India. Since that day, many problems—some unsuspected-have brought India to the focus of world attention. One of the most difficult problems facing the new Dominion was that of the Indian States, numbering about 560. The States Ministry in the Government of India, under the leadership of Sardar Patel, the "Iron Man," has, within a remarkably short time, brought about the integration of the Indian States which has revolutionized both the external and internal set-up of those principalities. The solution adopted by the States Ministry of fitting the Indian States into the constitutional structure of India was the accession of the States to the Dominion. The process of integration has worked smoothly with the majority of States. It is reported that only about a dozen remain outside the orbit, and of the remaining few the sore points are Kashmir and Hyderabad.

In Kashmir, one of the largest States, whose Maharaja has joined the Indian Dominion, an undeclared war is being fought between the two newly-created Dominions of India and Pakistan. Hyderabad, whose ruler the Nizam is reputed to be the richest man in the world, is in turmoil. The Nizam-a Muslim Prince, ruling autocratically over an overwhelming majority of Hindu subjects—has shown an inclination to declare his principality a Sovereign State. The Government of India does not view the intentions of the Nizam with favour, and considers that a Sovereign independent Hyderabad would be a danger to the safety of India both internally and externally. Apart from the questions of security and defence, this raises an important constitutional problem. The question is-does Hyderabad have the right to be a Sovereign State?

The position of the Indian States in Indian polity is very peculiar; it is responsible to a considerable extent for the estrangement of feelings between India and Pakistan. The complex problem created by these Princely States, due to their peculiar position and to the contention of the Nizam of his legal right to declare himself an independent Sovereign, can be comprehensible only with a retrospective glance at developments to their present state.

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As already alluded to above, the Indian States occupied a unique position in Indian polity. Their position and their relations with the British Government which came to an end when India became an independent Dominion on August 15, 1947, afford no parallel or analogy to any institution so far known in

history. The political system they represented was neither feudal nor federal, though in some respects it showed similarity to both. This aspect often made it possible for even a student of Political Science to have distorted views about their political system, and not infrequently it misguided the statesmen. The States were not subject to international law; they were bound to the British Government by solemn treaties and were spoken of in official documents as "Allies" like other independent Sovereign States. It would be wrong to consider the whole system a political confederacy in which the major partner had assumed especial rights, particularly in foreign affairs and defence, and where the parties had admitted that the Constituent States had no rights of secession.

There was no unanimity of opinion among writers on the Indian States. One set, who were mostly British Government officials and who put forward the Government's point of view, maintained the Roman analogy and pushed it to the length of claiming for the paramount power unlimited rights of authority over the States. They held that the rights and privileges of the States were derived directly or indirectly from the paramount power and were not inherent. Their position was amply strengthened by Lord Curzon, the Governor-General of India, who expounded and confirmed this position in his public speeches. The efforts of the exponents of this point of view centered on justifying the claim of paramountcy. Some had endeavoured to establish the feudal theory, maintaining that if the fiefs under the feudal system were isolated, so were the native States, and if the holders of the fiefs enjoyed immunity from the laws of any external power, so in general did the chiefs, exercising various degrees of internal sovereignty.1 Nor did these writers fail to discern in the method by which the system of protectorate had been gradually formed, a likeness to the process of feudalism. Whatever other interpretations of the relationship between the Indian States and the British Government might have been, it is quite obvious that they had no analogy to feudalism. Nor had the Government of India ever sought to put forward this view.

The apologists of the Indian States, on the other hand, put forward a different interpretation. They held the view that the States occupied an almost sovereign

^{1.} Our Indian Protectorate by Sir Chas. Tupper, quoted in "The British Crown and the Indian States" by the Directorate of the Chamber's Special Organisation; London, P. S. King & Sans Ltd., 1970 - no. 1981-1985

status." They maintained that the principal States, which in population and area were bigger than most of the sovereign independent States of Europe, were bound to the British Government by solemn treaties and were spoken of in official documents as "Allies." That they had an independent existence was borne out by the fact that they had many attributes which appertained to full-powered Sovereign States. They had their own flag, though subordinate to the Union Jack ;they maintained their own army, police system, judicial system and revenue system, quite independent of those in the British Indian Provinces. The Prince was the highest judicial authority in the State, with rights of pardon and mercy. No appeal from the decision of the States Courts, like the appeals from the British Indian Provinces, lay to the Privy Council. The Acts of British Parliament were not operative in the States. The treaties of alliance which subsisted between the principal States and the British Government were with the British Crown as allies. That the States were forbidden to declare war, enter into peace treaties or have any independent international relations with the independent States did not preclude them from enjoying some of the aspects of the Sovereign independent States.* Such deep-scated sentiments which have gained ground in the mind of the Nizam of Hyderabad, have prompted him to put forward-against heavy oddshis claim to Sovereign status.

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The Indian States number about 560 and vary greatly in area, population and revenue. The biggest States are as large as France, Germany or Spain, with populations almost as great; the smallest, on the other hand, are not more than a few square miles in size with populations counted in the hundreds. The popular conception held until very recently even by the Political Department of the Government of India, put all these heterogeneous units in the same category. This made their study more difficult and complex and resulted in the formation of various theories and notions with respect to their relations with the British Government. causing utter confusion in understanding their problems. Nor was the classification of the States into various groups an easy matter, as the political practices of the Government of India and consequently their relations with the States and their original character had so considerably changed during the last one hundred and fifty years that it was difficult to categorize them on any scientific basis without examining the secret archives of the Political Department of the Government of India. The difficulty came to the ferefront during the time of Lord Chelmsford's Governor-Generalship after the first World War, when a classification of the States was required as a preliminary to the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes. The only

available way out of the difficulty was the resort to salute list. The States were classified according to the number of guns fired by the Indian Government in honour of the Princes visiting British Indian territory. The biggest States, like Hyderabad and Kashmir, enjoyed 21 gun salutes and some 19, while others ranged from 7 or 9 onwards, according to their status. Hundreds of them did not have the honour of being greeted in that manner.

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The problems of the Indian States in their present form are entirely a result of the British occupation of India and her growth in the subcontinent. The mighty edifice of the Mogul Empire began to crumble in the 18th century after the death of King Aurangseb in 1707, and with the decline of Mogul power, distant Viceroys and Governors began to assert and maintain their independence of the central authority. Advantage of the situation was taken by the East India Company, by dealing with the Viceroys and Governors directly, who found them de facto sovereigns in their dominions though rendering nominal allegiance to the throne at Delhi.

Slowly and steadily, by various means oftentimes questionable, the British gained ascendency in India. The rise of the British in India corresponded with the decline of the Moguls. In the early part of her struggle with the French, who were also in the field for carving out an Empire, the Company depended to a considerable extent upon the co-operation and support of the Indian States. Some of the treaties with the Indian Princes which date from that time were entered into on terms of equality. But with the rise of British power, the States came to occupy a position of subordination. The rapid change in the fortunes of the Company in the first half of the 19th century, which resulted in the domination of the entire subcontinent of India, led to a system of complicated and complex relationship with the Princely States. The different phases of the treaty relationship with the Indian States can be explained by the condition of the Company's fortunes at the time the treaty was concluded. Thus the treaties of mutual friendship and reciprocal obligation, by a rapid process turned into those of subordinate co-operation, allegistice and loyalty.

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After the extinction of French power in India at the end of the 18th century, the only danger to the Company's domination lay from some of the powerful Indian States. The policy adopted by the British from this period on until the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was to weaken these States and to increase British dominion at their cost. The policy of annexing the territories of the Indian Princes was shown in its ugly reality in the conflagration of 1857, though some of the far-sighted statesmen of the Company had realised this fact much earlier.

The timely help of some of the Princes in the Mutiny of 1857 helped to prevent the extinction of the

^{2.} Ibid, pp. 20-35.

See Indian States and the Government of India by K. M. Penikkar, pp. 125-126 London, Martin Hopkinson & Co., Ltd., 1927.

British domination of India. The States from that time onward began to occupy an important position in the scheme of British administration in India. The British owed their existence to them. But what if they had chosen to act differently? Could the British Government rely on their co-operation if the tragedy of 1857 should repeat itself? The British Government did not want to leave the choice with the Princes, and from that time onwards the Government maintained territorial integrity of the Princely States which found expression in the sentiments shown by Queen Victoria when she assumed the title of Empress of India.

The great Mutiny of 1857 and the subsequent assumption of the direct sovereignty of the vast Empire by the Crown, changed entirely the constitutional position of the States. From independent allies, the big States found themselves transformed into protected feudatories of the Crown. The Governor-Generals of India subsequent to 1857 gave frequent expression to the irresistible military strength and unquestioned authority of the paramount power. On the assumption of direct sovereignty of India by the Crown, the Indian rulers were especially assured that their treaty rights and obligations were in no way affected, and the Government of India Act of 1858 had a clause to this effect, that "all treaties made by the Company shall be binding on Her Majesty."

From this time onwards, the attitude of the Government of India manifests itself in the practice of veiled intervention, an effective reduction of the constitutional position of the Princes and the conversion of their principalities into dependent States. The policy was given a legal expression that the rights of the Muslim rule after 1857 when the Crown assumed Sovereignty, as a result of the displacement of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi following the Mutiny, had accredited to the British Crown. The British Crown not only stepped into the shoes of the East India Company with whom many of the States had treaties on the basis of equality, but put on the decayed mantle of the Mogul Empire and claimed the rights of sovereignty which once were enforced by the Mogul Emperors.

By the close of the 19th century, relations of the States with the British Government underwent a subtle change. With the passage of time the paramount power became more paramount and the position and power of the Princes declined. Lord Curzon, who was Governor-General of India at the beginning of the present century, raised the theory of paramountcy to a senith when he declared in a speech:

"The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative."

The theory, in a word, maintained that as against the paramount power the Princes had no rights and all their privileges, status, rank, dignities and jurisdictions were dependent on the good-will of the British Crown.

"This attitude of considering the rulers of Indian States as servants of the Government of India, bound to take orders from Simla and Calcutta and having no rights of their own, was best illustrated in the circular issued by Lord Curzon's Government, stating that before an Indian ruler left India the permission of the Viceroy should be obtained."

Lord Reading further amplified the status of the Indian States as early as March 27, 1926, when in a letter he wrote to the Nizam:

"The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them... The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequence necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown ... I will merely add that the title Faithful Ally which Your Exalted Highness enjoys has not the effect of putting your Government in a category separate from that of other States under the paramountey of the British Crown."

VI

Once again, during the first World War, the Indian Princes took up the cause of the British by wholeheartedly supporting the cause of the allies. All the resources of the States were put at the disposal of the British Government After the war, the relations of the British Government with the Princes underwent another change. They were no longer looked upon with suspicion as after the Mutiny of 1857; now the danger to the British came from another source—the political awakening of the Indian people. The Indian States, being themselves reactionary, were wont to help the British in their difficulty, and consequently the Government made a common cause with them to check the growing tide of nationalism. As an appreciaiton of their services rendered during the war and to consolidate their effective strength as a bulwark against the growing strength of the Nationalist movement in the country, the Princes were allowed to constitute themselves into a body known as the Chamber of Princes. a sort of Trade Union of the Princes. As an organized body, they could be more effective for the common cause of subverting Nationalist force in the country. The Duke of Connaught himself came all the way from England to inaugurate that august body in 1921. Previous to the World War of 1914, the Princes were kept in isolation, and the Political Department of the Government of India dealt with them individually. Direct intercourse of one State with another was entirely forbidden. Now, however, they were allowed to deliberate on matters of common concern-with the

^{5.} The British Crown and the Indian States by the Directorate of the Chamber's Special Organization, p. 92. London, P. S. King and Son Lui, 1939.

^{6.} Printed in Appendix II of the Butler Report,

Political Department of the Government of India keeping a vigilant eye on their proceedings.

The Government of India Act of 1935 which attempted to change the unitary State of India to a federation, brought into the orbit of the scheme the Princes as well. They were given the option to join the proposed federation, and many of them did subscribe to the scheme with varying degrees of reservation. Before the full scheme could be put into operation, the British Government was engaged once again in a lifeand-death struggle against Hitlerite Germany. The Princes, true to their tradition, threw in their might with the cause of the British. The war had a farreaching effect. The world of 1945 was entirely different from the world of 1939. The victory of the allies not only destroyed the reactionary forces of fascism in Europe, but in the East the foundations-of British Imperialism were blasted once and for all.

India was declared independent on August 15, 1917, and joined the British Commonwealth as a Dominion with the option of seceding from the Commonwealth after a specified period of one year. The position of the States had once again undergone a change, more significant than ever before. They were given the choice of joining either of the Dominions—India or Pakistan—into which the country had been divided. The majority of the Princes have put in their lot with one Dominion or the other.

VII

The Nizam of Hyderabad, contrary to the course adopted by the majority of the States as already referred to in the beginning, has announced his intention to declare his dominion a Sovereign independent State.

The position of the Indian Government is analogous to the British in 1857 when the Crown assumed the sovereignty of India as a result of the displacement of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi following the Mutiny. If the British Crown could claim the rights of sovereignty which once were enforced by the Mogul Emperors-rights which were not challenged by any Indian State-it stands to reason that the Indian Government can claim the same rights of sovereignty which were once enforced by the British. Apart from the point of view of defence and security of the territories of the Dominion of India, if the majority of the Indian States have followed a certain course of action there is no reason why an exception should be made in one case—an exception which is likely to have a very unhealthy effect on the future growth and integrity of the subcontinent of India. The growth and the acquisition of the paramountcy of the British

Government—an aspect of sovereignty of the British Crown—over the Indian States was necessitated by historical circumstance, and it is historical circumstance again which necessitates the assumption and continuation of the power appertaining to it by the Indian Dominion. The rights appertaining to paramountcy would, of course, lapse after the States become an integral part of the Dominion.

The States formed one pattern at constitutional and at international law, and Hyderabad could not be an exception. It not only stands to reason but is a political necessity that the Nizam should fall in line with his brother Princes. The contention that paramountcy has lapsed with the withdrawal of the British is not tenable. The Indian Government has inherited all the assets and liabilities. What if all the States followed the line intended to be pursued by the Nizam? There would be more than 500 independent States—a situation which would make the Balkan problem seem a simple one. India, in that case, would be a hot-bed of intrigue and warfare among the native sovereigns, and a situation similar to that in the 17th and 18th centuries would be created. Therefore, any line of policy adopted by the Indian States which would Balkanize India would be a negation of the freedom of the Indian people. Any terms of agreement between the British and the Indian Dominion, or any pronouncements made by the British Government before or after the partition which would nullify the very object of agreement, e.g., the freedom of the people, are null and void to that extent. Therefore, in the nature of things, nothing can affect the right of the Indian Dominion to inherit the functions appertaining to paramountcy.' The Indian Dominion, consequently, exercises all the rights of paramountcy and as such no State has a right to declare itself a Sovereign State.

7. By the Standstill Agreement of November 29, 1947, negotiated between the Government of India and Hyderabad by Lord Mountbatton, the then Governor-General of India, and the Nisem of Hyderabad, it was agreed that the Government of India would not exercise paramountey over Hyderabad, while the Nizem agreed that the Government of India will continue to control Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Communications as was done by the British Government of India till August 15, 1947. The Nizem also promised, by an exchange of letters, to the effect that Hyderabad would not accede to Pakistan. This agreement was to last for a year, thus the Nizem's effort to present his case to be independent of India, to U. N. is regarded, as violation of this agreement, by the Government of India.

For the full text of the Agreement and letter exchanged between Lord Mountbatten and the Nisam, see India Information, Vol. 31. No. 220—Dec. 15, 1947. (Government of India Information Service, New Delhi and Washington, D. C.), pp. 856-58.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

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ANOTHER unique feature of the Draft Constitution is the enunciation of a number of "Directive Principles of State Policy" in the body of the text. The importance attached to the subject is indicated by the fact that an entire Section, viz., Part IV, is devoted to it. These are, as their title suggests, merely directive principles of policy, that is, the State will be expected to be guided by these in determining and pursuing its policies in regard to certain matters. Although these resemble fundamental rights in so far as these also set limits to the powers of the Executive and Legislative authorities of the State and are also fundamental principles of policy they are less rigid and more flexible inasmuch as they are not enforceable in courts of Law. Section 29 distinctly states that

These provisions "shall not be enforceable by any court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws." (Halies our own).

In other words, there will be no legal remedy available to citizens in case of their infringement as in the case of fundamental rights, but all the same the State authorities would be under a moral obligation to apply them in framing State policies in certain matters and in their implementation through legislation. Now a number of questions may occur to our mind here, such as-is there any necessity and justification for incorporating these principles in the text of the Constitution, does it not constitute an unwarranted curtailment of the discretionary powers of the authorities of the State to deal with the matters in question as seem best to them in changing circumstances, is it quite politic to put those at the helm of affairs into a strait jacket in the matter of steering the ship of the State. These are highly controversial issues and there is bound to be difference of opinion on these matters as there has always been on the fundamental issue of the limits of state interference and individual liberty. On the one hand, it may be contended that they consistute an unwarranted encroachment on the powers of the Governmental suthorities to whose discretion such matters should be left with greater advantage and that we should not make things unnecessarily rigid. On the other hand, it mes he said that the principles laid down in this Section reflect the minimum measure of social justice which is universally accepted today by public opinion all over the world as being the sine que non of civilised

existence. As such no exception can be taken to their incorporation in the fundamental law of the country. Apart from serving as a constant reminder of their importance in determining a social structure based on elementary principles of justice and equity they would keep the legislative and executive authorities of the State from transgressing the minimum requirements of social justice. Much can be said in favour of both these points of view. We do not see at least ony harm in a declaration of such guiding principles of State policy in the body of the Constitutional text, so long as they are couched in general terms and not made too rigid. They have, however, get to be revised from time to time keeping pace with changing conditions. Many of them would seem to be quite superfluous for statement in the Constitution. For instance the provision that

"The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life" (Section 30).

This would appear to be so universally accepted a principle as hardly to require a formal affirmation, but the authors of the provision may perhaps contend that such fundamental truths bear repetition and restatement lest people should forget them. Sections 31 to 33 make provision for guaranteeing to citizens a measure of social security that is accepted by civilised public opinion all over the world today as indispensable for giving every human being reasonable opportunities for the fullest development of his personality which is regarded as being the end of modern state, but that is actually realised in the lives of citizens in very few countries. Here in India we are lacking in the minimum requirements of social security and are in particular need of fixing a target of social security measures. So we cannot dismiss these provisions as being needless and superfluous. The items in the provisions have been quite well chosen. These are:

(i) "That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood."
The mention of women along with men in this clause has been very appropriate in the peculiar conditions of our country where many a woman is condemned to the ignoble life of domestic drudges and hangers on on unkindly relatives.

(ii) "That the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good."

(iii) "That the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment."

The above two clauses are calculated so to change the existing productive relations as to prevent glaring economic inequality and promote as far as possible equal distribution of the national dividend and thus to maximise economic welfare in the community.

(iv) "That there is equal pay for equal work

for both men and women.'

(v) "That the strength and health of workers, men and women and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength."

(vi) "That childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material

abandonment."

The above Clauses are intended to prevent as far as possible exploitation of the economically weak by those who are economically stronger—which is a crying need not only in our country but even in more advanced countries. If realised, it would bring about a healthy equalisation of economic conditions of people. Section (32) provides:

"The state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement, and other cases of undeserved want." (Italics our own).

This has perhaps been borrowed from the new Seviet Constitution, but does not on that account lose in any way in its value and supreme importance. A Clause like this ought to find a place in the constitution of every country that claims to be progressive. We may even go further and suggest its inclusion in the list of fundamental rights. Every civilised state ought to be under an obligation to secure to every citizen these rights. In the existing conditions of India however the qualifying clause (in italies) viz. "within the limits of its economic capacity and development" is quite understandable. The war-shattered and undeveloped economy of the country cannot immediately be expected to meet the cost involved in giving full effect to these provisions.

Section 33 provides for "securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief." This section seems to us to be quite superfluous. It may be assumed that the popularly elected legislature of any state would attend to these things and it is not desirable that the constitution should go into such minute details.

Sections 34—38 relate to the raising of the living conditions of citizens. Freedom from want has been accepted as one of the "Four Freedoms" enuncisted in the much talked of Atlantic Charter and hailed all over the world as one of the fundamental conditions of ensuring peace and prosperity of mankind. It is an

ideal to be striven for in every country, but if it is to be real and effective it is not merely to be a negative ideal consisting in mere staving off indigence but something positive ensuring each individual a decent and comfortable standard of existence making for a fuller and richer life. It is in that context that the value of these provisions is to be judged. In this respect India may perhaps be regarded as a pioneer and may give the lead to other peoples drafting their constitutions in future. Section 34 makes it oblighatory (the word "shall" has been used and is significant) on the State "to secure, by suitable legislation, or economic organisation, or in any other way, to all workers, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities," that is, everything that makes a man's life worth living. Ignorance and illiteracy are the greatest scourges in India today—a legacy of foreign rule which we must put an end to at the earliest opportunity if our hard-carned "independence" is to have any meaning. Section 36 places an obligation on the State "to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." Section 37 purports to further the educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes in particular and the weaker sections of the people in general and to protect them from all forms of exploitation and social injustice. This is necessitated by the peculiar conditions of our country. Section 38 imposes the obligation on State to provide for the raising of the general level of nutrition and public health and also the general standard of living. In view of the previous sections we do not see very great necessity for insertion of this section. The obligation imposed here is too obvious to require a statement in the constitution. The same thing may be said of the next section providing for the protection, preservation and maintenance of monuments, places and objects of national importance. As we have said before it is not desirable that the constitution should go into such details. Section 40 is very important as proclaiming to the world the underlying principle of foreign policy of India based on a determination of the Indian nation to promote international peace and security by just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the guiding rule of conduct among governments and by the maintenance of justice and respect for treaty obligations in the dealings of peoples with one another. The importance and urgency of an announcement like this cannot be overstated in the world situation of today. It would be well indeed if other peoples also imitated India in this respect and acted up to such declarations solemnity made.

PRINCIPLES OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

By U. S. NAVANI, B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

Even since Britain emerged into a nation-state in the sixteenth century and started on her career of empirebuilding she has been at war with almost every country in the world. France had been the traditional enemy. With Spain and Portugal she fought for the American colonies. She went to war with Netherland, Denmark and Norway for naval supremacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Her armies were continually engaged in Russia, India, China, South Africa, Egypt, Canada, Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon and the Arab countries all through the nineteenth century. In the twentieth she was twice involved in mortal combat with Germany and also fought against Italy, Japan, Austria-Hungary and the Balkan countries. While most of her wars up to the nineteenth century were waged for naval supremacy and imperial conquest, towards the close of that century two clearly defined principles of her foreign policy emerged. One, in order to protect her own independence she had to ensure that no power could challenge her from across the Channel or the North Sea. After the defeat of Napoleon and the elimination of France as a first-rate power there was hardly any occasion for Britain to march her armies on the Continent until the beginning of the present century. Twice within a single generation Britain had to declare war on Germany, first when it attacked Holland in 1914 and next when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939. At present in the new set-up in Europe Britain stands precariously poised between the Russian Colossus swaying half Europe and the United States determined to half the march of Communism in Western Europe. With a combination of state socialism and private enterprise, of Marshall Aid and trade pacts with Russia and Eastern Europe, Britain may hope to keep out of the next atomic war between these two giants, but in the event of war her chances of survival are meagre. In the new line-up of power-politics Britain knows that she must take a secondary place and has cast in her lot with the American bloc. But it will be an error to suppose that she has done so out of any ideological affinities with U.S.A. Her shattered war economy and what Prof. Robbins has called 'economic megalomania' have left Britain with no choice but to grasp the hand of American aid. She has no use for Communism or unbridled private capitalism and would very much rather keep out of the coming conflict. But in no case would she tolerate Russia so close to her * shores as to threaten her existence and any further march of Communism in Europe would bring her into conflict with Russia even apart from American reaction.

The second cardinal principle of British foreign policy which has evolved through the trial of centuries

has been to guard her life-line to India, and to that end Britain would risk war with any power that threatened Gibralter or Malta or Suez Canal. It was also in order to secure this that she has played the partishe has in Egypt and the Middle East. In the changed circumstances of today when the Empire stands liquidated it may be legitimately asked if this principle of British foreign policy no longer applies. In order to understand the full implications of the new set-up it is necessary to realize the causes that led to the breakup of the Empire, particularly the events in India, as India has for obvious reasons occupied a pivotal position in the British Empire.

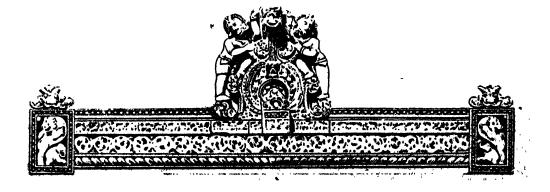
It is said that Britain conquered India in a fit of absent-mindedness. Can it be said that she quitted India in a fit of conscience? The British are essentially a hard-boiled business people. This is not to deny their eminently sympathetic and charitable views of other peoples' problems, but for them to expect that foreigners will gulp down the theory that they left India as a matter of moral duty would be a little too much. The British left India because it was no longer profitable to hold it in the form they had, viz., direct political sway. The F. N. A. trials, the naval mutiny which spread to all ports, sympathetic strikes in the Police and the Air Force and above all, the highly disturbing facet of unity put up by the Indian people in 1945 and early 1946 convinced the Labour Government that they could only hold India at the point of the bayonet, and the cost of such an adventure would be more than the Indian revenues could bear. Add to it the spectre of recurring famine which always loomed in the background and the world opprobrium accompanying such events (the British are a highly sensitiv, people) finally decided Britain to quit and make the best of a had job. For, relinquishing direct political sway over the subcontinent did not mean that all British interests in that area were to end. On the contrary, the creation of that political monstrosity. Pakistan, the fantastic freedom given to Indian States to proclaim their independence, the hasty division of the armed forces, during a highly inflammable communal situation, and above all the appointment of that charming diplomat Lord Mountbatten to sell the new British Plan to India were all designed to secure for Britain footholds and strangleholds within the country. The division of the country was of a piece with other British acts of raja-tyaga in Ireland, Egypt and Palestine. While ostensibly Britain has relinquished the Empire (India, Burma and Ceylon have been freed) it would be misleading to suppose that the old Imperial game is at an end. The English will always be with us !

What are British interests in the liquidated empire and how does she mean to secure these? There are three main interests of Britain in the East: trade, oil and the life-line to the Commonwealth. Britain as a leading exporting country has to rely on overseas countries for buying her goods. At present a vigorous export drive is being carried out by the British Government. "Export or die" has become the slogan of Labour Britain. India. Burma and Ceylon with their teeming populations offer the best possibilities. By cutting their chords of political bondage Britain has created abundance of goodwill' in these countries which means to capitalise on the trade account. Particularly has she laid Indian Moslems under a deep sense of obligation, for the most wooden-headed among them will admit that but for the British, Pakistan would have remained an empty dream. Indeed its very survival is conditional on British or other foreign aid. With this abundance of goodwill and the vast purchasing power of the liquidated empire Britain may well congratulate herself on having performed an act of unparalleled political wisdom in liquidating the Empire. The other main interest of Britain is oil. After the decision of Burma to go out of the empire and its inability in any case to restore and work the prewar oil wells Britain has to depend for her oil supply on the countries of the Middle East. With regard to other main interests of the Commonwealth, the proposed conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London points out clearly the necessity Britain feels of forging closer ties with it. Those continental observers who expect Britain to renounce the Commonwealth 'n order to fit in more closely with the European recovery programme underestimate the commonwealth sentiment and the innumerable ties Britain has with it, not the least of which is the readiness with which Commonwealth countries have come to the rescue of Britain twice within a generation and with which they may do so again in any future contingency. Commonwealth defence is therefore as prime an interest of Britain as ever. What was Britain's life-line to India is now her life-line to the Commonwealth. Egypt, Middle East, India, Burma and Ceylon are as vital to it as before. Therefore, a defence system which includes all these is of vital necessity to her now. Only now she

must ensure that not only all these liberated countries come within that system but failing that none of them is so strong as to challenge that Jife-line to the Australasian commonwealth. Super-imposed upon all this is the new power-politics of Russo-American rivalry and the part Britain is expected to play of smoothing the path of American participation in these countries particularly those of strategic importance such as Pakistan.

In order to safeguard these interests Britain has had to re-orientate her policy to the Moslem countries. Whereas before the war Britain kept Egypt under a virtual military occupation, and aimed to disrupt the unity of Arab countries by creating several Arab States and by encouraging Jewish immigration into Palestine her interests now demand a fairly stable unified and friendly Moslem bloc stretching from Palestine to Pakistan. In the first place such a bloc would act as a barrier against Russia, secondly, it would serve as a wholesome check upon the growing Indian might, and finally as a guarantee of undisturbed supply of oil. Whereas formerly she put up various Arab States headed by reactionary rulers quarrelling among themselves but relying on British support she is now openly championing the Arab cause and has abandoned the Jews. That such a Moslem bloc will be friendly to Britain cannot be doubted. Britain has created it and is maintaining it. This has apparently brought her into difficulties with America where Jewish influence is a factor to reckon with, but even the United States is being swayed more by other considerations than that of the justification of Jewish home in Palestine. Thus Truman abandoned the Partition plan originally sponsored by his government in the United Nations Assembly. U. S. A. may come to see eye to eye with Britain on this matter. For Britain, oil and for America, the necessity of keeping out Russian influence in the Middle East would lead to their strengthening of an Islamic bloc from Palestine to Pakistan ruled by reactionary and fanatic elements and leaning for constant support on Anglo-America.

It will thus be observed from the foregoing that although the pattern of British foreign policy has changed, the fundamental premises, viz., securing herself against an attack from Europe and guarding her lifeline to the east, remain unaltered.



THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE UNITED NATIONS

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.

THERE are, in the main, two schools of thought regarding the position of the individual in any scheme of world-organisation, those who think that nothing short of federal union with the individual directly recognised as the unit of government would suffice and those who are content with an improved League of Nations, recognising the State, not the individual, as the unit. An analysis of the different provisions of the Charter of the United Nations will show that those who drew it up belonged to the latter group. But the same analysis would also reveal that the framers of the Charter did not altogether forget the idea that we are moving, though slowly, painfully and hesitantly towards the former view of world political life.

The federalists want to emphasise the role of the individual, as against the State by suggesting that representatives in the international parliament should not be the nominees of their national government, but should be directly elected by the people, and that representation should be in proportion to the number of citizens in different states.8 But in view of the prevailing nationalist sentiment neither of these suggestions could be accepted by the framers of the Charter. The individual thus is not directly recognised so far as the composition of the various bodies within U.N.O. is concerned. It may, however, he argued that the relation between the individual and the structure of U. N. was not completely ignored. For in assigning seats on the Sccurity Council to the five great powers, United Kingdom, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China and France on a permament basis and the remaining six seats to other member nations on the basis of a principle of election, one of the reasons which appears to have carried some weight was that the Security Council as a whole represented the majority of the people of the world. But once we accept the federalist view of representation on the basis of population as correct for our political life, there is no escaping from the conclusion that great countries like India and China should be given wider representation in the General Assembly of the United Nations. And in fact there is no real reason for rejecting the federalist emphasis on the individual as the unit of government, for obviously a state or nation can have no end or purpose different from, or opposed to, the end or purpose of its citizens, and our duty to a state or nation separate from its citizens, and in which they do not share, is surely inconceivable. It may be noted that Soviet Russia was elever enough to secure two additional votes in the General Assembly through the membership of Byelo-Russian S.S.R. and Ukranian S.S.R., though these two latter countries are no better than constituent units of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

If we look at U.N.O. from the point of view of its powers, we have to admit that the Charter takes the practical step of a compromise between recognising either states or individuals as units of international administration. If states were the units, they would claim complete sovereignty. Now even a glance at the Charter will show that for most states there is a definite renunciation of sovereignty, not in words, of course,-it still speaks of the 'sovereign equality" of all states-but in deed. For under the Charter "members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council", consisting only of eleven members of U.N. This loss of sovereignty on the part of the state may be interpreted as a gain for individual. For this would be a check on any totalitarian tendencies of the modern states and give the individual ampler opportunities of direct contact with international organisations and functions, and thus open up before him a new future. But there is a fly in the ointment; the big five still retain their sovereignty through their veto' in the Security Council.

In view of the fact that the individual is still not recognised as the unit of representation and that some states still do not renounce their sovereignty, it might be said that the importance of the individual is minimised and that of the state emphasised so far as the structure and powers of certain organs of U.N.O. are concerned. We may, however, still enthuse about the role of the individual, once we look to its purposes. One of the basic purposes of U.N.O. is to promote and encourage "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." The Economic and Social Council with its various specialised agencies, commissions, international conferences, and non-governmental organisations has already done much and is expected

^{1.} Dr. A. C. Ewing, The Individual, the State and Worldpopulation, pp. 267tl.

^{2.} Ibid, p. 808

E. Ibid, p. 100, also Stroit, Union Hem, pp. 1692.

^{4.} Ibid, pp. 277 and 279.

^{5.} Charter, articles 2 and 78.

^{6.} Ibid, article 25.

^{8.} Ibid, article 1.

^{9.} Ibid, article \$7.

^{10.} Ibid, article 68.

^{11.} Ibid, article 62.

^{18.} Ibid, esticle 71.

to do more in this respect. You may not think about U.N.O., but the mere mention of commissions like the Human Rights Commission, Economic and Employment Commission, Social Commission, Status of Women Commission and of specialised agencies like I.L.O., F.A.O., W.H.O., U.N.E.S.C.O. and of the Trusteeship Council sufficient to indicate that U.N.O. thinks rather seriously about us all.

No doubt here also there is a difficulty. For the Charter provides that U. N. shall have no right "to interfere in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State." On the basis of this provision South Africa has been attempting to prevent the General Assembly from taking any decisive action in regard to India's complaint of discriminating legislation against South African Indians. But it is difficult to believe that fundamental freedoms and human rights are 'essentially' within the jurisdiction of States, and not of U.N. whose very Charter in its preamble and in a number of articles speaks of the promotion of "fundamental human rights," "equal rights of men and women," "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development."14 The real remedy seems to lie in an acceptable definition of fundamental human rights and making them justiciable not only in the national courts but also in the International Court of Justice. This will bring the fundamental rights of citizens even within the protection of the Security Council. For the Charter provides that "each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party"15 and that "if any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment." But perhaps the main objection to this process of widening the powers of the Security Council is that its organisation and procedure are yet far from being democratic. If, therefore, fundamental rights of human beings are to be realised through international action, it is necessary that we attempt to democratise the Security Council; and this will surely involve abolition of both permanent representation and veto power of the big five in the Security Council. But this is to call upon the great states to humble themselves, an appeal to

the rich to sacrifice. Will they do it? Unless they do it, we cannot believe that U. N. O. will have a bright future before it. Let us remember that the more we can develop the understanding that the individual is the person for whom U. N. O. exist, the more ample will be its binding force upon him.

We need not be disappointed because a higher status was not given to the individual under the Charter. International government in any systematic fashion can hardly be dated earlier than the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. It is, therefore, not surprising that every attempt at emphasising the role of the individual in international affairs is met, to use a phrase of Professor Laski, by "the ghost of the sovereign state still seeking feverishly to retain in its hands the ruins of its empire." But surely in these days of wide and rapid communications, the days cannot be far off when the state which was once a "Leviathan' will "take amiably to the hook," and give the individual his due.

The individual, however, cannot expect to get his due, his rights, unless he does his duties. Here we can emphasise certain duties of the individual in relation to U. N. Individuals can work for the recommendations of the General Assembly by urging their governments to carry them out. Through their non-governmental organisations, like the World Federation of United Nations Associations, they can secure consultative status" with the Economic and Social Council, and give it their advice. In respect of certain recommendations of the General Assembly individuals have special responsibilities. For instance, without initiative from ordinary individuals, the resolution passed by the General Assembly on November 3, 1947 asking governments to promote by all means of publicity and propaganda friendly relations amongst nations would be meaningless. Individuals can play an active role in forming an international public opinion for peace and against war. They could declare that they would not fight any war against U. N. Through their franchise they could change the very character of their national parliament by sending there men who would work for U. N. They could demand from their state a system of education that is based on an international outlook. Is it too much to expect that individuals all over the world will realise their proper role in U. N., and while claiming rights from it, never forget to do their duties towards it, and thus contribute their share to the growing concept of world-cit'zenship?

^{19.} Charter, article 71.



^{18.} Ibid, article 2.

^{14.} Ibid, preamble, articles 1, 13, 55, -62, 68 and 76.

^{15.} Ibid, article 94.

^{16.} Ibid, article 94.

^{17.} Introduction to Politics, p. 96.

^{18.} Ibid, p. 105.

THE PRESS IN CHINA

By Paor. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A., University College, Mandalay

As everywhere else, newspapers were unknown in ancient China. The 'Celestial Kingdom' had no privately owned and managed newspaper even as late as the first half of the 19th century. Today also, in the middle of the 20th century, the Chinese press is undeveloped, unprogressive and backward. So far as the collection of news, serving the news collected, display of news-items and editing are concerned, they can stand no comparison with their English and contemporaries. But even at this un-American stage Chinese papers and periodicals developed have caught the infection of corruption like many of the papers and periodicals in other countries. A newspaper to justify its existence, nay, to be worth its name, must set before itself the ideals of forming a balanced public opinion and of giving expression to the same. Bribed by the rich and bullied by the mighty, Chinese papers in general have receded farther and farther away from these ideals.

Newspapers in the modern sense, of recent origin in China as they are, official newspapers are known to have been in existence as early as the second century of the Christian era when the Han Emperors were the arbiters of China's destiny. An official 'gazette' began to be regularly published from the days of Tang Emperor Minghuang in the 8th century A.D. Its circulation however was confined in the main to Government circles till the beginning of the Manchu period in the middle of the 17th century. The popularity of this 'gazette' among the intelligentsia continued till the days of the Ming and the Ching Emperors. It can, by no stretch of imagination be regarded as a newspaper in the accepted sense of the term today. A medium of the expression of public opinion it was certainly not. Nor was there any such medium at the time. Criticism of Government policy and actions was not however altogether unknown. This criticism however was confined to the educated gentry. The masses were inarticulate as yet.

Criticism of Government activities had been galvanized into activity in the later Han period. This criticism, in the last analysis, was a crusade of intellectual China against the corruption, jobbery, nepotism and various other malpractices rampant at court and among the bureaucracy. Followed the student movement, which may be regarded as a direct outcome of the campaign launched by China's intellectuals. During the Sung and the Ming Dynasties later on Chinese students played a leading role in all the progressive movements of the country. Students of China have, through generations, held aloft the banner handed down to them by their predecessors. The later Han Emperors sought to put down the student movement by executing hundreds of scholars and incarcerating thousands and thousands of students of different universities. The student community was whipped into activity in the 12th and 13th centuries by the corruption, weakness and inefficiency of the Government of the day.

The first Chinese newspaper saw the light of the day in the 19th century. Like many things else China owes her earliest papers and periodicals to Christian missionaries, who have contributed not a little to the development of the Chinese press. There is a striking similarity in this respect between India and China. The missionaries were wide awake to the importance, nay, the indispensability, of rewspapers as the media of propaganda. They had besides the advantage of having at their disposal press and other paraphernalia essential for the publication of newspapers and magazines. Missionaries like Morrison, Medhurst, Young J. Allen, Timothy Richard and others believed that it was a part of their duty to popularise scientific thoughts in China and to stimulate mass consciousness in that vast sub-contineut. It would be ignoring a great historical truth if we forget that it is the ideas disseminated by these missionaries which have precipitated the dawn of the modern age in China.

The missionaries turned their attention in the first instance to monthlies and fortnightlies. The first Chinese daily came into existence in the middle of the 19th century. Dailies do not seem to have been very popular at first and before 1895 China had only seven dailies. The increase in their number has been very quick since then. The following table will give the readers an idea of the growth of the Chinese press:

| Year | , | Number of Dailies |
|------|---|-------------------|
| 1895 | • | 19 |
| 1903 | | 65 |
| 1907 | | 123 |
| 1910 | | 250 |
| 1912 | | 500 |
| 1921 | | 550 |
| 1926 | | 628 |
| 1935 | | 910 |
| | | |

The statistics for the post-1935 period are not available. Yet it may be safely averred that Chinese dailies today number 1,000 at the humblest computation. The number, in all probability, is much higher. The number of their readers too is not negligible. In the year 1936-37 5% of China's teeming millions were in the habit of reading papers.

The history of the press in China may be divided into three periods:

- 1. Beginning of the modern newspaper
- 2. Pre-Revolutionary Epoch .. 1895-1911 .

.. 1815-95

3. Post-Revolutionary Epoch .. 1912-

Sinclogues like William Milne, Robert Morrison, Friedrich August Gutzlaff, James Legge and Walter Henry Medhurst played an important part in the development of Chinese journalism in the first half of the 19th century. Charles Batten Hillier, Alexander Wylie, Jeseph Elkins, Timothy Richard and last but

not least Young J. Allen played an equally important role in the evolution of the Chinese press in the latter half of the century. Some of them had the good luck of obtaining the assistance of Chinese collaborators. Of these latter mentioned may be made of Wang Tao, Tsai Erh-K'ang and Liang A-fa, who were associated with Legge, Allen and Morrison, respectively.

Wand Tao may be regarded as the pioneer of Chinese journalists. Endowed by nature with an original genius, Wang had the added advantage of being a profound scholar. During the years 1860-80 a number of papers were published through the efforts and under the management of students like Wu Tingfang. Yung Wing and others who had their education abroad. Lin Tsheh-hsu was the first Chinese official to turn his attention to Western periodicals. He and his subordinate Wei Yuan suggested the translation of foreign periodicals into Chinese with a view to liberalising the outlook and broadening the angle of vision of the intelligentsia. The well-known Chinese daily Shun Pao came into existence in 1872. The Sin Wan Pao, another leading daily of China and a rival of the Shun Pao, was started 21 years later in 1893. China's discomfiture at the hands of Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) was the signal, so to say, of the former's re-awakening from the age-old slumber in all spheres of national life. A number of Chinese periodicals sprang into existence at this crisis in the nation's life. Each and everyone of them was an ardent champion of radical reforms in the prevailing socio-political set-up of China.

The First Sino-Japanese War may thus be said to have marked the beginning of a new phase in the evolution of the Chinese press. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 which liquidated the decrepit Manchu monarchy was in the main an outcome of the ceaseless campaign conducted through years by the daily and periodical press of China. Gagging orders, fines, imprisonment, expulsion from the country and the like notwithstanding, Chinese journalists of the day were undaunted and did not deviate from the path which they had chalked out for themselves.

The period, 1895-1911 may be rightly regarded as the golden age in the history of the Chinese journalism. Under the Republic there have been no doubt an all-round improvement and by no means inconsiderable increase in the circulation of the Chinese papers; yet the Chinese papers today cannot stand comparison with those of the pre-Republican epoch. The modern press is a stranger to the idealistic fire and fervour of its pre-Revolutionary predecessor. The development of the Chinese press has been moreover very slow. The re-actionary regime of Yuan Shi-kai and the ordeal China and her people have been passing through since 1927 are responsible for this tardinases of progress.

The Chinese Monthly Magazine, the first Chineselanguage periodical first came out on August 6, 1915. It was brought out from Malacca by William Milne. Robert Morrison and Liang A-fa were his associated in the matter. China's first foreign-language periodical had however come into existence in 1833. It was published from Canton. She had her first daily a quarter of a century later in 1858 through the encouragement of Wu Tin-fang. This first Chinese daily was but a Chinese-language edition of the China Mail, an English daily.

The first Chinese periodicals had very few subscribers. The Chinese Monthly Magazine could not boast of more than 2,000 subscribers even in the heyday of its popularity and prosperity. Judged by contemporary standards, the 2,000-mark was by no means unsatisfactory. The circulation of the Magazine was confined to South China and to the Chinese settlers in Siam, Annam and Malay. Quite a number of the Christian Fathers, who had made the publication and improvement of Chinese papers and periodicals the mission of their life, were deep students of the country's history and its hoary culture. Of these James Legge deserves a special mention. Walter Henry Medhurst has carved out a niche for himself in the history of the evolution of Chinese periodical literature. Young J. Allen worked Trojan-like from 1864 to 1904 for the propagation of modern scientific knowledge among the Chinese. He had realised it full well that the aid of periodicals was an essential pre-condition of modernizing China's outlook. of widening her angle of vision.

The Chinese dailies published between 1860 and 1869 were but Chinese translations of different foreignlanguage dailies. Two of the leading dailies of present-day China were started under foreign auspices and management. It was foreign missionaries and merchants in China who first took to the publication of newspapers out of pecuniary motives. The Chinese took their cue from them and began to follow their example from 1870 onwards. It was during this period that Wang Tao, the father of Chinese journalism, to whom we have already referred, started the Tsun Wan Yat Pao, which is still in existence. Like the Christian missionaries in the field of periodical journalism, students, who had been to foreign lands, and Government officials who looked ahead, were pioneers in the field of daily journalism. Yung Wing, the first Chinese student to have left his native shores for higher studies, started a daily on May 3, 1874. This paper-Huei Pao-was published from Shanghai. Wu Tingfang was one of the first Chinese students to have gone abroad for higher education. Another Chinese student-Kwang Chichow-who had his education abroad, started a daily named Kwang Pao on May 23, 1866.

Needless to say, these earliest papers were immature and undeveloped. Journalists were looked down upon by the society. A Manchu Vicerry once described the Chinese journalists as "the literary loafers of Kiangsu and Chekiang." The public opinion was neither favourable nor respectful to the journ

nalists. A change however was noticeable from the time of Liang Chi-chao, the prince of Chinese journalists, who began to use the periodical press as a vehicle of agitation for political reforms. The Fourth-Estate in China began to have their share of social recognition and prestige.

No Chinese newspaper at this stage could claim a circulation exceeding a few hundreds. No issue had more than two sheets of paper. The management of a newspaper was in consequence not a tough job at all.

"The papers of those days contained chiefly tit-bits of social gossip of no real importance. Not only were they unable to report on the important affairs and plans of the nation, but they were afraid to publish them even if they had access to such reports. The result was that the news material was chiefly of the vaguest and trivial sort there were reports about market prices, boatsailings, theatre programmes, which were all advertisements, serving as a guide to amusements for travellers. In one word, the newspapers of those days were published with the one aim of making money, while the editors tried to do as little as they could. The general reason was that Chinese society of those days, both high and low, did not possess a world outlook, nor did they take an intelligent interest in politics, but regarded the daily paper only as an enterprize of the foreign firms having little to do with ourselves."-The Golden Jubilee Volume of the Shun Pao.

The year 1894-95, which witnessed China's defeat at the hands of Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War, marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Chinese journalism. Journalists of this epoch were imbued with the loftiest ideals of selfless devotion to the country. This era, as noted above, may rightly be regarded as the golden age of journalism in China. In utter defiance of bans imposed by the Government, in total disregard of governmental persecution and without any profit-motive the papers and periodicals of the period started a nationwide campaign for building up a pro-reform public opinion. The efforts bore fruit and the effete Manchu monarchy was liquidated when Heuan Tung, the last of the Chings, was persuaded to abdicate in 1912. The press was the principal, nay, the sole medium for the dissemination of modern ideas and the expression of contemporary public opinion. These ideas had four aspects. For one thing, there was an insistent demand for political reforms, an attempt to focus public attention on the corruption of the bureaucracy and an incessant propaganda for popularising the ideals of independence, democracy and constitutional reforms. Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi Chao were the arch-protagonists of these ideas. For another, the Manchus, who were foreigners, were vehemently attacked. Dr. Sun Yat-son, Chang Tayen and other thempions of this anti-Manchu crusade held to the when that the expulsion of the Manchus was absolutely necessary for national salvation. For yet a third, there was an earnest effort to propagate and popularise progreenve modern ideas. Yen Fu was the undisputed

leader of this aspect of the campaign. Last but not least, an all-out effort was made to conserve the best elements of Chinese culture and to bring about a cultural regeneration of China. Of the leaders of this aspect of the campaign carried on by contemporary papers and periodicals Chang Tayen and Liu Shihpei deserve special mention. In the words of Lin Yutang.

"In the play and counter-play of these currents, literary China was awakened to a national and political consciousness and its enthusiasm kindled into a glowing flame that consumed the Manchu Empire."

—A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, P. 94.

A realisation of the necessity of mass education and the urgency and importance thereof had begun to dawn upon Government officials and prominent writers of contemporary China. Government officials, reformers and gifted persons with vision, such as Yuan Shi-kai, Chang Chi Tung, Sun Yat-sen, Kang Yu-we, Liang Chi Chao, Sun Chianai, Wen Tingsi, Chen Chunsuan, Chang Taiyu, Sai Yuan Pei, Wu Chi Huei and the like, lent their energies towards the development of the press. They were closely associated with different dailies and periodicals.

The name of Liang Chi Chao will ever remain written in letters of gold in the annals of Chinese journalism. According to many the Revolution of 1911 was of his making in the main the ground for which was certainly prepared by the fiery articles from his pen. He had a deep regard for the social and political ideals and institutions of the West. The ideals of independence, democracy and constitutional reforms had cast & magic spell upon him. The Empress Tzu-hsi declared a reward for his arrest in 1908. Liang gave the slip to the Chinese police and made good his escape to Japan. He now brought out a magazine which was published thrice a month. This magazine—The Pure Criticism Periodical-was in existence for three years. Its entry into China was banned by the Manchu Government. An Imperial ukase of January 15, 1900, had banned the writings of Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi Chao all over the celestial kingdom. Liang was the founder of a number of periodicals. His was a tircless pen which he wielded till the last day of his life. He is undoubtedly one of the great writers of modern China. Yen Fu is another stalwart in the field of China's periodical literature. He rendered into Chinese the works of Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. He was associated with the Knowen Pao, an excellent, but short-lived periodical, published from Tientsin first in 1897. Chinese papers and periodicals of the period were inspired with loftiest ideals of purest patriotism. 'Service to the motherland above self' was their motto. Frowns notwithstanding of powers that were, papers and periodicals of this epoch had a larger circulation than that of their predecessors in any previous period. They tried to bring about the social and cultural regeneration of China with the help of Western ideas. And their efforts have borne fruit. Of the Chinese language periodicals of this epoch the Wusik Paihua Pao and

Kuotevi Hsuch Pao deserve special mention. The former was first published in 1898 under the management of Miss Chiu Yufang, China's first woman journalist, while the latter came into existence six years later in 1904.

These periodicals did much to prepare the ground for the establishment of the Chinese Republic by bringing about a revolutionary change in the mental firmament of young China. Dailies like the Su Pao, the Fu Pao, the Min Pao, the Minhu Pao and the Minli Pao conducted an overt anti-Manchu campaign. The Su Pao is the best known of these papers. A number of periodicals were published at this time from Japan by exiled Chinese patriots. Their popularity was ever on the increase. The Manchu Government took fright and had recourse to repression. Dailies, periodicals and bulletins were victimised. Bans were imposed on them. An order passed by the Manchu Government in 1900 laid down that no student should write for papers, work as an editor or as a correspondent and purchase or bring any revolutionary literature in a college or university compound. The order, it might be noted in passing, remained a dead letter.

The Shih Pao (Eastern Times) first published in 1904 by Ti Chuching may be regarded as the first modern Chinese newspaper.

The 16-year period 1895-1911, as noted above, constitutes a glorious epoch in the annals of Chinese journalism. As an impartial purveyor of news and as a medium of expression of public opinion there has been a marked deterioration of the Chinese press in subsequent years. The decade 1915-25 is however an exception. The deterioration in quality however has gone part passu with improvement of printing and enhancement of circulation. The Chinese press during 1915-25 took its cue from the pre-revolutionary press. Its contribution towards paving the way for the second Chinese revolution of 1926-27 can by no means be over-emphasised.

China could boast of more than 500 newspapers in 1912, the year of the birth of the Chinese Republic. One hundred of these papers, i.e., about 20 per cent of the whole, were published from Peking. When Yuan Shi-Kai tried to revive monarchy in China, the publication of almost all these papers was stopped. The plea of "undermining the safety of the state" came very handy to the authorities. This has been a favourite and formidable weapon in the armoury of re-action in all ages and all climes for silencing progressive public opinion. But truth dies hard. The day of reckoning comes at last—belated though—and re-action is swept out of existence.

The year 1917 marks the beginning of a great revolution in the literary sphere in China. The revolution, however did not remain confined within the literary field alone. It produced momentous results in the political life of the country as well. This revolution persuaded young China to take an active part in politics. A large.

number of periodicals made their appearance. Thoughts from the West and its literature infused new life into China's periodical literature and brought about an epoch-making change in the cultured sphere of the country. May 4th Movement, 1919, and May 30th Movement are two memorable events of this epoch.

In May, 1925, Ku Chenghung, the labour-leader of a Japanese spinning mill at Shanghai was shot dead by the Japanese Manager of the mill. There were demonstrations in the street of Shanghai in protest against this cold-blooded murder. Some of the demonstrators were shot dead by the British Settlement police. Chinese public opinion was never so well-organised as at this time. The news of the firing at Shanghai spread like wild fire. A country-wide campaign for the boycott of Japanese and English goods launched at this time gradually gained ground. The campaign culminated in the second Chinese Revolution of 1926-27. The press, the students, the merchants and the people all participated actively in this movement. The Kuomingtang and the Communists were at this time working in collaboration with each other. Sun Yat-sen, the maker of modern China, the Father of the Chinese nation, had breathed his last on March 12, 1925. He had stated in no uncertain terms that an awakening of the Chinese masses is the condition precedent of China's salvation. This indeed is true, not of China alone, but of all countries in bondage, of all the exploited peoples of the earth, of the entire disinherited humanity struggling for the recovery of its last heritage. But "this has been entirely forgotten by the people who today mumble these words ("awakening the masses") in their prayers and acknowledge verbal allegiance to the great deceased leader."-History of the Press and Public Opinion in China by Lin Yutang, p. 122.

A movement to substitute modern Chinese for the ancient as the language of literature had been already set afoot. In 1918-19, more than 400 periodicals in the current colloquial of China were published by the teachers and students of the country. Political as well as literary articles were published by them. Their contents included short stories written in imitation of western writers and poems and dramas in blank verse. It was about this time that the ancient glories of China, her philosophy, her ancient literature and ancient history began to be studied rationally and scientifically. The Sinological Quarterly, published by Peking National University and the special monthly issue of Dr. Hu Shi's weekly, The Endeavour, were the two most prominent exponents of this aspect of China's cultural regeneration.

May 4th Movement of 1919 was among the first fruits of this cultural upheaval. It was through this movement that the students of Republican China began to take for the first time an active part in the political life of the country.

Since the inauguration of the Chinese Republic in 1912, Chinese newspapers and magazines have increased in numbers as well as in circulation. China could be a of a total of 1137 dailies and periodicals in 1921, nine years after the birth of the Republic. The Proceedings of the Second World Press Conference gives the following table:

| Dailies | • • | _ | •• | 550 |
|-----------------|---------|-----|-------|------|
| Published every | | day | • • | 6 |
| Published every | 5 days | | | 9 |
| Published every | 10 days | | | 46 |
| Bi-weeklies | | | | 9 |
| Weeklies | | | | 154 |
| Fortnightlies | • • | | | 54 |
| Monthlies | • • • | | | 303 |
| Quarterlies | • • | | | 4 |
| Half-yearly | | | | ĩ |
| Annual | | | | ī |
| ARMIUM | •• | | •• | |
| | | | Total | 1137 |

In 1886 China's papers and periodicals totalled less than 100-78 to be accurate. The number had then increased more than 14 times in 35 years. This is definitely much beyond the ordinary. 628 Chinese-lauguage newspapers were published from China in 1926. In the same year the numbers of different foreign-language dailies published from China were as follows:

| English | | | 26 |
|----------|---------|-------|----|
| Japanese | •• | • • | 16 |
| Russian | • • | •• | 6 |
| French | | •• | 3 |
| Korean | •• | •• | 1 |
| | | | |
| | | Total | 52 |

1

In this year the total number of dailies, weeklies, Government Bulletins, and the organs of different organisations was in the neighbourhood of 2,000.

Of the Chinese periodicals of the post-1911 period that made a deep impression on young China, the Yung Yen, the Kuofangpao and the Tachunghua, all edited by Liang Chi-chao, the Pujen, edited by Kang Yu-wei, the Chinin, edited by Chung-Shing-yen, the Renaissance brought out by the students of the University of Peking, the Kuomin and the Reconstruction both under the editorship of Dr. Sun Yat-sen deserve special mention. Nor should we pass by the Minbu and the La Jennesse, two other influential periodicals of the period.

The establishment of Nanking National Government in 1927 was followed by momentous activities of a new type in the literary sphere of China. Marxist ideology and literature began to be propagated on a wide scale. Quite a number of pro-Communist periodicals sprang into existence. A large number of Russian works were translated into Chinese. Nanking at first attached no importance to the progress of Marxism, which stirred up young China. When, however, Marxist ideas made considerable headway, the Government took fright and became alert.

The policy of savage persecution launched by the Rational Government was responsible for the closing down of all these periodicals after a short term of life. Their names, by the way, were very significant—the Burnoons, the Desort, the Eddy, the Masses, the Storm Storm and the like. Due to Government opposition

their popularity began to dwindle from 1932. A number of papers and periodicals subsidised by the Government made their appearance. They, needless it is to say, were wholly reactionary and observantist in policy and outlook.

Like all other countries China has both progressive and reactionary papers. At the time of the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July, 1937, the L'Impartial or the Ta Kung Pao, was the foremost among the progressive papers of China. It was betteredited than all its Chinese contemporaries. The most important among the conservative and reactionary papers of contemporary China were the Shun Pao and the Sin Wan Pao. It might be noted in passing that both are very badly edited. Their subscribers nevertheless were more numerous than those of any other Chinese paper on the eve of the second Sino-Japanese War. Each of these had at this time more or less 100,000 subscribers. Lin Yutang remarks aptly:

". . . Our most popular dailies are the worst-edited, being run with advertisements as the basis and news of secondary importance only to fill the broken spaces left over by advertisements, while the better-edited dailies reach a smaller public."—A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, p. 131.

The remarks of another great scholar and literary celebrity of China, Ko Kung-chin also bear quotation in this context:

"The news recorded in our China newspapers only serves the purpose of filling up the space. reporting an event, an account often appears without proper introduction or ending and sometimes conflicts with itself. Sometimes the same event appears in two or three places without any order or system. There is a lot of empty verbiage and the reader is not able to get at the salient points. The reason for the former is that the reporters have not learned their job but content themselves with copying releases, while the latter defect is due to the fact that the editors do not think for their readers and only want to save troubles. So, we often find & score of pages with a lot of words and nothing ina great pity."—History of Chinese Journalism, p. 218. teresting in it that is worth reading. This is indeed

Chinese papers have made considerable headway during the last 20 years. Many are the papers which publish special weekly editions today. Many of the progressive papers have thoroughly mastered the arts of displaying news and of using attractive headlines, Economic and literary topics and also arts, sports and games, cinema, women's problems and the like form regular features of quite a large number of them. But when everything has been said, the fact remains that as purveyors of news Chinese papers are still immature. There is an acute shortage of correspondents with requisite qualifications. It is why the news served by Chinese papers are, more often than not, ill-written, To make a general remark, the style in which the correspondents write is cramped. The papers moreover serve political news in the main. So the average reader does not find much interest in them nor is much inalined to read the same.

The periodical literature of a country is a reliable criterion of its cultural progress. It is at the same time an effective agency of public education. Chinese periodicals may be said to have attained maturity in certain respects. Periodicals devoted to particular topics are not unknown in present-day China. The China Year Book of 1935 gives a list of 450 Chinese periodicals. Besides the dailies and periodicals there is a class of small-sized papers in China known as 'Mosquito papers.' Many of the 'Mosquitoes' are biweeklies. They publish minor news-items passed over by the dailies. China had upwards of 200 'Mosquito papers' in 1935.

Chinese periodicals too are as badly edited as the dailies. The rates of honoraria paid to the contributors being very low, good writers as a general rule do not feel inclined to write for the periodicals. The American weeklies and monthlies generally pay an honorarium ranging between 100 and 2,000 dollars for a published article. Whereas till a few years back a Chinese periodical generally did not pay more than 3 or 4 dollars for a thousand-word article. Matters may have since improved.

The contribution of Chinese periodicals towards the national awakening should by no means be disregarded. Their influence has been felt in all walks of life. Periodicals like the Hsinmin Tsung Pao, the Yung Yen and the Tachunghua, all edited by Liang Chi Chao, the Fu Pao, the Min Pao and the Kuomin, all edited by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Pujen of Kang Yu Wei by bringing about revolutionary changes in the national mind have laid the foundations of modern China.

STOCK EXCHANGE REFORM Stock Exchange Legislation Should Be Unitary

By PRINCIPAL K. L. GARG, M.A. Ph.D.,

One of the most important pieces of reform that is long overdue is that of the Stock Exchanges. At times, it has been admitted by various economists, writers and politicians that speculation is an eyil and must be checked or controlled, so much so that two Indian Finance Ministers, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Shanmukham Chetty have referred to it in their budget speeches and have promised to formulate necessary legislation in this direction. But nothing tangible has yet come out. This shows the importance of the subject and its difficult nature. I have in my two articles which appeared in Commerce on 28th June, 1947 and 5th July, 1947 drawn the attention of the Government to the lines of Stock Exchange Reforms and much water has flown since then on the point.

Speculation, it must be understood, is a necessary evil and thus cannot be checked with advantage. It can be regulated so as to free it from its inherent weaknesses without in any way disturbing the financial structure. The main function of speculation is to promote the establishment of equilibrium of demand and supply in the market and thus to help in the smooth course of consumption, production and exchange, and that of a Stock Market to provide a ready and easy convertibility of securities and thus enable the industries to obtain the necessary finance. The Stock Exchange has thus served a useful purpose as it provides necessary mobility to capital and directs the flow of capital into profitable and successful industrial enterprises. But it is not free from its shortcomings and of late have been responsible for much hectic speculation and overtrading. It was much due to the circumstances of war which brought about prolific fortunes to the Indian merchants through black-marketing, profiteering and hoarding as also through the immense increase in currency notes in circulation. But at the same time there are certain inherent defects of the present Security Markets in our country because of the non-existence of a rigid and rigorous piece of legislation like that of

National Security Act of U.S.A., which might be applicable to all Stock Markets in our country. The practices of our Stock Exchanges widely differ from each other and they need a thorough overhauling,

It is more often suggested that speculation should be checked in all possible ways. To my mind this is not a feasible solution and would be just like killing a patient with a view to cure him. The patient needs proper diegnosis and medication so that he may exist and render necessary service. Stock Exchange practices similarly should be guarded and regulated on sounder lines so that the speculators may not be able to take undue advantage of the situation and the market may be free from all manipulations of the stock brokers and that the speculation may be carried on with all the ability and foresight and may ensure the interest of the investors.

As pointed out in my previous writings healthy speculation that is based on scientific knowledge of business conditions is always advantageous and must be fostered, while on the other hand, unhealthy speculation which leads to gambling is a social evil and brings about much injury and waste. There should be a fine line of demarcation between the two. When speculation is carried on the basis of unfounded rumours and imperfect knowledge of business conditions, it brings about economic degeneration and is responsible for much waste. It simply enables the individuals to fulfil their selfish motives and is injurious not only economically but socially and morally as well.

Regulation of speculation and exchanges is therefore an urgent necessity and if our country is to be industrialized and the industries are allowed to develop on sounder and modern lines, it is highly necessary that Stock Exchange Reforms should not lag behind. Not only speculation on Stock Markets is to be controlled directly by introducing a rigid All-India Legislation with a provision of a Controller of Stock Exchanges, vested with wide powers and having jurisdiction was

all the Stock Markets of the country assisted by certain office assistants, watching the daily progress and development of these markets, but also by adopting all such measures which will restrict the scope of speculation, in other words by minimising the facilities of speculation as well. With the introduction of Stock Exchange Legislation, it may be necessary to reform the Company and the Banking Laws as well. The Directors and the Managing Agents who take advantage of their position and have, at many times, been responsible for the leakage of certain information much in advance to their relatives and friends, who in turn take unduc advantage at the Stock Market at the expense of the investing public, should be liable to severe punishment and the provisions should be so modified that the necessary information may be available to the public at the proper time. It may also need a control of corporation dividends as also a control of investment for which an establishment of an Investment Board may be necessary. The bye-laws of all exchanges should be subject to approval of the Controller of Exchanges and a uniform policy should be formulated regarding the methods of business. In brief, every bit of details should be supervised, controlled and regulated by the Controller and the Investment Board.

It must, however, be noted that this piece of legislation, which may be in the process of preparation at the Finance Minister's table should not unduly restrict the business, as, if it so happens, the business shall be diverted from the floor of the exchange to uncertified brokers and to "Gutter Markets." In no way the freedom of the market which is so essential for the investor and the speculator should be curtailed. The main object of legislation ought to be to see that speculation is not allowed to go beyond reasonable bounds.

In this connection, it shall also be necessary that the brokers are provided proper training regarding Stock Exchange technique and practice. The work can conveniently be taken up by the Investment Board and the Government should set up a Stock Exchange Research Organization to carry on the necessary research with a view to reform the investors and the market alike.

While framing the legislation, we cannot afford to neglect the conditions prevailing in other advanced countries like U.S.A., England, etc. As pointed out above we cannot run completely on the lines of socialistic economy under the present circumstances and glose the Forward Trading at all. Forward Trading must continue under proper control and for the purpose it will be necessary that Ready and Forward Deliveries should be unambiguously defined. The Forward business, when suspensed during the last war, was carried on under the disguise of Ready Delivery which was restricted to eight days. It is too long a period and provides apportunities for manipulations. The period of currency of forward contracts should be precisely felined and should not be a long one. The introduction of the muteur of margins is of immediate necessity with a view to check the speculators from trading beyond their means, and with a view to carry on Forward Contracts on sound lines as also to restrict the magnitude of speculation. A provision to this effect has been made in the recent legislation on Stock Exchange in South Africa, under which the client is required to deposit with the broker such securities as will provide a minimum cover. This provision of margin or minimum cover should not apply to the investors only, but to the brokers as well and may safely be kept deposited with Stock Exchange Clearing House. Provisions to restrict the activities of speculators beyond their means should also be made, for example, loans against the securities of shares by brokers should be prohibited as also the loan advanced on the security of other assets should not also exceed beyond a certain sum. At the same time the interest of the investors should also be safeguarded and in no way the brokers be allowed to take undue advantage of their position over the investor, e.g., a broker should be prohibited from selling his own holdings to a chent or from acquiring himself the clients' holdings without the clients' permission and a disclosure to this effect must be made on the Brokers' Note. Provision should also be made for the Audit of Brokers' Accounts and any infringement of rules and regulations framed under the law should be severely punished. This would reduce the magnitude of the Tarawani business at the Bombay Stock Exchange, which mostly goes against the interest of the investors.

Control of business on Blank Transfers is also necessary and must be provided for. In the early stages it will neither be feasible nor advisable to provide for the abolition of Blank Transfers but a start may be made by limiting the period of their currency. Necessary changes must also be made in the constitution of the Stock Exchanges and provision be made for the representation of various commercial bodies and the Government on their Governing Boards with a view to provide an opportunity for these bodies to put their points of view, as also to keep an eye on their working. The Act should also lay down the minimum qualification of a member. Stock Exchange business is full of intricacies and responsibilities, and it is, therefore, necessary that before a man enters this business. he must possess the required knowledge, experience and training. Sound monetary position should not be the only consideration of membership, though of course. it should be one of the primary considerations. The membership fee should be sufficiently high and the licence at one time should be granted for one year only and may be renewed from year to year.

Provision should also be made for the protection of the investors from investing in unsound companies through listing regulations of the Stock Exchange which should call for such information as would enable the listing Committee to judge the soundness of the company and provide for closer scrutiny of securities before they are actually listed and shares are allowed of a market or the Block Exchange.

IRON INDUSTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Prof. AMIYA KUMAR DATTA, M.SC.

INDIA excelled in iron industry in a very remote period but the dating of this particular branch of Indian industry is a debatable question. Scattered and fragmentary references in ancient literature are rather insufficient for a knowledge of the systematic development of this industry in India from the earliest time. Still the perusal of these scanty records together with the remnants of the industrial concerns has brought to light the dominant position of India in the world in ancient time with respect to iron industry.

First, we get reference of iron implements in the Rigveda. The age of the Rigveda is between 2500 and 2000 B.C. This shows that the use of iron was known to the Indian people at that time. It is said that no iron implements have been found in the remains of Mahenjedaro civilisation which was excavated in Sind. It is stated that the people of the place fell before the inroaders as they did not know the use of iron implements and the horse.

The written account of war implements which are described in the Ramayana or the Mahabharata beggars description. It is really amazing to find that the ancient Indians knew the art of making and use of these highly developed technical instruments especially when many of their modern equivalents are yet to be made, though some of them have already made their appearance proving the possibility of the existence of others. In the Ayurvedic days delicate surgical instruments were used for complex operation. Many of them are mentioned in the Sushruta Samhita and other Ayurvedic works. Many of these are made of iron. The construction of them requires experience and research in handling iron and its ores proving thereby the still more antiquity of the iron industry in India. Unfortunately we can not get these instruments now. This may be due to the ravage of time by rusting of these instruments.

India has produced iron and steel from earliest times. The famous Damascus blades, which were so much in demand in Europe, were prepared from Indian steel called Wootz. Traders from Middle East countries came to India for this famous material Wootz disregarding the fatigue and the dangers of such long journeys. That is a point of credit to the ancient Indian iron industry. India was carrying on this trade nearly 2000 years ago.

A brief account of the process of manufacturing Wootz steel would not be out of place here. A mixture of magnetic sand and laterite (a product of sub-aerial weathering of rocks in tropical countries; principally a mixture of aluminium and ferric hydro-oxides) in the proportion of 3; 2 was heated in crucibles made of refractory clay derived from decomposed granite for twenty-four hours by means of bellows. No charcoal was used but some fragments of old glass slag used instead. After heating the charge was allowed to opol when steel of great hardness was

produced. It was further annealed in furnaces made of refractory clay until the requisite malleability was obtained. The Tellinga name of this steel is Woots,

The manufacturing process of steel as practised in ancient India was in many ways superior to that of foreign imported steel. The furnaces and bellows here were of many shapes and designs, and charcoal made from different types of timber was used giving the variable amount of carbon and hydrocarbon. Even now in some parts in India village blacksmiths rear this ancient process of manufacturing steel and extracting iron from ores. But they are hardly paid for the labour and earn somehow a poor livelihood. Competition from imported products as well as scarcity of fuel had gone to deprive them of their ancestral practice.

The relics of the use of iron in India are to be found from the archaeological finds in different parts of India, such as Tinnevelli district in Madras, Dharpillar in Malwa (Gujarat), Konarak temple in Orissa and remains of slags of iron from the nonlithic site a' Bellary, Scraikela, Ghatsila but the iron pillar near Delhi which, according to Fergusson, was built before 400 A.D., stands as a glorious testimony to the iron industry of India. This huge pillar is wholly made of wrought iron and has a length of 23 ft. 8 inches, a diameter of 16.4 inches at the base and a weight of nearly 6 tons. The manipulation of such a huge mass of wrought iron speaks in itself of Indian efficiency in iron industry. It is totally rustless but contains no chromium or titanium. On analysis it yielded 99.72 per cent of iron and 0.28 percent of carbon, sulphur, silica and phosphorus. It baffles our imagination when we try to conceive how such a huge structure of rustless wrought iron was made into a pillar. It is said that it has been constructed by welding pieces of wrought iron, but has been so adjusted that no traces of welding are to be seen.

Thus we see that the iron industry in India is very ancient. In fact, it can be reasonably stated that the iron and steel industry probably originated from here; This industry which was kept alive during the Mogul period practically died out in recent years due to hard competition from imported products, shortage of fuel, lack of protection by the Government and often due to the oppression of the juigirdars (landlards) and their people. It is really lamentable that India had in recent years to depend on foreign countries in steel . products although she possesses a vast and perhaps the richest and largest reserve of high-grade inon-ore and a good quantity of coal suitable for metallurgical purposes. It is gratifying that the Tata Iron and Steel Company and other Indian concerns in this industry. have met a fraction of our demand though a good amount of progress is yet to be made. We hope that with the help of the Government our industrialists. true to the ancient tradition, would come up to meet the whole of the demand of India in iron and steel The control of the co

SOME EARLY ANTIQUITIES FROM LOWER BENGAL

By BIMALKUMAR DATTA, M.A.

THE extensive low-lying plain on the south of the present district of 24-Parganas in Bengal is known as West-Sundarban. It forms the western part of the Sundarban and extends along the sea-face of the Bay of Bengal from the estuary of the river Hooghly on the west to that of the river Kalindi on the east. Many tidal rivers intersect this area with a network of their branches and give it the appearance of a tangled region of estuaries, rivers and water-courses, enclosing a large number of islets of various shapes and sizes.

Formerly this region was covered with dense jungles abounding in tigers, rhinoceroses and other wild animals; and many scholars held the view that it was not of ancient origin and had no past history. But the numerous antiquarian remains which this desolate tract and its bordering areas yielded, after the gradual reclamation of the jungles, clearly testify to its inhabited character and prosperity in remote days.

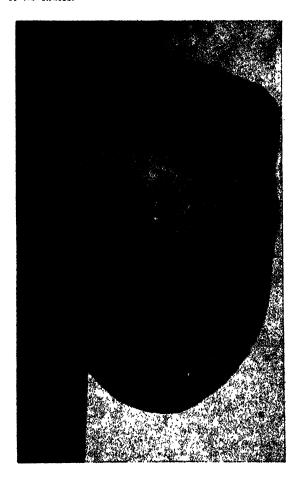
These antiquarian remains include numerous ruins of temples and other buildings, stone, bronze and terracotta images, copper-plate inscriptions, potteries, coins and scals, etc.¹

No mention has yet been found of any early town or village of this region in any Indian literary records. But Ptolemy's map of India within the Ganges (2nd century A.D.) shows a town here "Palaura" by name, between two rivers, named as Kambyson and Mega, near the coast of the Bay of Bengal."

From the ancient epigraphic and old Bengali literary sources, as well as from the maps by De Barros (1540 A.D.), Vanden Broucke (1660 A.D.) and James

- (a) Varendra Research Society's Monographa Nos. 3 4 and 5.
 (b) Catalogue of Gupta Coins (Kalighat). British Museum, Allan, p. XI.
- (c) Annual Report, Varendra Research Society (Rajshahi), 1928-29 (Kushan coin, Jatar Deul), pages 21-22.
- (d) Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1879, (Punch-marked coins, Jakra), page 245.
- (e) Descriptive List of Sculptures and Coins in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahityu Parisad, R. D. Banerjee (Punch-marked coins, Borechampa), page 40, Nos. 179-184, and scattle seal of the 2nd and 3rd century B.C. (Chandraketu Garh), page 16.
- (f) Kuchan terra-cotta head from Sagardwip. Now in the
- (g) Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, 1933, pages 202-207 and Vol. X, No. 2, 1934, pages 321-331.
- See Ptolomy's Map of India within the Canges, F. J. Monahan's Early History of Bengel (Oxford University Press).
- 8. Dakshin Govindapur Copper-plate of Meharaja Lakshman Sena Inscriptions of Bengai, Val. III. page 94, by N. G. Manundar.
- 4. (s) Bipradas Chakravarti's Manseer Bhasan. Bangiya Sahiiya Parisad Patrika, 1343 B.S., Vol. II.
- (6) Mukunda Ram Chakravarty's Chandi Kovya, Indian Press Edition, pages 201-282 and page 287.
- (c) Secured from the Roys-Mongel of Krishnardina to Bengaler Periadrices by Pareals Chandra Banarjes, pp. 18-19.

Rennel (1764-1777 A.D.), it is evidently clear that this tract was traversed by the main channels of the Ganges (now known as Adi-Ganga) which was the highway for the sea-borne trade of the rich Ganges valley. This circumstance must have conduced to its prosperity in the past. But how this prosperity was swept away and the region became depopulated and overgrown with jungles is unknown. Natural cataclysm like earthquakes, submergence of land and gradual choking up of the Adi-Ganga, had been, most probably, some of its causes.



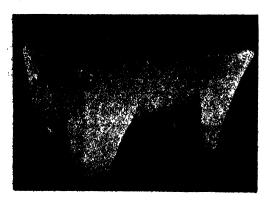
An earthen jar with basket marks

Evidences of the submergence of the old lands of this region were found in many places.

Colonel Gastrel says in his Revenue Survey Report of the Faridpore, Jessore and Buckergunge Districts:

"What maximum height the Sundarbans may have formerly attained is utterly unknown....
But that a general subsidence has operated over the whole of Sundarbans, if not of the entire delta, is, I think, quite clear from the result of the examina-

tions of cuttings or sections made in various parts where tanks were being excavated. At Khulna, about 12 miles to the nearest Sundarban lot, at a depth from eighteen feet below the present surface of the ground and parallel to it, remains of an old forest were found consisting entirely of Sundri trees of various sizes with their roots and lower portions of the trunk exactly as they must have been existent in former days, wher all was fresh and green above them."



A stone stand

R. D. Oldham writes:

"The peat-bed is found in all excavations in Calcutta at a depth varying from about twenty to about thirty feet and the same stratum appears to extend over a large area in the neighbouring country. A peaty layer has been noticed at Port Canning, thirty-five miles to the south-east and at Khulna, eighty miles east by north, always at such a depth below the present surface as to be some feet beneath the present mean tide level. In many of the cases noticed, roots of the Sundri trees were found in the peaty stratum. This tree grows a little above high watermark in grounds liable to flooding, so that in many instances roots occurring below the mean tide level, there is conclusive evidence of depression."

From these evidences of submergence and other geological features Mr. Oldham thinks that in the remote days probably this area of the Sundarban was not a part of the alluvial region of the Gangetic delta but a detached portion of a dry land that existed in the present Bay of Bengal. About this he says as follows in his book The Manual of Geology of India:

"The evidence (of depression) is confirmed by the occurrence of pebbles, for it is extremely improbable that coarse gravel should have been deposited in water eighty fathoms deep and large fragments could not have been brought to their present position unless the streams which now traverse the country had a greater fall or unless which is more probable rocky hills existed which have been covered up by alluvial deposits. The coarse gravel and sands which form so considerable coarse gravel and sands which form so considerable proportion of the beds traversed can scarcely be deltaic accumulation, and it is therefore probable, that when they were formed, the present site of Calcutts was near the alluvial plain, and it is quite

possible that a portion of Bay of Bengal was day

Besides these, there are other evidences of depression of lands in this area, which show that due to it many ancient buildings had also been submerged under ground in the past. The river Raidighi Gang, which flows along the western side of lot No. 26 (Kankandighi) is also studded with ruins on its east bank. Foundations of buildings, built of large-size bricks exposed due to river crosions, are still visible there during ebb tide, about 8 feet below the present bank of the Gang.

Recently I have seen in this tract some antiquities, which were unearthed from lower levels of ground bearing close affinity with some f the pre-historic finds discovered in India and abroad. I intend to describe them here. Discovery of these antiquities and the evidences of the submergence of land, referred to above, indicate that this part of lower-Bengal is of ancient origin and probably it has a pre-history shrouded in obscurity.

Of these finds the first one I want to notice here is a hand-made earthen jar with basket marks on its external surface. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. \times 4 ins. and was unearthed at Rupnagar (Lot No. 34, P.S. Jaynagar). It is not possible now to ascertain its age as there is no data for want of scientific excavation. But it closely resembles some of the early carthern jars used for funeral purposes in Egypt to keep wine for the dead. Recently such basket-marked potteries have come to light in the Arikamedu excavation from the pre-Aratine layer. All over the world hand-made basketmarked potteries were coming down from very remote times probably from Neolithic age" and were in use in ancient China," in the Thames at Mortlake and in other ancient sites. Gradually with the march of time this kind of marks on potteries lost its purpose and style and began to be more and more conventionalised and decorative.

The second one is a terra-cotta figurine of a mother-goddess (2 inches in height), which was discovered from a depth of 20 feet at the time of digging a ditch on the dry bed of Nalua Gang, a branch of the Adi-Ganga river. The hands and nose of this figurine are pinched and the breasts and eyes are made of additional fixed clay dots. The dots showing eyes are maissing but their marks are still visible.

In other parts of India this kind of clay images with various other types were found from the days of Harappa culture. It is now difficult to ascertain the age of this figurine from the Sundarban as "the chronology of the terra-cottas of India has given rise

^{6.} Vide British Museum Post Cards. Series B. 86, No. B 886.

^{7.} Ancient Inlie, No. 2, July, 1946. Plate XXVII, figure (2).
8. Anthropology, E. B. Taylor, Vol. II. page 36. (Thinket)

^{8.} Anthropology, E. B. Taylor, Vol. II, page 36. (Thinker's Library Sories).

9. The Civilization of the East (China), Rone Gronnet, page 3.

^{10.} The Outling of Microry, H. C. Wells, Vol. 1, page \$1 (Figure 1);

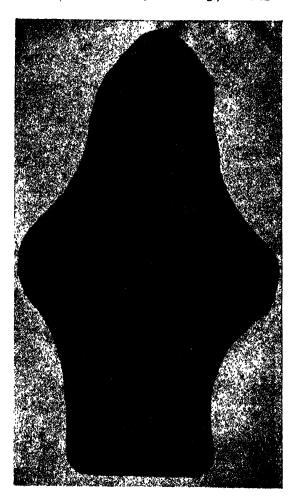
to much speculation and several conclusions have been drawn from the existence of various types. Primitive types have been assigned an early and sometimes prehistoric date." From the circumstantial evidences, it being extremely archaic and coming from a depth of 20 feet, it may be said without much hesitation that this figurine is of a very early age.

The third one is a four-legged rectangular stand made of sand-stone (size 15 ins. \times 12 ins. \times 9 ins.). It was uncarthed during the re-excavation of the dry bed of an old tank at Kankandighi (Lot No. 26, P.S. Mathurapur) from a depth of 16 feet. It bears close similarity with a stone-stand found at Tinnevelly (Travancore) in South India with pre-historic implements and a grinder.11 This kind of stands were in use in India for grinding corn from pre-historic times. Such stands belonging to the Gupta period were smaller in size and ornamented. The practice of grinding corn on raised stones (without legs) had been in vogue in Egypt also 3,000 years back.19

Geologists say that Bengal is comparatively younger in age. But the pre-historic antiquities so far discovered as chance-finds in the different districts of this province, bordering the 24-Parganas district, indicate that it has a pre-history of her own from very remote days. Though not in plenty, still implements of Palcolithic and Neolithic ages were found in Hooghly, Midnapur and Burdwan districts. In 1865, V. Ball discovered a small boucher, fashioned from a pebble of greenish quartzite, on the surface of the ground near the village of Kunkun, 11 miles south-west of Govindapur on the Grand Trunk Road, in association with a spread of publics derived from the conglomerates of the lower Damodar group of the Gondwana system." In Midnapur district near a village called Tama-juri within the pargana of Jhatibani a flat celt or battle-axe of copper was also unearthed by some villagers while digging a pit for domestic purpose." In the district of Burdwan near Durgapur relics of a very early civilisation also came to light. These are now under the inspection of the Archaeological Department."

Besides the finds noted above the ancient scripts in Sorask Matrika Chitralipi in the West Rarh and in the inscriptions on the hills of Biharinath in the district of Bankura, have got a striking resemblance with the scripts of Harappa and Moheniodaro and prove beyond

doubt that scripts of Indus valley culture were once current in West Bengal.10 Some of the ritual folk drawings of Bengal are also important for more than one reason. In one of such Alpana drawings, found in the



Mother Goddess

village of Kujkura (District Bankura), distinct traces of some of the Indus valley scripts with many Brahmi and Kharosti letters have been traced."

The chance-finds, described above, clearly indicate that Bengal with its lower regions, washed by numerous channels of the Ganges, is not of recent growth and archaeologically is of high importance. From the reference in the Vedic and Pauranik literature it also appears that this province was the home of primitive people for a long time. But its pre-history is now completely shrouded in darkness and only scientific excavations can throw light on it.

16. For detailed descriptions and pictures of these scripts and ritual faik drawings, see Encyclopsedie Bengelensis, Vol. I, Part 6. pages 216. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

^{11.} Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India,, 1902-3,

^{12.} Outline of History (H. C. Wells), Vol. I, pictures in pages 182 and 14L

^{13.} Cetalogue of Pre-Historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum. C. Brewn, page 67. 14, Ibid, page 142.

^{15.} Address of N. C. Masumdar, a fortner Superintendent Antheodogical Department, as President of the History Section f the Probabil Beriga Sahitya Sammelan. The Hindushan Standard, aber, 1967.

ARANMULA METAL MIRROR A Miracle of Metallurgy

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, BA.

About ninety-two miles to the north of Trivandrum is the ancient village of Aranmula, idyllically situated in the Thiruvalla taluk on the left bank of the river Pamba. Famous for its old temple consecrated to God Parthasarathi, and the spectacular annual snake-boat regattas, Aranmula is the home of the unique bellmetal industry carried on by a select band of hereditary master craftsmen who alone know the secret of casting bell-metal mirrors from an alloy of copper and tin.

Aranmula snake-boat regatta

Aranmula Kannadi (Aranmula mirror) which has gathered around it a tradition and sanctity and has been hailed as the finest and rarest example of bell-metal casting is considered to be one of the most treasured curios of the world. Inspired art and impeccable craftsmanship combine to render the manufacture of this mirror one of the most wonderful achievements of indigenous art-crafts, as remarkable as the mummification in ancient Egypt. The history of the origin of the industry is lost in obscurity. Tradition and legend aver that nearly four centuries ago, the chief of the principality of Aranmula, a in the Hindu household and was invested with a halo patron of arts and crafts, brought down a few families of sanctity. of Kannaus, professional casters in bronse, to

monial utensils, decorative lamps, bells and such other articles required for daily use in the temple. He endowed the artisans with liberal grants of lands and special privileges. For some reason the craftsmen proved unsuccessful in their efforts to turn out the required articles to the satisfaction of the connoisseur chief. The indignant chief threatened the Kannans with eviction. The craftsmen who were at their wits' ends offered special sacrifices and prayers to the deity in the temple and decided to make a

unique crown for the image in the shrine. The womenfolk of the Kannans threw into the melting pot all their tin ornaments accompaneed by prayers and entreaties to the God to save their husbands from disgrace. The crown, made cut of the combination of copper and tin the exact proportion of which was at that time unknown to the casters, was a marvel of art and craft. Silver-like in colour and brittle like glass, it shone, with rare brilliance, and when cleaned acquired the quality of re-The mukutam or flection. crown known as Kannadi Bimbam (mirror image) is even now preserved in the Aranmula temple and worshipped.

This startling and fortuitous discovery was imme-

diately put to use by the intrepid Chief and the talented craftsmen. The casters worked out the proper proportion of the different metals and manufactured mirrors. The Chief liberally patronised the craftsmen in developing the industry. He proclaimed that the metal mirror was a gift of God and laid down that it should form one of the eight auspicious articles used in all Hindu religious rites. By observing this rule himself, he gave the lead, and the prominent people in the village followed suit. The Arenmula Kannadi thus became an article of every-day use

The metal mirror is cast from an alloy of copper settle down in his principality and make the ceres and tin, the exact proportion of which is a cloud

guarded secret of only two surviving families of Kannaus at Aranmula. The metal mirror is usually oval in shape, six inches by four inches, and about one-fifth of an inch thick and has a bright and polished surface as that of cut-glass mirrors. The polishing of the surface of the mirror is a difficult and

admixation of modern metallurgists. The cost of materials required for casting these mirrors is small compared with the extent of highly skilled labour which the complicated process of manufacture demands. The different processes in the making of mirrors are attended to by the entire family of Kannans. The



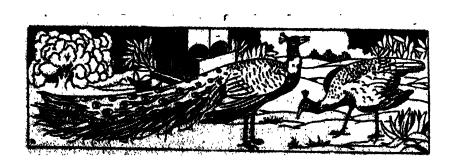
The master craftsman weighing the metals to form the proper alloy for manufacturing metal mirrors

delicate job demanding consummate technical skill and utmost patience. A paste of rice bran and laurel or Marchi (Mydnocarpus Wightiana) oil is used for this purpose. The polished plate is fixed with a mixture of lac and wax on an artistically engraved brass frame. Since this skill and mastery of craftsmanship of the most advanced type, are required for casting these mirrors. The mirror elicits both the envy and



The master craftsman polishing metal mirrors

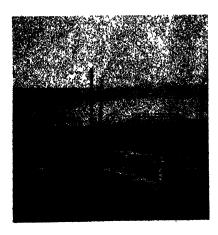
master craftsmen prepare the mould, the alloy and the wax, and attend to casting and polishing. The making of a mirror involves the strenuous efforts of a whole family for four days. The price of a mirror is about Rs. 15. Although Aranmula metal mirrors may not be able to compete with cheap glass mirrors, they are prized very much by collectors of curios, especially connoisseurs hailing from foreign countries. There is every scope for the manufacture of metal mirrors flourishing as a cottage craft in which inspired art and accomplished craftsmanship combine to produce one of the marvels of metallurgy attempted nowhere else in the world.



A TRIP TO TVA

By B. SAIKIA

It was in a hurry that I made the trip to the TVA—one of the wonders of modern America. It requires months possibly to learn and study the various aspects of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It is an institution all by itself and a marvel of modern engineering skill. Its achievements are numerous and multi-faced. Besides controlling floods and river navigation for which it was originally designed fifteen years ago it has contributed

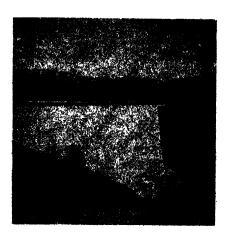


Wilson Dam

towards a higher standard of living of the people of the Tennessee Valley and of the United States at large, through the various industries developed in the valley and better methods of scientific agriculture. It has also given rise to the all-powerful mighty atom and its protege the atom bomb. Here in this valley in the famous Oak Ridge plant the first atom bomb was created and for this purpose alone there arose out of nothing a modern industrial town almost overnight, unbelievable it was like that of Aladin's days, booming with scientific activities employing the best brains available in the United States as well as from other countries.

The Tennessee Valley covers an approximate area of 40,000 sq. miles comprising the seven states of Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee itself. The whole of this area is spotted with blue mountains, wide lakes almost all artificially created through the river-controlling system of the TVA with a shore-line of nearly. 10,000 miles with plenty of room for swimming, fishing, boating and other recreating activities. In fact the TVA lakes have already been known as "the Great Lakes of the South." The whole of this big valley, once haunted with malaria, low standard of living and frequently devastated by uncontrollable floods taking a huge toll in the form of human lives and properties, is today a sevourite recreating center and attracts people not only from all over the United States but also a few thousand foreigners every year, both laymen as well as technical experts from all over the world.

I am no technician in the sense the dame and other construction skills are involved. I went to see the TVA just as a layman. I was more interested as a chemical engineer in the chemical plants operated by the TVA at their Wilson Dam plant at Muscles Shoals in the State of Alabama. As the TVA by itself is an institution there is a place for every one to learn, look and wonder at this achievement of modern scientific skill calling for the services of engineers and technicians of all kinds and shades of opinion. One will see there the labourers toiling for their daily bread, the big boss responsible for everything, the construction engineer all the while busy with his blueprints and construction work, the geologist surveying the geological aspects of the dams and their sites (for on this geological report alone the dams are located and their construction details dependent on this geological findings), the chemical engineer busy with the work of various plants producing fertilizers for cheaper and easier farming and ever prepared to switch their top-level energy and activities for the production of ammunitions and other war materials in case of emergencies side by side with their activities



Fontana Dam with power-station below

in the atomic laboratories of the huge Oak Ridge plant, the agricultural engineer supervising the acoperative farms sponsored by the TVA and the bacteriologist looking for better and effective methods for the control of pests and mosquitees with weapons like DDT and spraying planes at their command. In fact, the TVA is a contribution of every branch of knowledge known to men.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is a decentratised federal project involving seven states and four and a half million people. It was originally initiated during the period of the New Deal for the increasing of the

most-feared-of river in the south and development of its valley. The TVA was set up in the days of the late President Roosevelt and it came into being on May 18, 1933, exactly fifteen years ago. "Running waters were made to walk." A river was put to work for the people. As somebody remarked, it was "one hell of a big job of work." It was not that the Act did not receive any opposition. But it was adopted and thank God, today politics do not play any part in the TVA. The Act called for the maximum amount



A hydro-electric sub-station

of water-control with the maximum development of the river for navigation purposes and maximum generation of water-power in the form of electricity consistent with flood-control and navigation. It called for reforestation and proper use of marginal lands and the development of new agricultural technique and the economic and social well-being of the people living in the basin and provided for the agricultural and industrial development of the valley. It was a big order. "The job having been defined," said David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, "and the broad policies having been laid down, Congress in the TVA Act did what is new in our history." It fixed upon one agency the responsibility for results in resource development in a region. The development of the river, not flood-control alone or navigation or power, but also all the water used, were to be the responsibilities of one public agency.

Organization of the Administrative Department of the TVA is somewhat elaborate and complicated. The Chief Engineer in charge of construction, including the water-control planning and construction department, develops and executes an integrated plan of water-control in the Tennessee river and its tributaries; plans, designs and constructs dams, reservoirs and locks, hydro-electric and steam-generating facilities and other constructions required for the TVA's watercontrol program; directs the unified control of water eperations of the river reservoir system for all purand provides other engineering and bonstrucvices as required. These include a source of

electricity, geology, design, survey, architectural, civil and mechanical design services, etc.

The whole trip was arranged and planned through the office of the TVA at Knoxville, which is its headquarters. I could not see all of the twenty-nine dams at the time except visiting some of the more important and bigger ones like the Fontana dam in North Carolina, the Norris dam near Knoxville, the Wilson dam in Alabama and a few others. It is not that the rest of the dams are not worth visiting but that I did not have time enough for them. The two big dams still under construction are the one damming the Watauga stream and the other on the South Holston river, a tributary of the Tennessee. Dams under construction are really instructive and give an idea as to the tremendous work and materials involved in their construction. Diverting the whole stream, as is being done in the above two cases, through another artificial channel and clearing the site for the dam and its subsequent construction is by itself a tremendous job. The neat and clean finished dams do not usually give an idea as to the huge amount of labour and materials involved.

TVA's chemical plants are at the Wilson dam at Muscles Shoals in Alabama along with its chemical engineering unit in which I was specially interested.



Construction work in progress at Watauga Dam

Also at the Wilson dam is the malaria control unit of the TVA for which I made this trip of a thousand and odd miles all the way from Columbia University in New York City. I was really impressed by their diverse methods for controlling malaria. In all the places I went to I was very cordially received and shown round: things were explained wherever necessary by the local officials. In the malaria control unit a special lecture with slides was arranged for me to explain the various problems involved in their fight against malaria. In malaria controlling, besides combating micequitoes with new weapons like DDT, chlorodane eto, an ingenious method is being used by the TVA engineers which consists of just raising the water level divisions there of water-control invigation and then suidedly lowering it down thereby experien

the larvae to the sun on a dry surface and kill them all. The technique of DDT residual spraying has presented an entirely new approach to the control of malaria. The Tennessee Valley Authority has been interested in the development of this technique and its utilization as a routine method for malaria control. The effect of the routine treatment on an area basis was almost a complete elimination of anopheline mosquitoes.



Temporary construction offices, Watauga Dam

The Muscles Shoals chemical plant is a huge munition plant inherited by the TVA from World War I and is now the fertilizer plant for the TVA. TVA supplies fertilizers to the neighbouring farms at a much cheaper and more concentrated form. An adequate use of phosphate fertilizers in the past had in part been impeded by its high cost to the farmers. A group of TVA chemical technicians, aided by expert Washington resources was set to work in 1933 to reduce the cost of producing highly concentrated phosphate fertilizers. Here chemical engineering came to the rescue of the farmers. Today the whole resources and production capacity of the Muscles Shoals munition plant are directed towards production of phosphate and nitrate fertilizers. They are also introducing liquid ammonia directly as a fertilizing manure.

The chemical engineering section as such was established in the year 1937 and is responsible for the development and administration of the TVA program and policies involving research in the field of fertilizers and munitions, the production of such materials and technical direction and guidance of industrial research activities based upon the sciences of chemistry, chemical engineering and metallurgy. The director of the department is responsible to the chief conservative engineer and through him to the general manager for planning and administration of the work of the department. He advises the chief conservative engineer on programs and major policies and departmental organization and on relations with other departments in the TVA and with outside less. It is to be noted that the TVA works in close co-operation with the State utilities and other Government institutions on a national basis.

If one looks at the achievements of the TVA its record will be seen written in concrete and steel and in lands revived and forests renewed. Here one can see what modern science can do in a few years to change the face of the earth and the waters. The wild waters of a wild river have been tamed and made to work for the people. Eighty-five thousand farms in the seven states use electricity from the TVA. As a result of low-cost electric power nine out of ten wired houses in Chattanooga, Tennessee, now have electric refrigeration and three out of four in Knoxville. The total investigation of a billion dollars in river development produces not only power but also benefits of navigation and flood-control. Along with the development of a new 650 miles navigation channel, land-locked towns like Guntersville, Alabama, became an inland port. Not only this, private industries grew up in the valley and the level of the four and a half million people in the valley rose within the last fifteen years by something like 75%. TVA has not only been built by the people but for the people. In the wordings of that "most famous book of 1944," Democracy on the March, by Lilienthal, TVA has been the story of a new kind of pioneering -pioneering by the people of the Tennessee Valley.



South Holston River the Dam site

the "dreamers with shovels" who have built tomorrow out of yesterday. From a valley whose land was barren and scarred with erosion, whose river used its great stores of energy only for destruction, they created fertile farms, modern productive industries based on tremendous electric energies of a harnessed river, and a thriving commerce utilising the vast man-made water-ways that serve them also as fisheries and playgrounds. Today the Tennessee Valley where farmers milk their cows with electricity, where once women who carried water pail by pail work in madera kitchens, stands as a living symbol of the mirade, that can be achieved by people who have a clear vision of the potentialities of their region and a first

PULTON FISH MARKET

America's Largest Fish Distribution Centre

America's oldest and largest fish-distributing centre, the Fulton Fish Market, is located on the East River in the heart of New York City.



An American fishing vessel, loaded with a cargo of fish, sailing for the Fulton Fish Market

Against a background of modern skyscrapers and business buildings marking the financial district of the city, the Fulton Fish Market conducts its business in many old warehouses and shipping offices that were built in the days when great sailing ships docked at their doors from famous ports of the Seven Seas. All year long, day and night, in blistering heat and freezing cold, fearless American fishermen sail through fore and gales, over the rough, treacherous waters of the Atlantic, risking their lives to catch the fish, to help feed the United States and during war the U.S. armed forces and the United Nations

Fish was not rationed in the United States during time of war and there was a tremendous demand for fish as a food substitute for strictly rationed must. The Fulton Pish Market

ships large quantities of fish to civilian outlets all ever the Cented States as well as to the U.S. armed forces and to everses supply depots for the United Nations. The market distributes to hotels, restaurants, and some throughout the United States. Before the war fresh fish poured into this market from all over the world—by ship, by truck, and by train. The Fulton market sold brook trout from

Holland, Dover sole from England, swordfish from Japan, lobster tails from South Africa, octopus from Spain, and green turtles from the Caribbean. For over 200 years fishing vessels from Canada and the U.S. North Atlantic Coast, from the Gulf of Mexico and warm southern seas, laden with cod, haddock, lobsters, terrapin, shrimps, and a hundred other varieties of fish, have docked every morning at the big market which has been known as the Fulton Fish Market for the past century. The history of the market goes*back to 1664, when American Indians brought their fish to New York City's first fish market on this same site.

With the coming of World War II, United States fishing schooners and fishermen have had to work harder than ever before.

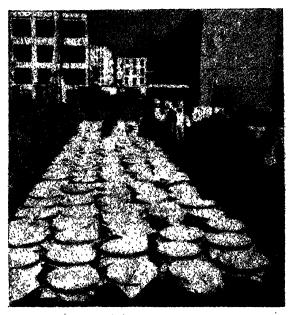


Fishermen from Gloucester rest in bunks on board their ship after unloading their eargoes at the Fulton Fish Market

Every day the Fulton market handles 650,000 to 1,000,000 pounds of fresh flah. The men who bring these cargoes to Fulton Flah Market are stardy representatives of many nationalities. United States fishermen include Portugues types from Cape Ood on the U.S. North Allantic



American fishermen cast their heavy nets for fish to sell at the Fulton Fish Market in the heart of New York City



On the long pier of Fulton Fish Market stand freshly packed barrels of fish ready for shipmant



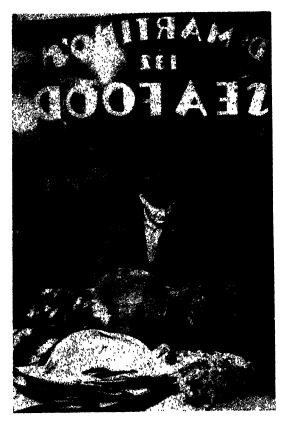
An American fisherman hoists a giant tuna fish from his ship to the docks



American dock workers weigh cod fish in the

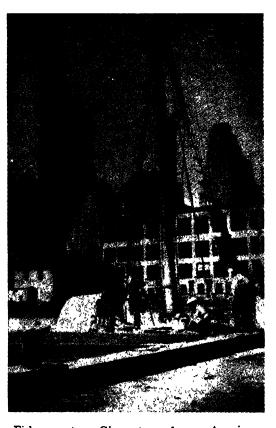
coast; Greeks and Cubans from the Gulf of Mexico, French Canadians, Italians and Scandinavians, as well as a wide veriety of Anglo-Saxon types from the

During the war, the U.S. armed forces consumed more than half of all frozen fish in the United States, and great quantities of canned fish were shipped over-



An American truck driver examining an assortment of shrimps, halibut and mackerel in a restaurant window

fishing ports of the U.S. Northeastern States called New England. They have enriched America's fishing industry through techniques developed in their native lands over a period of centuries. :0:-



Fishermen from Gloucester, a famous American fishing port, prepare for a trip while their boat is docked at the Fulton Fish Market

seas to United Nations battlefronts. Today, to the United Nations and the home front, Fulton Fish Market is distributing fish in greater quantities than ever before.-USIS.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Provincialism in Assam

For some time past we find a sordid spectacle of provincialism in all its nakedness all over India. I really wonder what are things coming to. If each province thinks of its own parochial interest, what remains of India. I do not for a moment hold any brief for any particular province. I am myself a Bengali, but I do not spare any Bengali when I find the least trace of provincialism in his thoughts and deeds

I have been keenly watching the recent developread a statement of the Chief Administrative Officer, munique of the Assam Government published on

both the Chairman and the Member of the recentlyformed Service Commission for that railway happened to be Assamese. Without meaning any disrespect to anybody. I must say that this statement is a travesty of truth. I have it on unquestionable authority that it was the Government of India who ordered that the Chairman of the Commission must be Mr. Barua, an Assamese Officer of the railway, who, by the waywas the District Traffic Superintendent at Lumding and who in consequence had to be transferred to ments on the Assam Railway It pained me much to Pandu to take over this new job. The Press Comof that Railway that it was a more considence that 8.7.48 where it was made clear that the Service Commission on the Assam Railway which was set up at their instance would consist of two 'sons of the soil' is much more suggestive than the sock-and-bull story with which the Chief Administrative Officer of the Assam Railway tried to dupe the Press reporters.

There is, however, one very surprising aspect in this interesting episode. It is the Government of India who normally issue Press Notes or Communiques regarding formation of a new Department or a new organization on railways which are controlled by the Government of India. In this instance, however, it was the Assam Government who took the initiative to issue a Communique on a subject which concerns the Central Government. Why this departure from the usual practice? Is it to tell the world gleefully that the Central Government have been forced to give way to violent agitation? Is this not going to encourage people to foment fresh trouble as they now have got positive proof that their violent anti-Bengali agitation has succeeded beyond their most fantastic expectation? In any case, why are the Central Government mum? Are they ashamed to own up their discraceful conduct in surrendering to the mischicvous propaganda of a mushroom growth, the Assam Jatiya Mahasabha which flourished on the tacit support of the ruling authorities in Assam? Are they fighting shy to admit that a small cloud no bigger than a man's hand which could have been easily subdued with a slight firmness on their part was allowed to assume a serious proportion by their lamentable lack of imagination and foresight? Are they staggered at the result of their own folly in adopting a policy of appearement from the very beginning? It is a pity that they have forgotten the lessons taught by the Muslim League! At times I doubt if the Transport Minister of the Government of India is functioning or the old bureaucracy is carrying on merrily according to good old methods.

Bengal has undoubtedly fallen on evil days. There is a remarkable dearth of leadership in all affairs of life. It is even more remarkable in the journalistic field where the mantle of those fearless intellectual giants like the Ghosh Brothers, Sir Surendranath, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Sj. Syamsundar Chakrabarty and men of their ilk whose mighty pen was a veritable terror to the erring officials and agents of British Imperialism with its enormous resources, has fallen on mealy-mouthed pigmies who have not the courage of their conviction and who can be duped by even a third-rate non-Bengali. Otherwise, how can they swallow an obviously misleading statement of that wily gentleman who explained in his Press Conference that it was a mere accident that the Service Commission of the Assam Railway consists of two Assamese Officers only. Could they not get it verified from any other sources? Have they not seen what the Assam Tribune of Gauhati wrote on the subject and was not the Press Commu-

nique of the Assam Government clear enough to discerning readers that the whole thing was arranged at the dictation of the Assam Government? The Assam Government were honest enough to state in that very Communique that they never believed that the Railway Administration ever discriminated against Assamese. If so, could not our Press Reporters enquire why the Assam Government insisted on a purely Assamese Commission of their own choice? Is it not obvious enough that it was just to secure special indirect favour for Assamese candidates or to enable the Assam Government to have a voice in the selection? These are pertinent questions and it is very unfortunate that not a single Bengali paper thought it fit to raise them. Even those who are fully acquainted with facts dared not publish them.

Viewed from another angle also we have every reason to question the propriety of such an all-Assumese Commission. As you are all aware, Bengalees form one-third of the total population of Assam. If to this is added the Bengalees of Dooars and Cooch Behar Sections, 50 per cent of the population of the area served by the Assam Railway would easily consist of Bengalees. Knowing as we do the narrow racial policy followed by the present Assam Government, it is a matter for serious consideration whether this large number of Bengalees can expect any justice in the hands of an all-Assamese Railway Service Commission, sponsored by the Assam Government. The fate of Sylhetee employees is a pointer. The Central Government could not protect them. Similar would be the fate of the refugees from East Bengal who are openly hated by almost all Assamese. It was really a great blunder to allow the Assam Government to be in virtual control of railway employees. Ordinarily no one would have taken any exception to the formation of a wholly Assamese Service Commission. But the circumstances that led to their selection are bound to make them subservient to the Assamese influence. Can the Central Government say that the selection of the personnel of the Commission has been made with due regard to their strength of character so that they may be able to withstand influence of all kinds?

Another thing that rises uppermost in my mind is why there should not be a nominee of the Bengal Government in this Commission when part of the Assam Railway is in Bengal. Shall I be correct to assume that Bengalee interests do not matter ac long as Assamese are appeased? Will Dr. Bidhan Roy take a leaf out of Premier Bardoloi's book? If a wholly Assamese Service Commission is justified for the few jobs in Assam Railway, a wholly Bengali Commission is absolutely essential for the numerous jobs on the Bengal portion of the E. I. and B. N. Railway. Will Dr. Roy take the hint?

DEAF AND BLIND HELEN KELLER ON WORLD-WIDE TOUR

To carry to the countries of the Orient and the Near East her crusade for recognition of the usefulness of the blind to the society in which they live, Miss Helen Keller, who in infancy was deprived of sight, hearing, and speech (she regained the faculty of speech through the untiring efforts of her tutor) by a severe illness, and who so overcame this almost insurmountable handicap as to become one of the world's most notable women, left New York City on March 17 on the first leg of a year-long journey that will take her through virtually all countries of the Orient.

Now 68 years old, Miss Keller, is famed as an author and lecturer, and is an honors graduate of Radeliffe College, Boston, Massachusetts. She is undertaking the long and arduous trip, she said, while she is still physically able to do so, to emancipate the minds and spirits of her fourteen million fellowblind, and to bring them hope that they soon may be able to take their rightful place in human society. She will appeal to governments and peoples "to dispel their ancient superstitions concerning blindness; to inaugurate programs of education and rehabilitation of their blind millions and to hasten to do everything possible in the field of prevention of blindness."

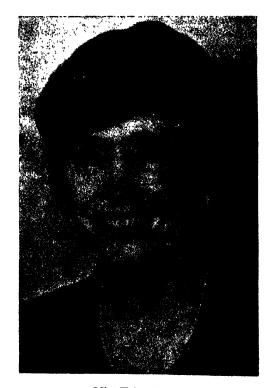
"I am not a teacher or a preacher," Miss Keller said. "I am just a happy witness to the light that God sheds upon handicapped human beings throughout the earth."

Her present plan is to conduct her crusade through speeches at public meetings, visits with government officials, and to homes and schools for the blind and deaf in the key cities of each country.

Lest year Miss Keller toured Europe on the same mission, to bring hope and encouragement to some of the world's millions of blind people, and to prove to disbelievers that blindness does not incapacitate a human being so far as service to humanity is concerned.

Tentative itinerary of Miss Keller's tour includes visits to Australia and New Zealand, Japan, Korea, China, India and Pakistan, Egypt, Iran, Irsq, Syria, Lebanon, and Pakestine. She has tentatively planned to visit, between January 4 and February 10, 1949, the cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Vellore, Travancore, Nagpur, New Delhi, Bombay, Lahore, and Karachi, although the final isinerary will be subject to consultations with government representatives, the India Association for the Welfare of the Blind, the Mational Christian Council of India, the All-India Council of Wennen, and other around.

Miss Keller's tour is sponsored by the John Milton Society for the Blind, of which she is founder and president. This society is an inter-denominational, non-sectarian agency for the publication and distribution of religious literature in Braille, and Miss Keller's tour marks the extension of its services to a world-wide scale. The society publishes monthly the John Milton Magazine, a Braille digest of the best religious articles appearing in current periodicals for the sighted, and Discovery, a religious magazine for boys and girls, containing inspirational stories, articles, and poems. Both magazines are distributed without charge to anyone requesting them.



Miss Helen Keller

Originally founded for the blind of the United States, the society, through its publications, has extended its services to include Canada, South America, and Europe. Extension of its services to the Orient and Near East, it was recently announced, will be marked by publications in Arabic Braille for Moslem lands; in Telugu Braille for South India; in Persian Braille for Iran; in Korean Braille for Korea; and in Cantonese Braille for South China. The society is financed entirely by voluntary contributions.—USIS, May 15, 1948.

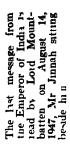
IS RUSSIA SECRETLY PLANNING A WAR?

By P. K. BANERJI, N.K.I. (Sweden)

A refugee from the Soviet Union recently arrived in Paris under cover of the closest secrecy. He gave out his name as Gulishvili and he figured as a mystery-man in Parisian life. He was said to hold the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Red Army, who, according to a rumour, was the man who recently held the responsible post of the Chief of the Russian Intelligence Service in the occupied sone of Austria. Just about the same time a certain news-agency of Paris came out with the sensational news that the real identity of this man had been established beyond doubt as being the Soviet General Khaparidze, whose statement regarding the secret plans of the Union was also published simultaneously by the same agency. It reads as follows:

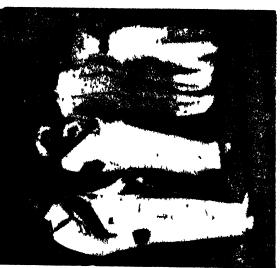
The plans that have been drawn up by the two departments of the Red Army General-Staff, one of which is entrusted with the work of administration and organisation and the other with matters relating to mobilisation, provided for the mobilisation of 123 divisions by the 1st of January, 1948, in addition to the thirty special divisions, each having twice its normal strength and deployed in the occupied zones of the Union. This will provide the Union with a peacetime strength of an army of 1,800,000 fully equipped men, These divisions have been grouped into six armycorps, each employed at a particular strategic point of the Union's long frontier-line, which in the opinion of experts might prove vulnerable to stlack by the enemy in a future war. The Northern Army will have Leningrad as its base of operations, the Western is intended to operate from its base at Minsk, the Caucasian Army is based at Tiflis. The Army stationed in Turkestan, will have two separate operational bases, one at Taskent and the other at Frunze, while the Aimy in the "Dalnie Vostock" (the Far East) will have bases at Chita and Vladivostock. The strategically clearsighted Marshal Klim Voroshilov, who is also a member of the highest Defence Council of the Union, holds the command of the Northern Army. The fortytwo year old Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky, who greatly impressed the Red Army with his slogan "Victory must be carved out of stone and not imprinted on loam" has been appointed the commander of the Western Army. Marshal Zhukov, who is considered to be the ablest general in the Red Army and whose strategy was mainly responsible for the successful reduction of the Mannerheim Line, which was considered by the Finns to be an impregnable line of fortifications, will command the Southern Army. The blackmoustached Marshal Ivan Bagmarian has been entrusted with the task of leading the Caucasian Army and the reputed Marshal Simyon Timoshenko has been given the command of the army stationed in Turkestan, while the Supreme Command of the Army in the Far East has gone to the corpulent Marshal Rodioni

Malinovsky, who so successfully carried out the counter-attack in Stalingrad, which turned the tide of the war definitely in favour of the Russians, and who finally closed the arms of the gigantic pincers by effecting a meeting with Rokossovsky. Out of this army of 1,800,000 men at least 800,000 may be reckoned as mobile troops that at regular intervals are replaced by the newly called-in. But about a million men in the army serve as professional soldiers throughout their life. These six army-corps employed at different strategic points on the Union's frontiers are all selfcontained and independent units as regards operational tactics and administrative policy. One of the fundamental principles of Soviet military strategy, which is specially cared for by all ranks of the aimy is based on the doctime "Admia Voinna Doktrina" (the doctrine of waging war on a unified basis). According to this principle, a common pool for the successful utilisation of all the available technical, tactical, strategic and material resources of the army must be created and the method of conducting warfare should be meticulously planned and perfected behind the front before the actual starting of hostilities. The Russians ! have also plans ready for dropping big armies from the air behind an would-be enemy's line, of communications and supplies. The delicate problem with regard to the actual production of the atom bomb is however giving the Russian High Command a cause for headache, though it is now an open-secret that they have full knowledge of the complicated process of manufacture of this type of bomb. In the opinion of experts Molotov did not mince matters when he made a dark innuendo about such a possibility in one of his public speeches held in Moscow recently But the snag about the whole thing lies perhaps in the fact that up till now they have not made such a progress in this direction as to be able to proceed immediately with its manufacture on a large-scale industrial basis. All the same they have started setting up three factories for this secret purpose in eastern Siberia, which are experted to work on a satisfactory productive basis within the next twelve or eighteen months. Against the background of these secret activities of the Russians, which might have been prompted by dark and sinister motives, the fact that the Soviet High Command have got scent of a scientific method recently developed by the Americans for strategic atom-bombing, stands out in bold relief in the present political set-up of the world. The Russians have little doubt in the effectiveness of this method with the help of which the Americans can easily render the Russian oil-fields at Baku and the others that lie not far away from the sea-coast uscless by atom-bombing not the all-fields proper but a certain area of the sea surrounding them. By their proximity to the sea most of the Businessellfields might thus prove very vulnerable to attacks by



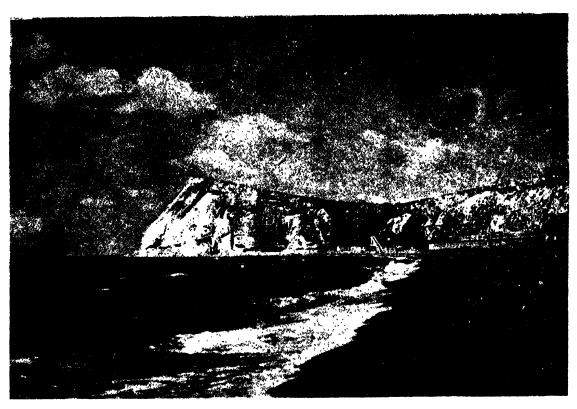


Lord Mountbutten the lat Vicero of India and his lats stand on the steps of the Karachi Assembly Hall with Mi Jinnah and his sister, I timm

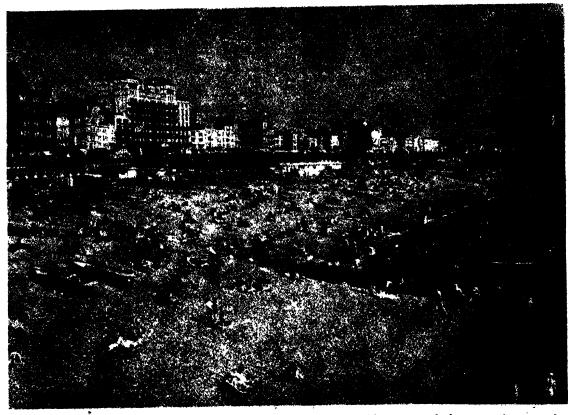




On the eve of be owing the first Prime Minser or India Princingsandarial Nebru gets a golden made the sambol of anicht Hadin Kings, his forebrid being darbed with sacred ashes by an order floor men



Shakespeare's Cliff at Dover



The sea-beach at Brighton on the Sussex coast which provides some of the most famous of the seaside resorts of Britain

enemy aircraft carrying a deadly load of atom bombs. The oil-fields at Baku constitute one of the most important sources of the Union's war potential, which by virtue of their close proximity to the Caspian Sea can be very easily put out of action by the dropping of a few atom bombs on this inland salt-water lake. This possibility has made the Russian High Command extremely nervous as they fully realise that failing to maintain the full productivity of these oil-fields they can hardly carry on a war for a long time with the Western Democracies. Keeping this threatening danger in view the Russian General-Staff have started work in feverish haste cu a gigantic military project, involving the construction of a huge screen looking exactly like an unfolded parachute on the shores of the Caspian Sea, for the purpose of preventing radioactive contamination from vitally affecting the nearby oilfields. Though the Russians may not have yet succeeded in making the desired progress in the manufacture of the atom bomb yet it must be conceded that with regard to V-weapons they are already welladvanced for meeting any contingency in a future war. They have, of late, particularly devoted their energies to the development of these pilotless, propeller-driven aerial projectiles for long-range bombing. It is reported that such a high degree of precision-bombing has already been attained with these weapons that from the long distance of 1,400-2,000 kilometres they can be effectively used on specified military targets with chances of near misses being as low as only 2-3 miles on the average. An experimental station for this purpose has been set up at a place in eastern Siberia, which is very close to the Kamchatka peninsula.

The Russian High Command is of the opinion that their chances of victory in a war will be much greater, if they can somehow put it off to a suitable time in the future, when they will have fully developed these and other deadly lethal weapons of war. With this object in view, the Kremlin is doing its best to prevent the outbreak of a world-conflict in the near future. But none the less the Russians are prepared for any eventuality and have drawn up plans for succonstully conducting a war. Firm in their conviction that the decisive battle in a future war will be fought out in the "Dalnie Vostock" (The Far East), the Russian General-Staff are strongly fortifying their existing bases and constructing new strategic ones in Siberia. From the viewpoint of the Russian General-Staff, the third World War against the Western Demoeracies could have only two important phases. The key to success in the first phase can be provided only by a quick occupation of the whole of Western Europe. It is looked upon as a comparatively easy task, for the successful fulfilment of which only the help of those troops that constitute the present peace-time army of the Palen plus the help of the troops employed on the Home Front is considered more than enough to match the combined erreies of the Western Powers. They

hope to be able to finish off this affair in the course of 3 or 4 weeks only. As there is no room for complacency and over-confidence in their military strategy their calculations must have been based on certain concrete facts. The second phase of the operations will begin with a 'blitz'-offensive on the Iberian Peninsula, simultaneously with the forcing of the Mediterranean by large contingents of highly equipped troops whose primary objective would be to establish a firm foot-hold in North Africa, while another arm of their pincer-movement will be povided by a powerful thrust through Persia, Iraq and Syria towards the strategically important Suez Canal. The Russian General-Staff have plans well in hand for bringing to a successful conclusion the second phase of the war in just about three months time. If their plans do not misfire, they hope to be able to neutralise quickly and swiftly the whole of the Mediterranean area, atfer which they will be free to give more attention to the vital task of protecting and securing their flank against a possible attack from the British Isles, the strongest bastion of democratic freedom in Europe. About a hundred divisions are considered sufficient for this purpose and half of this strength will in all probability be composed of Bulgarians, Jugoslavs and Czechoslovaks. The third and last phase of the war, according to them, will begin in the Far East, where they will be then free to rush their crack divisions from the West for the final and decisive show-down, which, according to expert Russian military opinion, will take place in China. Here the struggle of the giants is expected to last for a pretty long time. The beginning of the last phase of the war will see the Russians throwing in a colossal army of 300 divisions, sufficiently reinforced by a large number of Chinese Communists, and once China is completely overrun the Russians hope to be able to offer a compromise-peace to the U.S. based on an 'equitable' division of the World into two separate and distinct spheres of influence. The Russian plan, if accepted by the U.S. A., will give the former complete mastery over the whole of Europe excepting the British Isles, the whole of North Africa, the Near and the Middle East and China, while the U.S. A. will hold an undisputed sway over India, Indo-China, Indonesia, South America, the British Isles with her colonies and Japan.

The main pre-occupation of the Russians for the present time is not so much the atom bomb as the vital question how to confront the Western Powers with a political fast accompli. It is, however, believed that once they succeed in manufacturing atom bombs, a new situation in world-politics might naturally arise creating a military deadlock, for which the only solution would lie in a compromise-peace. The Russian General-Staff is at the same time keeping themselves busy with the all-important task of devising ways and means of securing their oil-supply and therefore the grim possibility of another was breaking out in the near future is giving them a real cause for headache.

WAS ASOKA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DOWNFALL OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE?

By Prof. SACHINDRA KUMAR BANERJEE, M.A.

Asoka occupies a unique position in the ranks of world's great rulers. He combined in himself the qualities of a great soldier and a statesman. He was the master of a vast empire which he ruled benevolently and efficiently. So long Asoka lived he maintained intact the grand fabric of the Maurya Imperial organisation reared by the genius of Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty. But no sooner had the great Maurya emperor passed away, than the decline of the empire began. Historians who have laboured to find a satisfactory cause of the downfall of the Maurya dynasty, have made Asoka's peace-policy responsible for the break-up of the empire. According to their learned opinions, the deliberate abandonment of military activity undermined the strength of the empire's capacity for defence and so when after his death the barbarians from outside as well as the self-seekers within his empire began to raise their heads, the successors of Asoka could not protect the empire. Dr. H. C. Raychoudhury commenting on the pacific policy pursued by Asoka remarks, "India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer." Was Asoka really a dreamer? Was he not a realist who could understand the real needs of his empire and people? A careful study of the Asokan inscriptions makes it clear that Asoka was not a visionary without any touch with the realities and Asoka was not really responsible for the downfall of the empire.

In order to explain the causes of the decline of an empire, we should bear in mind that decay is the doom of all nations as of all men. History records the rise and fall of empires. No empire on earth can be permanent. Sooner or later it must go. The great Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun has pointed out the different stages of empire's life after which is..., (123 years) it will die. It may be taken for granted, that empires or kingdoms cannot exist permanently on earth. But at the same time we should try to find out the causes of the decline of the empires. Here in the case of the Maurya empire we should try to disprove the responsibility of Asoka for its collapse.

It has been said that Asoka after the Kalinga war had sheathed his sword and employed the vast resources of his empire to the propagation of his message of non-violence and good-will and the result was the neglect of the defence of the kingdom which pronounced the doom of the vast empire after his

death. Dr. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Hindus who were religious-minded, were made more religious through Asoka's preachings and became indifferent to state politics, and naturally after the death of Asoka, when the empire was threatened by the barbarian invaders, they could not offer resistance. It has been further said that if Asoka would not have abandoned the traditional Maurya policy of war and aggression, he might have conquered the extreme South of the Indian peninsula and other parts of the Eastern and Central Asia and the Maurya Empire would not have collapsed after his death.

Is the statement that the Maurya empire would have been enlarged farther and would not have collapsed if Asoka would have followed the traditional Maurya policy of war and aggression and not the policy of non-violence, a correct one? The historians, who find fault in Asoka's policy of peace and good-will, perhaps have in their mind the famous saying of the great Mogul, Akbar, "A monarch, should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him." Akbar meant to say that the weakness of the king and army would encourage the neighbouring rulers who might take opportunity of this weakness. But Asoka was certainly not a weak king. He was not inferior to Akbar in valour and prowess. Nobody dared to revolt during his reign. Asoka without being ever intent on conquest, gave no opportunity to his neighbours "to rise in arms against him." The historians who think that the giving up of the traditional policy of war and aggression by Asoka was the cause of the downfall of the Maurya empire, probably take war and conquests as sure guarantees of the empire. But History gives verdict against their theory. If wars and conquests would have been effective safeguards against the disruptive forces that cause the decline of an empire, why the empires built by the great generals of the world collapsed after their death? Harshavardhan was a mighty warrior and carved out a vast empire, but why his empire broke down immediately after his death? Alauddin Khalji, one of the greatest conquerors of India, who never sheathed his sword like Asoka, and rather always used it on the neighbouring kings could not make it stand on an ever-lasting foundation. Even during his lifetime the authority of the emperor ceased to command respect and insurance tionary movements were set on foot in the outlying

^{2.} Bhandarkar : Acobs (2nd edition), p. 258.

^{3.} Ibid, pp. 256-50.

^{4.} Happy Sayings : Ain, Vol. III, p. 899.

provinces of the empire. In the words of the Muslim chronicler, Barani, "Fortune proved as usual fickle; and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him" and the mighty monarch, 'bit his own flesh with fury' as he saw the work of his lifetime being undone before his eyes.

The reign of Aurangzeb, which saw the Mughal empire reach its greatest extent, also witnessed the unmistakable signs of its decline and disruption. Aurangzeb was not non-violent like Asoka and his reign was a vast military campaign. Like Charlemagne he had no hesitation in acting on the principle that kingdom-taking was the business of the kings and immediately after his accession to the throne, he plunged himself into wars which occupied many years of his long reign. But what was the result of his long campaign—failure and chaos! He had 'to spend the last 26 years of his life in tents and wear out the empire's revenue, army and organised administration as well as his own health in an unending and fruitless struggle."

Alexander, one of the greatest conquerers of the world, who was always intent on conquest and created a vast empire within 13 years only, and gave no opportunity to the neighbouring rulers to rise in arms against him, also could not prevent the break-up of his empire after his death.

Napoleon, modern world's greatest general who within a short time, created a vast French empire, could not also stop the imposing fabric of his empire falling to the ground.

The above accounts will make it clear to the students of history that wars and conquests are not necessary guarantees of the empires and the opposite principle of war and aggression, i.e., peace and nonviolence, is not the cause of the decline and downfall of the kingdoms. If the constant use of army could be regarded as effective measures for arresting the progress of decline, the mighty empire of Alauddin Khalji and of Aurangseb would not have collapsed soon after their demise. The causes of the decline of the empires of world's great generals and conquerors-Aläuddin, Aurangseb, Charlemagne, Alexander and Napoleon-are not the same, but one point is certain that constant wars could not stop the decline of their empires. On the other hand, in some cases, the wars and conquests were contributory causes to the downfall of the empires. As already pointed out, Aurangaeb's incoment warfare ruined the resources of the country and disorganised the administrative system which hastened the process of a disintegration of the empire. Napoleon's lust for conquest ruined him. His insatiable ambition led him to extend his power to the breaking-point. "His empire was built "up by war and conquest and so it was environed by the natred of the conquered. Based on force it could be maintained only by force." But when the iron hand of Napoleon passed away, the empire fell.

Thust the theory that Asoka's empire would not have collapsed so soon after his death, had he pursued the traditional policy of war and aggression, cannot stand. When we see that the empires of the above-mentioned great conquerors could not last long after their death, where was then the guarantee that Asoka's empire would have lasted, if he adopted the traditional policy—'kingdom-taking is the business of the kings'? On the other hand, it may be said that had Asoka pursued a policy of wanton aggression like Alauddin Khalji and Aurangseb, he would see like them that his works were being undone before his eyes.

Were the non-violent and peace policy of Asoka responsible for the decline of the Maurya empire? Historians who hold Asoka responsible for the breakup of the empire, think that after Kalinga war Asoka became a monk and dealt only with the religious affairs and neglected the army—the pillar of the empire. No inscription of Asoka goes to support such theory. It is true that the miseries of the Kalinga campaign, the sufferings of the prisoners and the wailings for the dead so struck him with remorse that he became averse to war and conquest, and enunciated a new theory of conquest, viz., conquest by Dhamma (Dhamma-Vijaya), but that does not and cannot prove that Asoka became a dreamer who neglected the political affairs of the country, when the Yavanas were knocking at the gate of India. He never neglected the administration of the country. Asoka's inscriptions prove that he inherited from his predecessors a well-organised bureaucratic government and utilised its machinary to its fullest advantage for maintaining peace and order within the realm. He was.not in favour of the liquidation of his empire. His devotion to religion and aversion to war did not mean that he was indifferent to state politics. Asoka knew that if his new scheme—Dhamma Vijaya—was to be put into practice, it was necessary that peace and tranquillity must reign in place of chaos and lawlessness. And peace could only be maintained by a strong and efficient ruler. Asoka understood that the Maurya empire needed no further extension of frontiers, but the retention and consolidation of what it already possessed. He rightly thought that wars and conquests would bring untold miseries to mankind and it was the duty of the kings not to indulge in wanton aggression. The king should consolidate their conquests and should devote themselves to the material and moral well-being of their subjects. This is what Asoka did after the Kalinga war. He did not become indifferent to worldly objects. In that case he would have renounced the world and become a Buddhist Bhikshu. But Asoka did not do so. On the contrary, inscriptions and other authentic records show that Asoka retained to the last his masterful personality ruling state and church alike with a strong hand. So long Asoka lived nobody dared to disturb the peace of the empire. We gather from his inscription that he warned the neighbouring rulers that they should not try to break the peace of his realm. Asoka no doubt sent messages of love and freedom to the people of his neighbouring kingdoms, but his freedom had one restriction. "Freedom must not violate morality. The sovereignty of Right enthroned in the place of Might must be maintained." While anxious "to secure the love and confidence of the borders" Asoka was equally anxious "to set them moving on the path of piety." The forest folks were warned not "to continue in their evil ways that they be not chastised".

The king who thus could maintain peace and order in his realm and who could warn the borderers not to disturb the peace of his empire and at the same time laboured to change the hearts of his own subjects as well those of others living in the neighbouring kingdom so that the peoples of different kingdoms might live happily side by side, could not be regarded as a dreamer and his policy of peace and goodwill were not certainly causes of the downfall of his empire. Had Asoka been turned into a dreamer after the Kalinga war, the foreigners would certainly have invaded his country and put an end to his rule. But the foreigners did not venture to touch his realm during his lifetime. On the contrary, we know that friendly relations were maintained by the foreign potentates with the Maurya king. And cordial relation in ancient time was possible only among the equals. Had Asoka been a weak king, the foreigners would not have allowed his empire to rest in peace. Asoka was certainly more powerful than the foreign kings, who thought it proper to maintain peace with the mighty Maurya emperor. If he were a dreamer, the Yavanas who were knocking at the gate of India, would have broken the gate and captured at least the frontier of his kingdom. But such a thing did not happen. Thus it is clear that Kalinga war could not make him a dreamer. He remained as powerful as he had been before the Kalinga war. The only difference which we notice in Asoka after the war, was that he was against war which, instead of benefiting humanity, did cause sufferings to mankind.

We, the people of the 20th century, who have unfortunate opportunities of witnessing two destructive world wars, realise the soundness of Ascka's views on war and aggression and peace and non-violence. The politicians of the present day are endeavouring to save humanity from wars and to maintain peace among the different states and to abolish the causes of war altogether. Are the present-day statesmen to be regarded as dreamers? It is true that they failed to fulfil their aims in the past, but there is possibility of success in future. In the past they failed because the diplomats of the different states were not sincere in their aims and attitudes and moreover there are

not a strong machinary to control the different states. The League of Nations failed because no great state cared to obey it. But Asoka was sincere in his aims and attitude. He was not like Mr. Churchill, Mr. Truman, or M. Stalin, who in the name of maintaining peace in the world are trying to secure strategic positions for their countries and as a result suspicion is growing in the mind of the people of the world about their intentions. Asoka's ease was different. Nobody doubted his intentions and purposes. His aims and ideals were translated into action. So when he assured the unsubdued people that "they should not be afraid of him, but should trust him, and should receive from him not sorrow but happiness," he was really believed by them. Asoka sincerely hoped to abolish unnecessary wars and to secure the love and confidence of his subjects as well as those of the borderers and 'to set them moving on the path of peace and good-will.' He was successful in his attempt and did not fail like the League of Nations and the modern statesmen.

That Asoka's preachings made the Hindus more religious and as a result they were unable to defend their country after his passing away, cannot be accepted as a learned view. It is rather a weak argument. Generally in no country either in ancient or in modern times, all the subjects were or are soldiers. Soldiers. are a distinct and separate group of men who fight for the state. I have already said that Asoka maintained intact the administrative machinery of his predecessors. He did not disband the grand army, created by Chandragupta. The army remained not for aggression but for the maintenance of peace and order. The soldiers certainly did their duties and were not turned into monks. The ordinary people (other than the soldiers) might have some under the influence of nonviolence. But here too, we should remember that all men did not follow the principle of truth and nonviolence because in that case we would not have been informed that the severity of the Law against criminals and negligent officials was not relaxed. Capital punishment was not abolished. "To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted" during which their relatives could endeavour to win their repentance so that "even during their imprisonment they may gain the next world."

It will be unfair to say that Asoka's preaching could make the Hindus non-violent. The upholders of truth and non-violence could not be sentenced to death. Only a few persons (as now-a-days) were true believers in the principle of truth and non-violence, who could not certainly bring about the downfail of a mighty empire like that of the Mauryas.

The real causes of the break-up of the Manya empire after the demise of Asoka were the loss of power of resistance of the Maurya rulers and the rivalry among the royal princes for power which indermined the unity of the empire. Was Asoka responsible for the loss of sower of resistance of the Manyas after

his death? We have seen that neither abandonment of the traditional policy of war and conquest nor the policy of peace and non-violence pursued by Asoka, could be regarded as contributory factors to the decline of the empire. It has been further shown that all the people of his realm were not champions of truth and non-violence and hence it is not proper to say that Asoka made them indifferent to state-politics and so they gradually lost their power of resistance. Asoka himself was certainly more religious than his subjects, yet during his life-time his state and people did not lose their strength. But after his death that very people and state could not stand. Why? The reason was that after Asoka there was none who was strong enough to maintain the integrity of the empire. His successors were weak personalities and after his death they assumed independence in different parts of the empire. The unity of the empire was lost. Foreign barbarians renewed their incursions. There was no Asoka among them who could arrest the progress of the barbarians. The Maurya state was an autocratic state which depended upon the personality of the monarch and when Asoka passed away, the weak successors of Asoka who quarrelled for power, were unable to cope with the situation, and for that Asoka should not be blamed. The weakness and disunity among his successors were not his creations and so why Asoka was to be held responsible for the defects of his successors which brought about the downfall of the Maurya empire? The learned scholar has said that if Asoka would have followed the traditional policy of war and aggression, the Maurya empire would not have collapsed so soon after his death. We may point out here that it may be said with far more logical truth that had there been a peace-loving king like Asoka strong enough to maintain peace and order in the realm and could warn the neighbouring kings not to disturb his kingdom, (after his death) the Maurya empire could have offered effective resistance and maintained the integrity of the empire, as it had done during Asoka's long rule. Unfortunately, the empire was not supplied with such a man after Asoka and so the very same people and government which were powerful enough to preserve the solidariy of the empire during the reign of Asoka, could not play the same after his death.

In ancient world, the kings or heads of the states counted for much. The rise and fall of the kingdoms were bound up with the fortunes and misfortunes of their rulers. Epaminondas, the great Theban patriot, made Thebas the leading city in Greece, but after his death (in the battle of Mantenia), the Theban supremacy also

passed away. With the death of Harshavardhan, his vast empire fell. Why? There were no capable persons to guide these states after the demise of their rulers. The career of Napoleon has proved it that the personality of a general or an emperor is a very important factor in the rise and growth of an empire. Napoleon made France the greatest power in Europe but with his fall, also collapsed the empire.

Thus, it is clear from the above fact, that personalities of the kings were decisive factors in the rise and fall of the kingdoms. The Maurya empire was not an exception to the rule. The empire flourished under Chandra Gupta and Asoka, and collapsed when the state failed to produce strong rulers like Chandra Gupta and Asoka.

It will be unfair to call Asoka a dreamer and to hold his policy of peace and non-violence responsible for the collapse of the empire. Asoka was a rare admixture of the ideal and the practical. As the champion of peace and non-violence, he tried to abolish war which caused immense loss of life and property, but at the same time he was careful enough to see that no one could invade his kingdom and break the peace. Clear in his ideals which he pursued with a stead(astness that has few parallels in the history of the world. It should be said to the credit of Asoka, that 2,000 years ago, when the states of the world were governed by the principle of war and aggression, Asoka being a mighty emperor, did not want to destroy the independence of other states; on the contrary, he assured the people of other states that they "should not be afraid of him but should trust him and should receive from him not sorrow but happiness." "Thus rang through the country loud and clear, the healing message of freedom, of peace on earth and good-will among men." Asoka understood that the best way to maintain peace among the states was to silence the war drum and to sheath the sword. War and conquests would embitter the feelings of the belligerents and so no real and effective peace would be possible. So Asoka wanted to abolish war and thereby paved the way for mutual cooperation and good-will among the states which would enable the peoples of different states to live happily side by side. Asoka's career has shown the world that a mighty king if he earnestly wants to maintain peace on earth, can do so by propagating the principle of peace and non-violence, without doing any harm to his own state. This is Asoka's contribution to the world for all time and ages. Asoka stands out easily as first of the peace-makers of the world, but certainly not as a dreamer.



WHITEHEAD'S CONTRIBUTION

BY P. C. CHATTERJI

It gives one something of a shock to realise that Whitehead was born in 1861 and that considered from the point of view of dates, he was a contemporary not only of Bergson but almost of Bradley. Bradley, of course, represented a well-established tradition and it is not surprising therefore that we should associate him with a philosophical school, which is now definitely out of fashion. There may not be many Bergsonians in England or America but Bergson's influence is a well-established fact in the philosophical life of these countries while in France his views are propounded and received as authority. Whitehead's philosophy on the other hand is only just beginning to be known. Budding philosophers in Britain and America are still hesitatingly probing its subtlities or getting to grips with its novel conceptions, and so far as I am aware, there is still no authentic commentary on the Philosophy of Organism 19 years after its first comprehensive presentation in Process and Reality.*

Philosophically, Whitehead developed much more slowly than either Bradley or Bergson. To some extent this can be explained by the different means through which they came to study philosophy, a difference of background which is strikingly reflected in the theories which they were to propound. Whitehead's early interest was mathematics and it was from mathematics that he was led on to mathematical logic, the philosophy of the natural sciences and ultimately metaphysics proper. It was his belief that natural philosophy was a necessary basis for a re-organised speculative metaphysics and in this sense the preliminary work for the Philosophy of Organism had been presented in his Principles of Natural Knowledge and the Concept of Nature. The richness or as William James would say, the 'thickness' of the theory propounded in Process and Reality bears testimony to the different lines of enquiry which were woven into and systematized in Whitehead's philosophy.

It is not my intention to attempt an exposition or discussion of even the main principles of the Philosophy of Organism but I want to consider two of the fundamental habits of thought which Whitehead wished to repudiate. They are the modern distrust of speculative philosophy and reliance in language as an adequate expression of propositions.

Although it is common to accuse the modern world of creative impotence and failure of imaginative vigour, the last fifty years have by no means been barren in the field of speculative metaphysics. Apart from Whitehead one can immediately think of three or four names—Bergson, Alexander, McTaggart—who may well rank with the greatest metaphysicians of Europe. Nevertheless it remains true that the general tendency in philosophy is towards critical analysis and distrust of speculative system making. This distrust for speculative methaphysics is the direct outcome of the belief that it is impossible to gain any real knowledge of the

nature of the universe a priori as all the earlier meta-Speculative metaphysicians had claimed to do. physics, then, if it is to be treated seriously any more must be re-established on a different, an empirical basis, It was Whitehead who realized most clearly what this change involved and set himself explicitly to define Speculative Philosophy restate its relations with the physical sciences and to defend it as a study productive of important knowledge.

Whitehead defines Speculative Philosophy as the endeavour to frame a coherent, logical, necessary system of general ideas in terms of which every element in our experience can be interpreted.

In other words, the function of speculative philosophy is to evolve a general scheme of ideas such that every particular fact of experience can be seen to be an illustration of that scheme. He goes on to point out that the general scheme must satisfy two main types of conditions, which Whitehead classifies as rationalistic and empirical. By the former he means that the scheme should be logical and coherent, that the fundamental notions of the scheme should not merely be consistent but also such that they cannot be abstracted from each other. As he puts it:

"The ideal of speculative philosophy is to illustrate the truth that no entity can be conceived in complete isolation from the system of the universe."

The empirical condition of any satisfactory scheme is that it should be applicable and adequate, that in fact the scheme should explain all the facts of experience, not merely those which happen to have been considered.

It is not my intention to follow Whitehead through all the details of this admirable first chapter of Process and Realty, a chapter in which the difficulties and pitfalls of speculation are explained and countered with remarkable force and clarity. I shall only permit myself one brief quotation on the usefulness of philosophy before I get down to the crux of the problem. Whitehead writes: .

"Philosophy frees itself from the taint of ineffectiveness by its close relations with religion and with science, natural and sociological. It attains its chief importance by fusing the two, namely religion and science, into one rational scheme of thought. The useful function of philosophy is to promote the most general systematization of civilized thought. There is a constant reaction between specialism and commontance. Philosophy is the welding of imagination and commonsense into a restraint upon specialists and also into an enlargement imaginations."

The central problem of any empirical metaphysics must be its relation with science. For dogmatic or rationalistic philosophy the main task is to demonstrate the inadequacy of scientific explanations. Up to a point this must be so with empirical metaphysics also. Commenting on the fact that the field of every special science is confined to one genus of events. Whitehead says:

The systematisation of knowledge cannot be

conducted in watertight compartments. All general

^{*} Schillp: The Pallosophy of Whisehead contains articles on White. bead's work by different contributors.

truths condition each other; and the limitations of their application cannot be adequately defined apart from their correlation by yet wider generalities." "Thus," he concludes, "one aim of philosophy is to challenge the half-truths constituting the scientific first principles."

But on the other hand, an empirical metaphysic must necessarily be based on the findings of science itself. The method which metaphysicians must adopt is to construct generalizations derived from a particular branch of science, which also apply to and enlighten other aspects of reality. As Whitehead says:

"This construction must have its origin in the generalization of particular facts discerned in particular topics of human interest; for example, in physics or in physiology or in psychology or in aesthetics or in ethical beliefs or in sociology or in languages conceived as store-houses of human experience.—The success of the imaginative experiment is always to be tested by the applicability of its results beyond the restricted locus from which it originated."

From this new procedure which an empirical metaphysic must adopt necessarily follows a lack of certainty which characterizes our final beliefs. Over-ambition, Whitehead says, was one of the main defects of dogmatic metaphysicians; they claim to have discovered for all time the general nature of reality, though grudgingly admitting their failure to comprehend the details. But while certainty could be claimed by dogmatic philosophers who argued deductively from supposedly self-evident premises, a philosophy such as Whitehead's cannot dare to think in terms of finality. Philosophers, he contends, can never hope finally to formulate these first principles.

"At the very least, men do what they can in the way of systematization, and in the event achieve something. The proper test is not that of finality but progress."

But the possibility of arriving at any generalization which can claim to interpret all the facts, however tentatively, is itself open to question. Such generalizations, if they are not to be merely the 'reflections of the temperamental pre-suppositions of exceptional personalities,' must at least be based on some calculation of probabilities. But the probability of an inference, so logicians tell us, varies directly as the proportion of the field of observation stands to the field of influence. In other words, the probability of an inference will be high if the number of cases in which a generalisation is found to hold good is large in comparison with the unobserved field over which it is sought to extend that generalization. On the other hand, the probability will be small if the field of observation is small and the field of inference is large. Thus even if the universe is not infinite, the total number of events which have been observed by science must be very small in proportion to those that exist—a fact which must make any empirical generalisation almost useless.

There is also a further difficulty, a logical difficulty,

left unanswered by Whitehead. In induction, we argue that because a particular characteristic has been found to exist among certain observed members of a class, it must also exist among the remaining unobserved members. The point is that the inductive argument can be used only within that class. It is not possible to argue on the basis of induction that because a certain property characterizes a certain species it will characterize objects belonging to some totally different class of beings. And yet this, in effect, is what the empirical metaphysician is doing. He is attempting to extend generalizations, which apply to members of the class 'parts of reality', to something which is a member of no 'class' whatever, namely, reality itself.

The last few decades are notable for the interest which philosophers have begun to take in language and the influence it has exercised on thought. While a few thinkers in the 19th century were not unaware of the subtle ways in which language had led their predecessors into metaphysical blunders, more thorough examinations of language or philosophies of language developed only in the present century. One of the most notable results of these researches has been the development of Symbolic Logic, which may roughly be described as an attempt to fashion a new language for philosophy which will be exact and free from the emotional associations of common speech.

A novel and thorough analysis of language and an exposure of the hopeless impasse into which it has led European philosophers must be recognised as one of Whitehead's important contributions. Every proposition, Whitehead points out, can make sense only in the context of a particular 'universe of discourse' and every universe of discourse must exhibit certain systemetic metaphysical characteristics. For example, when Keats talks of "Magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas and fairy lands forlorn," his words can only make sense if interpreted in the context of the world of imagination. But the universe of discourse itself, the world of imagination in our example, presupposes a background which is left vague and indeterminate in the propositions which we use. A proposition then if it is to make sense demands on the one hand a universe of discourse which is known to have a particular kind of order, and on the other, it implies a certain more general context which is left indeterminate. Because of the former, a proposition, Whitehead tells us, does have some sense but because of the latter it cannot possibly make complete sense. As he succinctly puts it:

"Apart from this background, the separate entities which go to form the proposition, and the proposition as a whole, are without determinate character. Nothing has been defined, because every definite entity requires a systematic universe to supply its requisite status. Thus every proposition proposing a fact must, in its complete analysis, propose the general character of the universe required for that fact . . ."

fact . . ."

"A proposition can embody partial truth because it only demands a certain type of systematic environment, which is presupposed in its

meaning. It does not refer to the universe in all its detail."

And then the conclusion which this analysis works up to is that it is simply credulous to imagine that the system or order implied by propositions is the ultimate order of the universe.

Failure to see this point has, Whitehead contends, vitiated the major part of European philosophy. The particular form that the pernicious influence of language has taken is to lead philosophers to believe that, because the commonest propositional form is the subicct-predicate variety, the universe can be interpreted in terms of the categories of substance and quality. If not explicitly, at least by implication, the substancequality categories have been accepted as fundamental by almost all the metaphysicians of Europe. This has led to two main types of philosophies which are equally false to human experience, a blank monism incapable of supporting differences or the utter scepticism of Hume. The way out of this dilemma is to repudiate the substance-quality relation as fundamental and to accept one main contention of the Philosophy of Organism, the description of 'actual entities' as an 'ingression of eternal objects,' as literal clusters of Platonic universals.

There is one other interesting point which Whitehead makes about language and its influence on

philosophy. All philosophers claim that their view is more nearly in accordance with experience than the theories propounded by others. This is accepted as the final test. But Whitehead points out that the question of forming any precise idea of the nature of experience is no easy matter. What happens in practice is that we tend to believe that the facts are of the kind as stated in language, forgetting that the form of expression may be imposing its own order on the experience, and thus distort it. One of the most interesting and instructive parts of Process and Reality is the illustration of this point which Whitehead gives from the writings of earlier philosophers, particularly Locke. Whitehead shows that time and again Locke, in his faithful description of experience, was on the point of anticipating some of the main contentions of the philosophy of organism and then was misled by language.

I have outlined Whithead's views on the subject of language not only because they were fundamental to his entire scheme of thought, but also because his own use of language and his peculiar terminology have been the greatest obstacles to a proper appreciation of his work. I am convinced that when we have got over the first irritation caused by his idiosyncrasies of expression, we will not fail to find many conceptions which may permanently affect the course of metaphysical speculation in the years to come.

NATIONALISATION IN BRITAIN Transport

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By B.

On January 1st, 1948, the greatest unified transport system in the world came under State control. On that date the legislation which had passed through the British House of Commons for the nationalisation of the country's transport became operative. Now the British Transport Commission owns 52,000 miles of railways, 20,000 locomotives, 41,000 passenger vehicles, 1,235,000 goods wagons, 50,000 houses, 70 hotels, 100 steamships and thousands of motor vehicles—the whole being valued at over £1,000 million.

Why was it necessary in the public interest to nationalise British transport?

To answer that question one must look back on the history of transport in Britain and sectionalise it; that is to say, consider the three great methods of transport—the roads, the railways and the canals. (The air is a different and separate problem which will be dealt with in another paper).

WHY NATIONALISATION WAS NECESSARY

Up to about the year 1750, roads and rivers represented the only means of inland transport in Britain. From 1750 to 1825, under the impulse of the Industrial Revolution, canals and canalised rivers, roads and railways were developed at an astounding pace. By 1900, for example, steam railways provided a complete network of communications over the whole country and in the early years of this development the rail-

ways, having virtually a monopoly in transport facilities, grew the fastest. They were, however, always subject to strict legislative control and never entirely superseded either road or water transport.

Canals suffered most severely and only a few carried on but the roads developed with the development of electricity and the internal combustion engine. At the same time, coastal shipping flourished. The competition between these various forms of transport was until about 30 years ago healthy and flourishing and produced only greater effort by the owners to satisfy users. But after the first World War, the roads and railways in particular had to develop a rivalry that was virtually a savage struggle for existence.

WAR CONTROL

During the first World War, the railways were put under Government control for war purposes and at the end of the war it was obvious that their economic position was far less stable than it had been. Their early development had meant an enormous capital expenditure and the effects began to make themselves felt. Their costly specialised fixed equipment limited their capacity to adapt themselves to changing conditions and gave them a heavy ratio of overhead expenses. There was no longer an excess of traffic over transport and too many companies were competing for the same time statutory regulations.

required the railways to accept all traffic offered to them and to provide transport facilities even when this did not pay and also imposed liabilities on the companies as to their expenditure on maintenance of property and on labour, while at the same time prohibiting their raising and adapting existing rates and charges.

THE RAILWAYS ACT

In the national interest something had to be done and in 1921, the Railways Act was passed. This swept away a mass of old legislation which hampered the companies; enabled them to bring about economies long considered necessary and ensured that the railway user got reasonable facilities at reasonable rates.

The Act brought about-

- (1) the amalgamation of 123 railway companies (practically every railway company of importance in the country) into four groups—the Great Western; the London Midland and Scottish; the London North-Fastern; and the Southern; and
- the establishment of an entirely new method of regulating charges. Under the Act, a body known as the Railway Rates Tribunal was set up with extensive powers to deal with all matters relating to rates and charges. The railway companies submitted to this Tribunal a system of rates and charges designed to produce a Standard Revenue of £51,000,000 a year. The new rates, which were based on a new classification of merchandise carried and included the value of the merchandisc as well as the cost of carrying it, were known as Standard-Charges. A list of these charges was open to examination by every transport user, and the railway companies were required to abide by them, except when they proposed to quote "exceptional rates" which, unless they were between 5 and 40 per cent lower than the standard, they could do only with the previous consent of the Tribunal.

This Act, however, failed to remedy the situation. The amalgamation did not in fact bring about the economies expected. In the second place, at the time the Standard Charges were introduced, six years had elapsed and in that time there had been a trade depression, meaning less work for the railways. There had been also a tremendous development in road transport which, free from legislative control, was able to compete on very favourable terms with the railways. At the same time water transport began to take over a certain amount of non-perishable slow-moving traffic, and though competition from this direction was less severe, it did nothing to improve the position of the railways. The result in total was that the four amalgamated railway companies failed to realise their standard revenue and the deficit in the first two years after the Act amounted to £14,000,000.

ANOTHER ATTEMPT

Another attempt was made to solve the problem. The Government ordered an official enquiry which resulted in the publication of the Salter Report, and in the passing of the Road and Rail Traffic Act of 1933. This Art, which embodied most of the proposals

to make f"Agreed Charges" i.e., to give preferential terms to a particular user provided that he gave all or a specified part of his traffic to the railway in question, and (b) brought the hitherto unrestricted road transport under a certain amount of statutory control. But, although the railway companies availed themselves to the utmost of their new opportunities; and although the Tribunal, after having access to every detail relating to railway operations and after examining railway representatives in public enquiries, annually declared itself satisfied that there was no lack of efficiency or economy in the management of the railways, the situation continued to deteriorate. In 1938, the railway companies launched their "Square Deal" campaign, calling for relief from all statutory regulation of charges and freedom to decide for themselves the rates to be quoted for merchandise carried.

The outbreak of the second World War interrupted this campaign before any action had been taken and on 1st September, 1939, the Government, through the Minister of Transport, took control of the four main railway companies, the London Transport, and a number of minor railways under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939-Order No. 1197. Under this Order, the Minister appointed a Railway Executive Committee to be his agents for the purpose of issuing directions to the companies, whose managements and staffs were to carry on their duties as previously, subject to the direction and orders of the Government.

Financial arrangements provided for the revenues (with certain items excluded) of the controlled undertakings to be pooled and out of this pool sums paid annually equivalent to the average not revenues for certain periods before the war. In September 1941, revised arrangements were substituted which provided for fixed annual payments totalling £43,000,000. The net revenues of the undertakings accrued to the Government, except for those investments in transport undertakings not operated by the railways, and from railways in Ireland.

These arrangements—which in the event proved of benefit both to the companies and to the Government -remained in force after the end of the war, for it had by that time become sufficiently clear that a return to the pre-war position would be inadvisable, and that a completely new solution to the whole transport problem must be found.

This was the position of the railways immediately after the end of World War II.

ROAD TRANSPORT

Between 1929 and 1938 the number of motor vehicles of all kinds in England increased from about 600,000 to over 3,000,000. Between 1920 and 1930 apart from road safety legislation, road transport remained practically free from legislative control and, like the railways in their early days, the road transport industry was left to organise its own charges and the Report (a) gave rather more freedom of action rates, its own operating methods and its labour condicompanies it allowed them, for instance, tions. By 1980 it was obvious that this complete

lack of regulation would in the end prove harmful and as a result the first Road Traffic Act was passed.

Under this Act, three Traffic Commissioners were appointed for each of the thirteen traffic areas into which the country was divided, to control all motor compibuses and coaches in the particular Traffic Arca with which they were concerned. Their function was to eliminate any services which they considered unnecessary, to fix and maintain fares and to sanction routes and timetables, none of which might be altered without permission. To facilitate their work, it was laid down that every operator of public passenger service vehicles must obtain licences or certificates of fitness for his vehicles and services as well as route licences, and that route licences would only be granted or renewed if the operator was able to justify his services against any rival provider of transport, including the railways, who might object.

LEGISLATION

The Act also specified maximum hours of work for the drivers of public service and goods vehicles and made provision for the payment of fair wages to passenger transport employees.

Goods transport by road was affected by the Road and Rail Traffic Act of 1933. The Chairmen of the Area Traffic Commissions were made the Licensing Authorities, and licences had to be obtained from them for all goods vehicles (with a few exceptions such as fire engines) in one of three classes, viz: "A" for public carriers, i.e., operators using their vehicles for hire; "B" for mixed carriers, i.e., operators using their vehicles partly for hire and partly for their own trade or business; and "C" for private carriers, i.e., operators using their vehicles for their own trade or business only.

The effect of the licensing regulations on "A" licences was to make it impossible for them to alter the size of their fleets without permission. No "A" licence was given or renewed unless the Area Commissioners were satisfied that there was a reasonable need in the area for the services that the licensee proposed to provide. The same conditions governed the granting of "B" licences, the holders of which were further restricted in some cases as to which types of goods they might carry and the radius within which they might operate. "C" licensees were granted their licences by right, provided that they fulfilled the, conditions attached to all licences regarding keeping of records, fitness of vehicles to be on the road, drivers hours of work, etc.

The result of the Act was to stabilise the number of "A" and "B" licensed vehicles, which in 1939 was rather over 93,000 and 54,000 respectively. (In the other hand, it did nothing to stabilise charges, since it contained no provision for fixing rates or for establishing a structure of freight charges by road which could serve as a basis for rate control by a public authority.

WORLD WAR II

By 1939, a certain degree of balance and co-

ordination in the road transport industry had been achieved. As far as road haulage was concerned, the tendency had been for small firms to concentrate in the main upon local work, leaving long-distance work to be undertaken by the large concerns who were in a position to organise regular services, and to comply with the labour regulations attaching to such work and services. As regards passenger transport, there had been several attempts to unify the operation of services in large and populous areas, of which the creation of the London Passenger Transport Board was the outstanding example. At the same time the basic difficulty at the root of the transport problem, that is to say, the uneconomic competition between road and rail had not been cleared away, for railway charges were still subject to statutory control, while road charges were not.

During the second World War, the licensing provisions of the Road Trazic Act, 1930, and the Road and Rail Act, 1933 were temporarily suspended, and a more flexible system of permits issued by Regional Transport Commissioners was substituted. The Regional Transport Commissioners also rationed fuel for passenger and goods vehicles.

In 1943, a scheme was initiated whereby undertakings engaged wholly or partly in long-distance work put the whole of their resources at the disposal of the Minister of Transport's Road Haulage Organisation, which carried Government traffic both long and short distances, and all other traffic over 60 miles with certain exceptions.

CENTRALISED ADMINISTRATION

The object of this scheme was to effect still further economies in road transport, and by providing a centralised administration, to reduce unnecessary journeys to a minimum. The country was, therefore, divided into fifty-two areas, each under the control of an Area Road Haulage Officer, whose duty it was to co-ordinate, through a number of Unit Controllers, all long-distance traffic within, or passing through his area.

Fuel rationing for all vehicles has been continued since the end of the war. Licensing has been renewed for new applicants, and/or for modifications of existing services. The Road Haulage Organisation was terminated in August 1946, but certain members of the industry have, under an arrangement negotiated between the Ministry of Transport and the Road Haulage Association, contracted to supply vehicles for essential work in any part of the country, if local vehicle resources prove inadequate.

CANALS

During the first World War, the Government took over those canals which were owned by the railway companies. In 1917, the independent canals finding is increasingly difficult to operate, even at a loss, were placed under the control of a special committee of the Board of Trade. As soon as the war ended the canals were handed back to their owners but they found their difficulties were even greater than before and in 1922.

the Minister of Transport set up a Committee of Inland Waterways to study the whole problem. Certain recommendations were made but no action was taken. In 1931, the Royal Commission on Transport recommended that "a process of amalgamation was a necessary preliminary to any development programme." But again, no action was taken.

After the passing of the Road and Rail Traffic Act in 1933 an agreement was reached by the railways and the independent canal companies to avoid undue competition, but by that time the canals had relapsed into such a state that this had no effect on them. It was not until 1939 when World War II was imminent that Central and Regional Canal Advisory Committees were formed to provide liason between the Government and the Canal industry, By 1942, the process was complete. All canals were under Government control and they have remained under Government control ever since.

PORTS AND HARBOURS

The great majority of ports and harbours are in the hands of harbour authorities coming under (a) Local Commissions or Trusts, not working for profit, established under statutory authority for the management of particular harbours, (b) Municipal authorities, (c) Railway Companies, and (d) Harbour Companies Individuals.

These harbour authorities have as a rule been established by Special Acts of Parliament empowering them to work the particular harbour undertaking specified in the Act. Such Acts generally contain provisions dealing with such matters as the constitution of the harbour authority, the compulsory acquisition of any land, the construction of new works, the dredging and maintenance of the harbour, the maximum rates and charges to be levied, the making of bye-laws for the control and regulation of vessels and persons employed in connection with the harbours, the definition of the limits within which the authority may exercise jurisdiction and demand rates, and the raising and repayment of capital. Additional powers for the construction of new works, the levying of additional rates or the raising of additional capital are normally only obtainable by the promotion on the part of the harbour authority of a Private Bill, but except in the case of certain ports, and provided the cost of the proposed works does not exceed £100,000 and compulsory powers sor the acquisition of land are not required, the Minister of Transport may make a Provisional Order authorising particular works.

As a general rule, the facilities at large ports for dealing with the traffic passing through them has been well maintained; and the harbour authorities, whether representative of Public Trusts, such as the Port of London Authority, the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board and the Clyde Navigation Trust, of munici-Dalities, such as the Bristol Corporation which manages

at Southampton, kept pace during the inter-war years with modern requirements as regards new docks and quays, railway and road facilities at the quays, pliances and general layout.

The ports serving coastwise shipping, however, received less attention, partly because the trade that at one time gave them their prosperity had fallen off, and partly because many of the smaller port authorities lacked the financial resources to prevent silting up or to provide modern facilities for loading and unleading.

GOVERNMENT BODY

During the second World War, powers relating to harbours and docks were vested in a body set up by the Government and known as the Port and Transit Control. The effective co-ordination of port facilities and inland distribution was served locally through (a) Regional Port Directors (in the Clyde, Mersey, Bristol Channel, Humber, the North-East Coast)—and during the invasion period in London, (b) the Port Emergency Committees and, (c) local Shipping Representatives of the Ministry of Transport.

Control was relaxed at the end of the war, and the normal peace-time procedure was reinstated the harbour authorities once more becoming responsible for the organisation and management of the ports and harbours.

It will thus be seen that the legislation for nationalisation of transport in Britain was not revolutionary but a stage in an evolutionary process. The main obstacle to the proper development of public transport in Britain had been lack of co-ordination. The Transport Advisory Council set up in 1933 under the Road and Rail Traffic Act had published recommendations favouring a much greater degree of co-ordination. The experience of the war years had demonstrated beyond doubt that under unified control railways, road transport and canals were all able to deal with an increased volume of traffic without loss to any one of them and that transport systems can be most successfully linked to provide speedy transit of goods particularly to and from ports. The Transport Act was, therefore, passed to bring about this essential coordination and to establish the benefits of a unified control.

THE POLITICAL ISSUE

It is, of course, necessary to say something of the political aspects of nationalisation. No thinking person in Britain, no matter of what political creed, would deny that for a long period the transport system had been subject to more and more legislative control. In the course of years that legislative control had been imposed by successive Governments not all of the same political complexion.

Nationalisation of transport was the logical culmination to all the legislation that had been passed in an effort to ensure the co-ordinated development of to and avenue ith Docks, or railways, such as the British transport system in the national interest The Southern Ballway Company which ewas the docks and, finally, it should be said that the nationalisation of transport was given a clear mandate by the country in the last general election.

Today, actual day-to-day operation and general management of the transport system is in the hands of five Executives appointed by the Minister of Transport and responsible to the British Transport Commission whose duty is to evolve an efficient, adequate. economical and properly integrated system of public inland transport and port facilities within Great Britain and to improve and extend that system. The Commission are also to conduct their undertakings in such a way that revenue is not less than sufficient for meeting charges properly chargeable to revenue taking one year with another.

REFORMS IN LAND TENURE SYSTEM

BY NAWAL KISHORE PRASHAD SINHA, BA.

THE death-knell of the Zamindary system has been finally sounded. With Zamindari Abolition Bills on the anvil of the various legislatures and the Congress Party steadfast in its resolve to abolish all the intermediary interests between the Government and the actual tillers of the soil, the problem of land reform and the establishment of a new basis of land tenure has assumed gigantic proportions. All are agreed that mere replacement of the Zamindary system by Rayaiwari system can never be the solution of all the ills that our agricultural economy is suffering from. For one thing, the Rayatwari system itself is suffering from the defects of an antiquated and ill-balanced economy and in some respects the actual tiller of the soil is worse off in Rayatwari areas than his similarly ill-fated brothers in permanently settled areas. The grave food position of our country and the all-round exploitation that is going on challenge us to bring about a revolutionary change in our agrarian economy, and to place it on a sound and stable position with a view to ensuring food self-sufficient, and meting out longdenied justice to the age-long down-trodden Kisans of the country. Moreover, we have got to plan our whole community life with villages consisting of prosperous and contented peasantry as the central pivot in pursuance of our ideal of a classless, and non-violent society.

While, generally, there is agreement on the goal to be achieved, there are markedly two schools of thought on the means of achieving it. There is one section of opinion which does not believe in building anything on the basis of the past, but rather on its ashes. In their opinion, complete nationalisation and state ownership of land and collectivisation of farms is the only way of introducing improved and scientific farming, thereby increasing the yield appreciably and also bettering the lot of the peasantry. The second school of thought is not in favour of such sweeping changes of doubtful utility and believes in planning our agricultural economy on the basis of peasant proprietorship, but shorn of its rights of unlimited possession, unqualified alienation and unregulated succession. They believe in introduction of improved and a structure of in animate rights and enterprise as a basis for rate Collective Farming

By 1939, a reship of land and cultivation by collecnot only unpractical in the present setup but also detrimental to our best interests. For one thing, the peasants of this country can never view with equanimity the prospect of being deprived of their lands and of becoming labourers on their own farms. The Indian Kisan, in common with peasants of other countries, is passionately attached to his land. As a matter of fact, it is Russia which has only experimented with collectivisation of lands and that also not with happy results. Soviet Russia had a definite objective in introducing collectivisation of land and that was to make agriculture a handmaid to industry whose rapid development was the immediate goal of the Government. All economic activities were subordinated to the supreme task of industrialising the country as rapidly as possible without caring for the cost, human or material. In pursuance of this policy 5 million Kulaks were dispossessed of their lands and in all nearly 20 million peasants were 'liquidated.' The peasants as a measure of retaliation destroyed nearly 50 per cent of the cattle wealth of the country, which in its wake brought untold suffering on the population. By the end of the Second Year Plan, the Soviet Government had to give in and permitted private ownership of land to a few acres and possession of cattle to a few heads. In Russia even consequently, peasant holdings number 1.5 millions or 7 per cent of the total number of undertakings in 1928.

The greatest objection to compulsory collectivisation of lands is its utter neglect of the all-important human factor in agriculture. Agriculture is a way of life, rooted to the soil; and the sons of the soil, the sturdy peasants carry the message of a hoary and deathless civilisation. "By defying machinery and by trying to subordinate entirely the most natural impulses in man to the needs of rapid industrialisation collectivisation has made an utterly wrong approach to the problem of increasing man's resourcefulness." Timoshenko, at the 5th International Conference of Agricultural Economists, stated:

"It is a scheme that fails to take into consideration many organic processes of the greatest importance in Agriculture, particularly the human element in farming. In Soviet Russia, machines were not adjusted to the needs and conveniences of the farmers, but all agriculture particularly the whole of land tenure was reshaped for the convenient use of machines, and with neglect and frequently direct sacrifice of the interests of many millions of farmers. As yet the system has failed to yield even the mechanic results that were expected."

Agricultural production also has not shown as good results as the authors of the scheme expected. Rather there was considerable loss of national wealth. In 1913, 227 million acres of land were under cereals and production was 80.100 tons. In 1935, area was 247 and production 90,100. Thus while the increase in acreage was 8.8 per cent, increase in production was 12.4 per cent, not a very spectacular figure. In 1938, the production of meat and dairy products was not even to the level of 1928. Thus while the system deprived the peasants of their rights and of lands and turned them virtually into landless labourers, it has failed to justify itself even on the point of increased production. No one in Soviet Russia can ever claim that collectivism was an effort to create a prosperous moral society enjoying personal freedom, well-being and security. In this connection, it would be not out of place to dispel the common notion that peasant family farms are in any way less efficient than largescale farms. Rather expert opinion in Europe and America is increasingly realising the superiority of peasant farm system over other types of agricultural production. Says Karl Brandt, a noted authority on the subject in his book The Reconstruction of World Agriculture:

"A rural society can offer its farm population much greater satisfaction and life to a higher level if most of the farmers have that freedom of management which private property gives. They can earn more benefits from their own skill, initiative and effort than if they are landless rural proletarians who obey the commands of foremen or managers and merely play the role of a certain measure of manpower exchanged for a wage or members of a collective farm with few opportunities to utilize their individual abilities. So far it has not been proved that given equal opportunities family farming could be beaten in the costs of production and in the technical and economic performance by large-scale farms, no matter whether these are privately owned and managed estates, corporations or collective farms."

Thus our principle should be production for man and not man for production, and it is on this principle that we should proceed to organize and reorientate our whole agricultural economy.

DRAWBACKS OF PRESENT AGRARIAN ECONOMY

Ours is a lopsided economy. On the above is the privileged class consisting of Zamindars, Taluqdars, Mahajans and other numerous petty intermediaries, who, without performing any useful function appropriate the major portion of the national wealth produced from the land. The mass of peasantry, on the other hand, suffer from various disabilities and subsist on a marginal income. The operation of various laws of inheritance coupled with the fact that growing poverty and ruin of village industries have forced the functional disabilities for take to cultivation, has resulted in excessive fraction of holdings. This has not only resulted in majority of unaccessoric holdings, but has impeded any improvement, in majorics of cultivation. While our

population has increased phenomenally, production per acre, has alarmingly decreased. The following figures will speak for themselves:

| | Production | n in lb. p | er acre | • |
|-------|------------|------------|---------|-------------|
| | 1931-3 | 2 to 1935 | -36 | |
| | Bengal | Bihar | C. P. | Bombay |
| Rice | 896 | 738 | | |
| Wheat | | | 666 | 42 8 |
| | 1936-3 | 7 to 1940 | -41 . | |
| Rice | 837 | 676 | | |
| Wheat | | | 590 | 394 |
| | 1 | Decrease | | |
| Rice | 59 | 62 | | |
| Wheat | | | 76 | 34 |

Another great defect of fragmented and uneconomic holding is that the cost of production is higher while the yield is low. Nearly 70 per cent of our Kisans cannot live comfortably on their farms only. While the yield is low and the rate of production is gradually declining, the cost of production has gone high and the rates and taxes are showing an ever-rising trend. In Bengal, the average size of a holding is 4.4 acres. The average yield of cereals per acre sown is 0.48 ton, and thus the average holding is capable of yielding a little more than two tons of cereals. In U. P., average size of holding is 6 acres, average yield 0.35 ton and the yield of average holding the same as Bengal. The Punjab only on account of less pressure of population has shown better results, the average size of the holdings being ten acres, average yield per acre 0.31 ton and the average yield per holding above three tons. In Bihar, 63.7 per cent of the peasants possess uneconomic holdings.

From the above discussion it is clear that reforms in the land tenure system of the country, whether in the permanently settled areas or the Rayatwari areas, are the crying need of the hour. We should have three objectives in view in carrying out the reforms.

The first requisite for any successful reofganization of the rural economy is the elimination of all non-cultivating elements who are mostly responsible for organized and large-scale exploitation of the peasantry. Secondly, we will have to see that all real Kisans possess economic holdings. This objective can be achieved partly by a just tenure system and partly by diverting pressure on land by organizing other avenues of suitable employments in the revitalized village industries.

Thirdly, by eliminating wasteful factors such as, fragmentation of holdings and antiquated methods of cultivation, and by introduction and encouragement of better and scientific methods of cultivation, that is, better seeds and manure, improved implements, cooperative method of farming, etc., we can speed up our production of cereals to a considerable degree.

We shall now proceed to indicate briefly the method of achieving the above objectives: These objects can be fulfilled only when the Zamindary system is abolished, and direct relations between the tenantry and the state is established.

LAND TENURE SYSTEM

It should now be laid down that the tenancy right shall vest only in those persons who actually cultivate the lands themselves. A non-cultivator shall have to surrender his lands to the State on payment of equitable compensation, equitable compensation being clearly defined. It is, however, desirable to emphasise that equitable compensation can on no account be defined as more than ten times of the actual net gain of the owner. Thus, all those non-cultivating elements like trading, salaried, and professional classes who invest their surplus capital in land will be automatically eliminated. Similarly, all those big cultivators who possess more land than they can cultivate shall have to surrender their surplus land to the Government on payment of equitable compensation. The criterion in their case will be how much land they can cultivate themselves efficiently. The upper maximum limit can profitably be fixed at 30 to 50 acres according to the nature of the soil. Also, such persons who generally get their lands cultivated on crop-sharing basis will also have either to cultivate the same themselves, or surrender their lands to the State. Some practical difficulty might be felt in putting this into effect. People whose lands are to be acquired under this provision may transfer their share in the name of other cultivating members of their family. Even if this happened, the intention of the law would be fulfilled and the lands go into the actual possession of the real cultivators.

LAND COMMISSION

Each provincial Government immediately afterwards will appoint a land commission, consisting of experts. This commission will carry out an exhaustive survey of land and divide land of each village into four classes:

'A' class lands will be those that are uncommonly fortile for the area and possess adequate irrigational facilities as well as immunity from flood.

B' class lands will be inferior to A' class lands but capable of improvement with better irrigational facilities and scientific means of production.

'C' class lands will be ordinary lands, neither good nor bad but capable of improvement.

D' class lands will be fallow ones not under cultivation. There are 170 millions of this kind of land in the country. It will be the business of this commission to indicate the possible use and method of improvement of such marked areas of lands.

The Commission on the basis of record of the last ten years and according to their own judgment will fix the probable average produce per acre of each kind of land and will also indicate the likely cost of production per acre. The Commission will also indicate as to which of the Kisans possess economic holdings. They will also report on the possibilities of land improvement and of introduction of improved methods of cultivation areawise.

The chief provisions of the tenancy law will be on the following lines:

1. On the basis of compulsory consolidation, the

cultivable lands of each Kisan will be consolidated at one place. There will be trained staff of the Revenue Department to carry this out with the help of the Village Panchayats.

- 2. Those Kisans who do not possess economic holdings will have to consolidate their lands with other Kisans of the same category at one place into economic holdings under the supervision of a trained staff, and carry on production on a co-operative basis. The lands surrendered by the non-cultivating class as well as by the big Kisans will be distributed among Kisans having uneconomic holdings and among those landless Kisans who carry on cultivation primarily on crop-sharing basis. Such Kisans will have to pay the price of the land. Those who have no money will be afforded credit facilities by the Rural Development Bank, to be constituted by the provincial governments. The Bank will get repayment on easy yearly instalments.
- 3. The primary requisite for holding tenancy rights will be that the Kisan must cultivate the lands themselves. Those who lease out their lands for cultivation on crop-sharing basis for three consecutive years will be automatically dispossessed of their rights and the village Panchayats will take possession of their lands. Such lands will be settled with others according to Government regulations. In cases of real hardship the village, Panchayats will be entitled to extend the period of grace to another two years.
- 4. The Kisan can sell his land only to the village Panchayat and that also not in fraction but in whole plots, e.g., if he has 2 acres of 'B' class of land, he must sell in whole and not in parts. The Rural Development Bank will pay the price on behalf of the Panchayat. The village Panchayat will settle the land with other Kisans who in their turn will pay the price to the Bank. The Kisans will have the right of mortgaging their crops but the land itself cannot pass into the hands of non-cultivating interests.
- 5. After the death of the Kisans, the land will pass into the hands of those of his heirs who are genuine cultivators. The land itself can in no case be parcelled out except when the holding is of more than 20 acres. In such cases one part cannot consist of less than 10 acres. The heirs will have the right of joint cultivation. Those of the heirs who follow other occupations will have two courses open to them: either by mutual arrangement they will continue to enjoy the income from their share in the lands or on an application to the Village Panchayat will be entitled to get compensation for surrendering their share to other heir or heirs. The lands of the Kizana dying intestate will vest into the village Panchagat who will settle the land according to Government regulations.
- 6. The wages, hours and conditions of work of the agricultural labourers will be governed by Government regulations. Every agriculturist will have to contribute to the "Agriculture Labour Welfare Fund." This

instructions.

fund will be entirely devoted to the welfare of the agricultural labourers and will be administered by a statutory body appointed and constituted by the Provincial Government. Every agricultural labourer shall have to register himself with a particular Kisan and shall have to work on the agricultural fields; during the agricultural season.

LAND REVENUE

As already noted above, the land Commission shall indicate the average produce per acre of each kind of land village-wise and shall also indicate the probable cost of production. After deducting the cost of production from the actual produce, one-fourth of the net produce will be exempted from taxation. The rest will be taxed on a sliding scale basis. Remissions will be made for permanent improvement effected by the Kisans. Similarly, for lean seasons remissions will be announced by the Government. The Government at the close of each agricultural season will announce the market rate of each kind of agricultural commodity area-wise. The Kisans shall have to pay the land revenue in cash according to the market price announced by the Government.

LAND ADMINISTRATION

For working the above system an efficient governmental machinery will be necessary. A system, however good, can never be successful unless the methods of its operation are cheap and speedy. Above all, we have to guard against the danger of bureaucratising our land revenue system which is sure to result in large-scale exploitation and corruption. The Revenue Department shall appoint a trained village officer in each village who will to a great extent replace the present Patwari. This officer will be in charge of the village records, and will maintain with the help of the Village Panchayat a record of the agricultural activities of each cultivator and will submit periodical. reports regularly the same to the Circle Revenue Officer. He will be, as a matter of fact, the eyes and ears of the Revenue Department. From his periodical reports the Circle Revenue Officer will gather information regarding the kind of crop being raised in each plot of land. At the close of each agricultural season, he will issue demand notices village-wise on the strength of records in his office as well as in the light of the prices of the commodities announced in the Government gazette. The demand notice will be sent to the head of the Village Panchayat who will collect the revenue from individual cultivators and at the end of a specified time will deposit the collections in the Government treasury. Simultaneously, he shall submit a report to the Circle Revenue Officer stating the names of the defaulters. The defaulters will be called upon to pay the revenue with fine and in eases of persistent default, the Circle Officer will be entitled to recommend for temporary or permanent Sispensession.

Chang Concerned

Committee whose members will be elected by the Village Panchayats. The Circle Revenue Officer will act as the President and the Chief Executive Officer of the committee. The functions of the Circle Panchayat, among others, will be as follows:

1. To settle lands with the cultivators on the recommendation of the Village Panchayat.

To recommend for remission of land revenue.
 To revise assessment of production and cost
 of production according to Government orders and

4. To recommend cultivators for grant of loan from Rural Development Bank.

5. And lastly, to organize actively co-operative farms, introduce and popularise improved methods of farming run multi-purpose societies, organize functional guilds and to revive village and cottage industries.

Similarly, there will be a District Panchayat in the district whose main functions will be co-ordination of the activities of the various Panchayats under it. Its members will be elected by the Circle Panchayats and it will possess certain statutory powers like hearing of appeals against the decisions of the Circle Panchayats, etc. It will be presided over by the District Officer who will act as the Chief Executive Officer of the Committee.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT BANK

Experts are agreed that no scheme for improving the land tenure system and the village life will be successful unless speedy and cheap credit facilities are afforded to the cultivators. As a matter of fact, the whole scheme as propounded above will collapse if side by side the above reform steps are not taken for constitution of a Rural Development Bank in each province, either separately for each province or one Central Bank for the whole country. It would be better if a Government-sponsored Rural Development Bank is constituted in each province or group of provinces which will work in close co-operation of the Reserve Bank of India. The capital of the Bank may be raised by public subscription, but holding of shares by an individual or family must be limited. The Provincial Government may guarantee a minimum dividend and should have statutory control over the affairs of the Bank. The Bank will act in close association of the Revenue and other departments of the Government. The Bank will purchase and sell lands on behalf of the Government, grant loans to the cultivators on recommendation of the revenue officers and the Panchayats, finance schemes of village and agricultural improvements. It will, for instance, make available to cultivators improved implements on hire and finance schemes of village industries approved by the Government, etc. The Bank may also carry on ordinary banking transactions besides discharging statutory obligations. The above scheme, it is hoped, will help in solving the agrarian problems satisfactorily and will contribute materially towards building up a happy and prosperous India.

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BROTHERS FROM OVER THE RIVER The Refugee Problem of India

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

Our Central Government has admitted that up to the end of July last, i.e. in less than twelve months of our freedom, eleven and a half lakes of men from East Bengal have migrated to West Bengal. And the stream has not ended; five-days ago 760 persons from East Pakistan landed at the railway station of Sealdah, and the flow is sometimes reaching the thousand men a day height. Nor do I see any prospect of this migration ever stopping altogether, as far as I can look into the future; for years and years to come a thin trickle of humanity, about a hundred daily, will transfer themselves from East Bengal to West Bengal, and Calcutta will be the first depot of this human cargo.

PAKISTAN IS LAPSING INTO BARBARISM

For it is no good blinking the fact that East Pakistan is lapsing into barbarism, and the Hindu population there has no future, no chance of honourable work and fair employment by service or trade, no hope of real political equality, safety to life, honour and property, or economic prosperity by honest open competition. European travellers have described the condition of Palestine under Muhammadan rule; it was then a poor desert country, with an ignorant, impoverished, half-civilized population, leading a sort of animal existence and dying of disease, dirt and hunger like neglected cattle. Then forty years ago, the Jews began to buy plots of land from their Arab owners and by introducing roads, schools, hospitals, fruit cultivation and an honest police force, turned the desert into a garden.

Every Jewish farm is now like an oasis of civilization and modern scientific amenities in that once barbarous holy land. And when the Jews have fought and won their national State in Palestine, it will become an advance post of modern progress in the Near East, a spark of light in the midst of the mass of Muslim misgovernment and stagnation. Eastern Bengal is going the way of Palestine without the Jews. We must make our West Bengal what Palestine under Jewish rule will be, a light in darkness, an oasis of civilisation in the desert of mediaeval ignorance and obsolete theoratic bigotry.

THEY ARE THE ELITE

Those who are leaving East Bengal are the very best portion of the local population, in brain, wealth, organising capacity and indomitable spirit, however, crushed and benumbed they may look when they are unloaded from their third class wagons on the Sealdah station yard. They are the elite, the most valuable portion of the population, and the greatness of a country depends upon exactly men of this type. Dacca and Mymensingh, Barisal and Faridpur are losing them,

and will pay the penalty under God's justice in the very next generation.

I warn West Bengal: Do not spurn away such a rich racial element when seeking shelter at your doors. They alone can make you great if you utilise these human materials. More than 30 years ago, I wrote in a Bengal monthly magazine, "The life stream of the Bengali race flows languidly in West Bengal; it is full and vigorous among the Hindus of East Bengal only."

Let our independent province of West Bengul engraft this rich racial branch upon its old decaying trunk and rise to a new era of prosperity and power. It is for your own good and it is for the permanence of the Bengali Hindu race. Oh ye, men now in possession in our Ministry, University and professions, do not be alarmed about losing your personal gains, about sharing what you have captured by manipulating the electorate or political jobbery. Admit this infusion of new blood or else you will die and your children will have no future.

TRAGIC MIGRATION

This migration from West Pakistan, into the north, centre and south of the Indian Dominion, and from East Bengal into West Bengal, is on as vast a scale and as colossal in its economic effects, as the "wandering of the tribes" or the "migration of races" in ancient times of which historians like Gibbon have left such graphic descriptions. But it is far more tragic, because those tribes moved in organised hordes, compactly under recognised leaders, fighting, conquering and settling wholesale in new lands, where they soon absorbed the local populations. Thus, the Germanic tribes of Angles and Saxons settled in Britain, and mingling with the local Celtic population formed the present strong English race. Also the Huns in Hungary, the Goths in Spain and so on. But they belonged to an age when there was plenty of virgin land in those countries.

The same is true of the European colonisation of North and South America, which continents had measureless areas of virgin soil and a very small primitive, ignorant population. Hence their local problem was easy, and they settled in the new lands with all the power and resources of their European mother countries' Governments behind them.

CHERISH THESE REFUGEES

We should compare the present migration of East Bengal Hindus rather to the flight of English Puritans to Holland and thence to Massachusetts and of the French Huguenots in the time of Louis XIV to Halland, Prussia and England. These movements were all the to religious persecution and dishenest discriminators legislation, setting one sect above the law. What in calculable harm the evacuation of these men did to France you can understand when you read in history of how the fugitive French Protestants enriched the intellectual life, industries and trade of Holland, England and Prussia. They were the cream of the population, by reason of their brains and character. The Commander of Wellington's Horse Artillery at Waterloo was Cavalee Mercer, the great-grand-son of a French Protestant cloth-dealer who had fled to England 130 years before. The hard core of the army of William III at the battle of the Boyne was a body of French fugitive Protestants, to whom William's General Schomberg pointed out the French Royal troops facing them as "Gentlemen, here are your persecutors!" Let the Indian Dominion in its own interest absorb and cherish these refugee brethren. A day may come when we shall need them for our preservation.

PLAN NEEDED

Now, this gigantic movement has not the advantages of an emigration, which term means something well-planned, well-conducted, and at once fitted into the life of the land and society to which the emigrants are sent. But our East Bougal brethren have complicated the problem of massiveness by that of the lack of plan and of leaderly guidance. The first task everywhere is to find food for the body and cover for the head of this vast mass of floating humanity. Happily, Hindu charity has not failed; somehow or other these new-comers have not been starved to death, though suffering from a thousand unavoidable discomforts. We, the nonofficial public of Calcutta, even when ruled by a heartless and corrupt Muslim ministry, did tackle the problem of the man-made famine in Calcutta in 1942-43. And I can confidently appeal to my brethren to show the same spirit of sacrifice in the case of our East Bengal kith and kin. If they are neglected, the worst effect of this wholesale migration will be not death from cholera or pneumonia, but the benumbing of the souls, the crushing of the all-but-indomitable spirit of those whom we call Bangals—a term of admiration on many an athletic field. Do not forget that Sir Jagudish Bose, Sir Prafulla C. Roy, Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S., Ananda Mohan Bose, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and some other noted historians—are all sons of what has now become Eastern Pakistan.

THE PROBLEMS

Passing beyond this immediate problem to those of a more lasting nature, I appeal to our leaders' statesmenty vision and true patriotism. Here charity is not enough.

The first in difficulty among these problems is—
there to integrate the new-comers into the economic life
of West Bengal. Here we now possess only one-third of
the arms of undivided Bengal, but have to accommodate
there are already overcrowded, and so also is the

Presidential speech at a

Presidential speech at a

The Madern Review.

sale of various grades, even petty groceries and birishops, should go to East Bengal refugees, for I see not a single West Bengal Hindu keeping such shops. Happily, the inherent energy of our brethren from East Bengal has already found this outlet. For the last thirty years I have been marking the steady increase of shops under East Bengal ownership in Calcutta. They are here what the Gujratis are in Maharashtra.

The second problem is—how to colonise these evacuees in permanent homes as distinct from refugee-shelters and famine relief camps. Here a permanent board like the Tennessee Valley Authority alone can act, because ministries come and ministries go with a rapidity surpassing the case of the French Republic, and a debating club cannot do practical work.

The third problem, equally urgent with that of food and housing, is how to provide the student population from the Dacca side with facilities for continuing their interrupted high education without the loss of a year. These boys and girls are our future nation, the American (Confederate) President Jefferson Davis told his West Point cadets, "You are the seed-crop of the nation." Here they need, not money, but books, accommodation, and a sudden and vast expansion of high schools and colleges, for both boys and girls, academic and technical. Otherwise, our lot would be worse in the next generation than in this.

On the credit side I have seen the indomitable spirit of work, self-sacrifice and organisation on the part of the evacuee teachers and the eagerness and austerity of their boys. Let the University and the Ministry of Education do their part in saving the East Bengal student population. Self-help on the part of the evacuees has already half solved the problem.

No CLINGING TO POWER

Lastly, as soon as this wandering population has settled down and given up any lingering desire (however natural) to return to their own in Pakistan, there should not be a day's delay in granting them by law full political rights as citizens and making them absolutely equal with the older inhabitants of West Bengal. No selfish clinging to a monopoly of former political power by any of us in this province.

The problem is staggering by reason of its volume and complexity. No one man, no single ministry can tackle it. Let us have a non-official permanent body for watching over the new-comers, giving them prompt help and guidance at the stations, and co-ordinating our efforts for their permanent rehabilitation, so that there may be no waste of efforts and resources by overlapping. I appeal to the merchant princes and well-placed social leaders of East Bengal now in our midst, long settled in Calcutta, to make this supremely necessary effort. As for the State, it must create such a statutory body with a block grant for five years at a time.*

^{*} Presidential speech at a public meeting on 16th August, corrected

THE HISTORICAL SPIRIT IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY PROP. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.LITT.

A prominent conclusion drawn by the occidental orientalists is that India never had any true historic perspective which even the ancient Greeks had perfected. They maintain that this deficiency is clearly responsible for the lack of a proper history of India before the Buddhistic Age. This attitude has been traced to the other-worldliness of our systems of philosophy, to our ways of life and to our customs and manners.

Be that as it may, we have to see whether our ancients really lacked the historic spirit, and if so from which period. Chronologically speaking, we find the Anukramanis of the Samhitas giving the names of the Rishis who composed the hymns, the subject-matter of the hymn concerned, and the metre in which it is written. And we are told that we have to learn the Samhitas, along with these details. If the Anukramanis thought of the cold-blooded ritualism alone, we feel no necessity to remember the names of the seers. Closely allied to this is the fact that the Sutra Literature gives us the lists of the gotras and their pravaras. Till this day it has been incumbent on all the so-called Dvijus to remember their gotras and the rishi pravaras. What blessed purpose on earth does this all serve, unless it be the preservation of certain historical data? Similarly, there is the oral transmission of the entire Vedic literature. It was communicated in this manner originally because of the lack of written material. Later on a semi-mystic ritual significance has been attached to it. Any way it has come to preserve a historical document of a rare importance. These factors belonging to the Vedic period, though fragmentary, reveal traces of the historical spirit in ancient India.

Coming down to the Epic period itself, we are surprised to note the rich material. The whole of the Mahabharata teems with history, of course, with occasional mythological interludes. The geography of the country, the political divisions in the country, and the internal and external policies, as well, of these territories are given in detail. The evolution of the fight itself during those fateful 18 days gives us an epigrammatic statement of the evolution of the military technique. The administrative polices of the times are not omitted. The genealogical tables lead us up to the early years of the Kali. The history of the country from this period onwards is clearly and concisely stated in the great and the early Puranas. Now we are told that the chronological tables of the Puranas are self-contradictory, and semi-mythological. Pargiter tried his best not to be misled by these statements of his Western contemporaries. In the present day we are witnessing a tendency which seems to rely on a more careful analysis and examination of these Puranic tables. This speaks for itself. Here we have to note that the Puranas were not composed in the same age. or at the same place, though we are confronted by the Naimisharanya. Some of the oldest were actually composed in the Buddhistic period, though additions were continually made till the fifth century after Christ, as in the case of the Mahabharata. Further they were written in various parts; and most unluckily the writers began to feel that the country occupied by them was the whole of India. Hence the dynasties that ruled over a particular area were often spoken of as ruling over the entire country. Herein lies the so-called error. If we can locate the area in which each Purana was composed, most of the contradictions will disappear.

As in the case of Greece and of England, here in India too we find that the poets and the dramatists are more historically conscious. The entire Kumarasambhava of Kalidasa is nothing but an allegorical representation of the fall of the Mauryas, and the rise of Hindu kingdoms bent upon the revival of the Vedic culture. Bharavi's Kiratarjuniya is an allegorical and soul-stirring cry for nationalism at a time when India has been ravaged by the Kushans and others.

More straightforward than these are some other work. Bana's Harsha-charita is a fine historical document concerning his own master, Harsha Vardhana. Bisakhadatta's Mudrarakshasa makes literature out of history by presenting us the rise of the Mauryas with the help of Chanakya. It appeals to the country to stand by the Guptas in defending the integrity and independence of the country. Vakpatiraja's Gaudavaho tells us of the exploits of the Gaudas against Central India. Kalhana's Rajataranyini is the history of Kashmir. Bilhana's Vikramankadeva-charita is another fine piece of history regarding Chalukyas.

Besides these, we find throughout India a variety of valuable inscriptions, coins, copper-plates and other materials. These amply testify to the fact that the spirit of history is not foreign to India. It is innate amongst us. But we had had too many obstacles in our past. These impediments stemmed the advance of the historical spirit. The first and the greatest calamity that ever befell India is the rise and growth of Buddhism. It really advanced our progress in our systems of philosophy. But politically, socially, religiously, and culturally it gave us a death-blow. The gospel of non-violence along with its insistence on the values of the other world, paralysed us politically and opened the doors of our country for the foreigners to dominate us. It made us pessimistic, and made us sing 'of our first disobedience' to our own culture and tradition; thereby 'the fruit of this forbidden tree brought all mortal woe.' Socially and religiously it led to the spirit of vengeance on the part of the Hindus, who brought in the rigidity of the caste-system and other similar things; for, the Vedic civilization was too lax in such things. Culturally we lost many a precious work of man; we lost great liberty achievements; we lost the historic spirit.

And yet the very fact that the historical spirit

murvived this onslaught and revealed itself in the by the great Sankara, and the prevalence of the writings of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Visakhadatta, Bana, uniform Vedic culture throughout India are enough to Vakpatiraja, Kalhana, Bilhana and others, is sufficient show clearly that the unity of India as a political and to show that the spirit of history is innate in India. cultural unit is the cardinal principle in the historic The performance of the Visvajit, Asvamedha, and spirit of India from the carliest times to the present Rajasuya sacrifices, as given in the Brahmanas, the day. The occident may ignore it. But history cannot construction of the mathas in the four corners of India afford to forget it.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published,

-EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

A SURVEY OF INDIAN HISTORY: B_y . K. M. Panikkar. Published by N. I. P. Bombay. 1947. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 7-8.

INDIA, A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW: By Sir Frederick Whyte. The Royal Institute of International Affairs. Pp. 83. Price 2s. 6d.

Ever since Maxmuller wrote his highly appreciative words about India and her culture, attraction to its study has been great. True it is, during the second quarter of the present century there has been a considerable production of historical literature, but most of them, excepting such well-known classics as The Fall of the Mughal Empire and Aurangzib are so drily written and wanting in sympathetic imagination that they have failed to satisfy the popular appetite for the reading of history. Studies on Indian history as a whole have suffered from another drawback. Its frame-work has followed the pattern fixed by V. A. Smith more than three decades back. The division of Indian history into three period, Hindu, Muslim and British, and the classification of the events under the successive ruling dynasties or viceroyalties have been the ever-guiding lodestar to the weary caravan of textbook writers. Naturally Indian history has been presented as a pageantry of kings and emperors, of their romantic fights and sieges or mean intrigues and treacherous murders.

The first book under review has broken this stereotyped form of writing Indian history. Mr. Panikkar has evidently been inspired by the Wellsian view of history, "They (glorious battles) are the prismental tapestry of history and no part of the building." Hence we hear little in this book of the tramp of cavalry and the thud of guns, but can watch here the craftsmen and the artisans, the philosophers and saints, architects and painters engaged in their hamble pursuits, and unconsciously shaping India's desting from age to age. Thus one searches here in valation a glowing account of Kanishka's or Samudra-gupta viologies. Wellesley's or Hastings's hammer-lies on the Mujahide war-cry against the Kofirs. On the state hand, we can read here of the accordant life

and amusements—dicing, dancing, singing and of his personal adornments, such as collyrium in his eyes, unguent which tinges the lips, of education in schools and universities during the Maurya and later periods.

Data are gleaned from every possible source, literature and archaeology. The torso of a female figure draped in a sari brought to light by the recent Arikamedu excavation does not escape his notice, and he puts-the fact in its proper place. In the same way the early Sultans of Islam who figure so largely with romantic episodes of Devala Devi and Padmini, and blood-curdling stories of persecution and massacre of the Hindus are given here the go-by and their place is taken by such themes as medieval theism, the revival of Jainaism under such a person as Hemachandra who popularised in a Jaina garb the entire mythology of the Hindus, and Vijnaneswar and Chandeswar, Smriti commentators. The long roll of British Viceroys is dismissed summarily with the words, "From the point of view of the history of the English in India, they are no doubt important; but in the context of Indian history, these Governors-General signify nothing." But the rediscovery of India's past, the rebirth of culture, the revival of Hinduism and integration of Islam, leading to Pakistan are succinctly summarised.

From this brief outline it would be evident that the author's conception of the treatment of Indian history is original. He treats of India's developments as an organic whole, instead of dividing it into parts. Indian history and culture is shown here painted on a broad canvas, and seen moving towards the fulfilment of a great purpose. We see here the spirit of India striving across the ages, struggling, winning, sinking but reasserting itself again, engaged in the ceaseless endeavour of harmonising and reconciling the endless diversities into a unity.

The narration is lucid and free from excitement; it has not the glow of a Green, the charm of a Macaulay, or the grandeur of a Gibbon, but it is free from bias or partisanship. No particular sect is his bete noir; nor does he dote on any particular king or sage. Yet some of his conclusions are not possibly what they ought to be, e.g., the sepoy mutiny is with

him "no mutiny at all but a great national rising," because the object in view was the expulsion of the British. Sir Frederick Whyte's opinion in *India* (p. 24) is more apposite. Secondly, according to Panik-Muslim rulers, because some of them patronised Jaina Acharyas. Alauddin's severity to the Hindu fighting aristocracy recorded in Barani and Firuz's exertions in the path of the faith as recorded in the Futuhat disprove such a statement. Thirdly, in his opinion the Muslim Sultanate of Guirat being "deopinion the Muslim Sultanate of Gujrat being pendent on the loyalty of the people and the wealth of the merchants, followed a policy of reconcilation." Constrast this statement with that of Professor Commissariat in the *History of Gujarat*, p. 114, "Not less important was the dependence of the conquerors on the conquered in respect of the materials and the builders, so that the spoliation of Hindu shrines . continued apace." In the Jami Masjid, Bhadra Mosque and several others, pillars and ceilings are to be found "that were transferred bodily from the Jaina temples . . ." What an admirable process of reconciliation !

India, A Bird's-Eye View is a war pamphlet to inform the world of India's political evolution under the British aegis in the context of her complex problems, particularly Hindu-Muslim, and the enormous advantages acquired by India out of the war. The apologia made on behalf of the British rulers for communal tension was unnecessary for the separate electorate was their invention and gift.

N. B. Roy

BHAGAVAD GITA AND MODERN LIFE: By K. M. Munshi. Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty Road, Bombay 7. Pp. 224.

The author's reputation in this case will naturally raise high hopes in the minds of his readers. We can confidently say that these hopes have not been belied. The book is well written and bears marks of the author's great erudition.

The Gita has been so much written upon that it is difficult to expect anything extraordinarily new in any modern writing upon it. But Munshi has been remarkably successful in this respect. He has suggested a new approach in his interpretation and adopted an easy and facile style. The last chapter on Brahmacharya has struck us as particularly adept, full of imaginative insight and modern scientific knowledge.

We hope recent political activities will leave him time to complete the series of lectures of which we

have but a foretaste in this book.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BEAUTIFUL: By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A. Printed and Published by Thomson and Co. Ltd., Broadway, Modens. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-8.

Although the style of the book sometimes sthacks of percration rather than of philosophy, and although it is cramped with teo many references to names and citations of opinions which give it the odour of a class lecture, yet, we cannot but pay our tribute of praise to the extensive scholarship and deep and penetrating insight of the author. He has brought within a small compass the salient points of the philosophy of the beautiful and given it a presentable shape for the ordinary reader. The study of the book is expected to rouse the curiosity of the intelligent and of those who are eager to know. This curiosity can of course be satisfied by a study of more advanced books and more authoritative sources. But the reader will be

grateful to our author for having roused his receptivity.

The last two chapters are the author's original contribution to the subject; for, such discussions will not be found in books by authors of Europe or America. Such discussions are beyond the competence of most of them: they know yet so little of Indian thought. But they ought to know and this book will help them to know.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

FREEDOM AND CIVILIZATION: By Bronislaw Malinowski. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pages 338. Price 16s. nett.

The author was an outspoken opponent of National Socialism in Germany and as a result his books were banned early in that country. After the outbreak of war in 1939 the author remained in U.S.A. and was appointed in Yale University. He was much agitated over the early success of the Nazis as he was confident that their totalitarian methods and victory were sure to destroy freedom and civilization. The author did not live to see the victorious termination of war and destruction of the great menace to humanity. He wholeheartedly endorsed the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and showed great anxiety for a peace settlement which will ensure the progress of the world and civilization.

In these pages the author has made a scientific study of all aspects of human freedom from the earliest days to the present times. The problem has been studied from the points of view of biology, anthropology, sociology, economy and other allied sciences including physiology and psychology. The author has shown that freedom is a condition of human culture and civilization. But human society restricted its freedom with the progress of civilization to organise freedom and culture. After all, there is nothing in human society as absolute freedom. Freedom is a relative term with reference to time and stages in culture. Freedom to destroy other's freedom or to enslave other people is no freedom. Freedom ultimately means subordination of the individual or society to a higher principle and ideal for the attainment of a higher culture. When we accept this view even the sovereignty of modern states will vanish and a super-state must come into being to end all conflict of Nation-states. In that ideal world National Independence will mean a limited freedom for each people but nations of the world as a whole will enjoy more freedom without any fear of domination whatsoever. In the words of the author, "The world must choose between a state of international anarchy or of international law. Since law can not exist without sanctions, and sanctions must be embodied in a political organization, we need a super-state; a World Federation or a Commonwealth of Nations in order to have freedom anywhere and everywhere." This was written by the author before the United Nations Organisation came into existence. Now UNO has come into being and is trying to function for ending the conflicts among nations. If UNO succeeds it shall have to be a superstate, otherwise it is likely to have the fate as that of the League of Nations.

Students of politics will find this book extremely interesting. To the students of Indian politics, this book is specially useful, because attainment of freedom has brought in not a small number of problems to this country, the proper and democratic solution of which will bring real freedom to the country and the people,

No. 1

A. B. Dorra

SANSKRIT

* RIGVEDA-SAMHITA (with the commentary of Sayanacharya, Vol. IV, Mandalas IX-X): Edited by N. S. Santakke, B.A. (Tilak) and C. G. Kashikar, M.A. (Tilak). Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith. Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala, Poona. Price Rs. 25.

This volume completes the critical edition of Sayana's commentary on the Rigveda undertaken by the Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala more than a decade back. Besides the text and commentary on the last two Mandalas, we have here a critical edition of the Khilas as well, accompanied by a separate introduction which not only describes the critical apparatus but discusses the antiquity of the khilas and their relation to the Rigueda Samhita. The procedure followed in Rigueda Samhita. procedure followed editing the volume is the same as that in the previous volumes already noticed in these pages (August 1935, July 1940, July 1945). In addition to a good number of manuscripts of Sayana's commentary, a printed edition of a portion of the commentary of Udgitha, a predecessor of Sayana, as also a fragmentary manuscript of another portion of the same were consulted and found helpful in determining the correct text of Sayana. The improvements that could be made in the readings of the commentary have been separately noted in the general introduction. On the whole, we have in these volumes a handsome scholarly edition of the Rigveda together with Sayana's commentary thereon. We hope when the fifth volume containing indices comes to be published it will greatly enhance the usefulness of the edition. It reflects credit on the authorities of the Mandala to have produced the present volume during the most stressing period of high price and searcity of paper and other printing materials due to the last great world war. The world of scholars would be ever grateful to Sri C. G. Agashe whose munificent donation towards meeting the entire cost of printing and paper of the volume has made its publication possible in the face of all sorts of difficulties. It is a strange coincidence that such or even greater munificence or patronage was forthcoming on the occasion of publishing previous editions of the work at different times and places.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SWADHIN BHARATER JATIYA PATAKA: By Rakhaldas Som. Published by Messrs. Das Gupta and Bros., 54/3 College Street, Calcutta. Pages 64. Price Rs. 8.

Rs. \$.

This nicely printed and well-illustrated book gives in chaste Bengali the history and evolution of the National Flag of India. Behind this flag we have a glorious history of sacrifices, struggle and bloodshed of our countrymen for over a century. So the 15th August, 1947, i.e., the day when we unfurled the banner of freedom, opens a new and glorious chapter in our national history. The author reminds his countrymen that as they proceed to attain the fullest freedom for their country, they should always remember the ideals preached by Bankimchandra the Seer, Rabindranath the Poet and Gandhi the Servant of Humanity, so that India may contribute her best to the world culture.

A. B. Dutta

KALIR DADHICHI: By Bhaktitirtha Umesh Ch. Chakmbarty. Sriguru Library, 204 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

The book under review containing a short biographical sketch and sayings of Mahatma Gandhi is a timely publication. Gandhiji may aptly be called

Dadhichi of the modern age because like Dadhichi, the Hindu mythological figure, he voluntarily gave up his life for a noble cause. The writer has spared no pains to gather valuable information regarding Gandhiji's life and activities from authentic sources. Three poems from the writer's pen have been included in this book. They may not be modern in form, but it is evident that these are spontaneous outbursts of an imaginative mind.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

HINDI

JEEVAN KA SATYA: By Mohansingh Sengar. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 2-12.

NAYE YUG KI NARI: By the same author. Pp. 141. Price Rs. 2-12.

Both published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad.

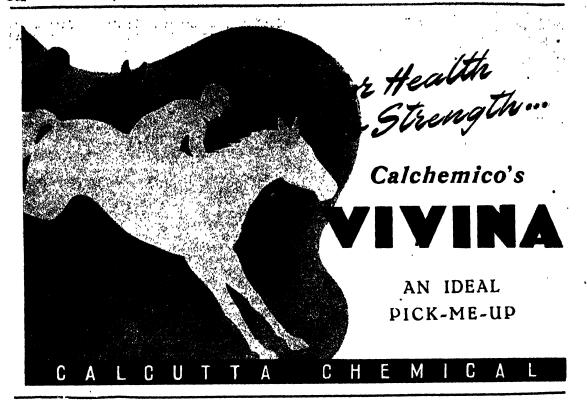
In a way, both these books are complementary, because the selfsame subject, namely, woman, is treated therein; only the first does this in the form of nine short stories, while the second deals with the various problems, pertaining to her, in their modern setting in ten essays. The reader is told that the stories are based on factual events, though appropriate situations and psychological profiles and portraits have been created to-incarnate them in an intriguing manner. Indeed a cold shiver creeps down his spine as story after story reinforces him in the impression that woman is more sinned against by man than she sins against him in our present-day man-made and man-mastered society. What, then, is the remedy? Woman must resolve to come into her own; nay, to make positive contributions to culture and civilization, she should shake off the fetishes and false values of the dead or decaying past, whether they be social or sacramental. For, what matters is her own true self-fulfilment, the condition precedent to which is freedom from the bondage of the priest, the parents, the parents-in-law, the politician and the philanthropist. Her vital and varied life ought to be a poem on whole-souled and wholesome comradeship and not a mere command performance in obedience to the baton of prejudice, passion or prestige. Such is the writer's thesis in the main. The well-known author's refined sense of chivalry, reformist zeal and intensive humanity are clearly evident in his books, under review, while his style burns with the glow of Right as well as Righteousness. G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARATNUN GHADTAR: By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, Baroda. Published by the University of Bombay. 1946. Sold by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. Cloth-bound. Pp. 366 + 7. Price Rs. 3.

In 1941, Mr. Ramanlal Desai, a distinguished writer

In 1941, Mr. Ramanlal Desai, a distinguished writer and thinker, was invited by the Bombay University, under the rules of the Thakkar Vasanji Madhavji Endowment to deliver a series of lectures on Gujarati literature, and he did so; the result of which is embodied in this book. Owing to war condition and scarcity of paper it was not found possible to publish them earlier. It is a piece of work bearing on the structure of society and literature so far as Gujarat is concerned, and the author has acquitted himself very well. Historically he has divided his subject into two parts, pre-Vedic and Vedic period, up to Muslim period, and then Muslim and post-Muslim period. The theme of Rasanirupan, old and new, and Realism in Literature claim two more lectures, and in between the two main subjects he has introduced Kasi Nanalai (who died only recently) as the connecting link. The whole work is a valuable contribution to Gujarati





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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Aspects of the Dominion Economy of India

The solvency or otherwise of the public finance of India is not the chief consideration in regard to Indian economy. The most substantial fact about it is the tremendously small amounts of revenue and expenditure per head of population. Professor Benoy Sarkar observes in The Calcutta Review:

The extremely low indices of agricultural, industrial and commercial wealth produced by the people constitute the fundamental economic data of the two Dominions now known as India and Pakistan.

Between 1939 and 1946 the years of World War 11 India's total revenue amounted to Rs. 15,000 millions (in round figures) and expenditure to Rs. 21,000 millions (in round figures). During the same period the total revenue of the United Kingdom amounted to £17,000 millions and total expenditure to £33,000 millions. The corresponding U.S. figures for the same period were \$182,000 millions and \$397,000 millions. The percentage of revenue to expenditure in India was 71, in the U. K. 52, and the U.S. A. 46.

In 1946-47, the debt position of the Government of India (undivided) was embodied in the figure Rs. 24,000 millions (being the total interest-bearing obligations including unfunded debt and deposits). This is to be seen in the perspective of the revenue for that year, namely, Rs. 3,600 millions. For the U. K., the corresponding figures for the period were £26,000 millions and 23,300 millions. The U.S. figures were \$260,000 millions and \$40,000 millions respectively.

In the U. K., the public debt was nearly 8 times while in the U. S. A. and India near about 7 times.

It should appear that in the formal logic of public finance India (undivided) presented proportions that were quite reasonable and decent by the Anglo-American standard.

But the material logic enables us to visualize other conditions. It is the per capita values that are really meaningful. In 1946-47, the revenue per head of population was approximately Rs. 9 for India, 266 for the U. K. and 4286 for the U. S. A. In round figures the population is taken to be 400 millions for India, 50 millions for the U. K. and 140 millions for the U. S. A. Taking the Pound to be Rs. 18-5-0 and the Dollar to be Rs. 3-2-0 the revenues per head are roughly speaking as follows: India Rs. 9, U. K. Rs. 890, and U. S. A.

Crudely considered, we get the following equations of comparative public finance:

Every American = 108 Indians (approximately)
Every Briton == 100 Indians
It is not to be understood that in every sector of economic efficiency as well as of human values these approximate equations are valid.

Be this at many let us look to mother brass tag of sconomic fadia.

On August 15, 1947, the Indo-Pakistan Agreement

distributed the available cash balances between the two parties as follows:

India Pakistan Rs. 3,250 millions Rs. 750 millions

Total Rs. 4,000 millions

Taking the entire population of undivided India as, roughly speaking, 400 millions, the cash balances on the day of partition amounted to nearly Rs. 10 (15

shillings or, say, \$3 per head).

The terms of the Financial Agreement between India and Pakistan are likely to be contested, as has been done by Deshbandhu Gupta in A Glance at the Indo-Pakistan Financial Agreement (New Delhi, 1948). But in the world-economy the relative position of both is to be assessed as more or less identical, because each is a territory used to operating on very small doses of finance.

The categories of economic development economic policy to which people in the U. K. and the U. S. A. and other regions of more or less the same standard of living are used, are hardly applicable in India and Pakistan unless, of course, they are employed simply as formal or heuristic terms. The worldeconomic realities of India as of Pakistan are to be understood in the perspective of Rs. 9 per head as the annual revenue and Rs. 10 per head as the cash balance of the undivided Government of India.

The category, industrialization, is often wrongly taken to be indifference to and neglect of agriculture and the allied economies.

But no economic statesmanship has ever sought to permit industries to kill or eclipse farming, animalhusbandry, fisheries, forestry and the like. These agricultural and altied occupations or professions are never meant to be ignored or overlooked in any scheme for industrialization. Rather, it comprises the modernization of the farming and albed occupations as well as their advancement by the application of latest scientific discoveries and technical inventions. Agricultural improvement belongs, as a matter of course, to the content of industrialization.

In India as well as Pakistan relatively large doses of mechanization and fertilizer therapy will be necessary for quite a long time in order to uptodatize the agricultural economy. In the domain of agricultural finance, likewise, some of the up-to-date methods will have to be imported from Eur-America.

The Central Co-operative Bank ought to be furnished with substantial funds from the Government Treasury or from the Reserve Bank in order to enable it to offer loans liberally to individual cultivators through their co-operative societies at reasonable rates. In India, the Governments have always followed the opposite,—the wrong,—principle by compelling cultivators to depend on self-help.

The combined self-belp of resourceless and perpetually indebted people, such as cultivators generally are, cannot possibly enable them to possess enough capital

for agricultural transactions. The magic of self-help alone cannot turn a sero into a million. It ought to be a fundamental objective of Co-operative Acts to mobilize State Finance adequately in the interest of cultivators through the chain of co-operative credit societies.

The constructive role of State help in agricultural finance and farming economy is recognized in every modern legislation, including that of the U. S. A. The activities of the Banque de France visavis the Credit Agricole deserve also to be followed in India with due modifications. The example of France in the field of co-operative finance may be seen in the present writer's Economic Development Vol. I (Madras) and Vol. II (Calcutta), as well as Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems (Calcutta). The Dominion of India cannot afford to overlook the achievements of State finance in the agricultural developments of Eur-

In 1936, the total money supply of India was Rs. 4,700 millions. With a population of some 350 millions this gave a circulation of Rs. 14 per head. The money supply of the U.S. for the same year was 31,000 millions. The circulation per head (total population 123 mill.) was approximately 246 (roughly equivalent to Rs. 738 at \$=Rs. 3). The total circulation in the U. K. was £1626 millions. The circulation per head (total pop.

46 millions) was £35 (=roughly Rs. 420). In 1947, the total money supply for India (pop. 400 mill.) was Rs. 21,500 millions, for the U.S.A. (pop. 140 mill.) \$1,13,500 millions and for the U.K. (pop. 50 mill.) \$5230 mill. The circulation per head was then

Rs. 54, Rs. 2,575 and Rs. 1,260 respectively.

The figures in every instance have been taken in round numbers as well as rough approximation. In regard to the rates of exchange also very crude estimates have been given.

It is seen that in 1947 per head of population every American had at his command on the average the supply of Rs. 2,575. This was more than double that of the Briton and nearly 50 times that of the Indian. We can easily understand, therefore that while the American in his daily parlance talks of 50 dollars the Indian cannot afford to think in terms of more than one dollar. In 1936, also the relative population between the American and the Indian had been more or less the same (438:14).

The Ministerial Imbroglio in Sind

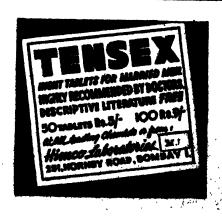
The action taken by the Sind Governor involves issues of far-reaching importance, and, if left unheeded, is likely to set precedents with inconceivable political repercussions in the working of a Cabinet Government. Dr. Anup Chand Kapur writes in The Hindustan Review:

The re-allocation of Sind Cabinet portfolios by the Sind Governor, without the consent of, or even prior consultation with the Premier and eventually his dismissal from office, under directions from the Governor-General of Pakistan, are two recent instances of utter violation of constitutional conventions and flagrant abuse of constitutional propriety which coment the functioning of a Responsible Government. The Khuro episode, as a matter of fact, eclipses the arbitrary and summary dismissal of Mr. Allah Bux—the Sind Premier—on October 10, 1942, and that of Dr. Khan Sahib, the Prime Minister of N.-W. F. Province. immediately after the emergence of Pakistan as an independent Dominion.

In Sind a public quarrel between the Premier and his two Ministers manifested itself towards the second week of April, 1948, when the Standing Committee of the Muslim League Assembly Party passed two resolutions. These resolutions were an indictment of Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur and Pir Illahi Bux. It was also demanded that the portfolio of Civil Supplies should be withdrawn from Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur. The meeting of the Standing Committee was reported to have been attended by three out of nine members, and it was originally believed that Mr. Khuro also attended it, and both the resolutions were inspired by him. Mr. Khuro rebutted this allegation, and denied that he attended the meeting of the Standing Com-

This ostensibly bridged the breach between the ministers and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur issued a statement in which he, inter alia, expressed his confidence in the leadership of Mr. Khuro, and withdrew all his allegations against him. But the rift created in the Muslim League Assembly Party had assumed a serious character, and both Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur questioned the authority of the Standing Committee to pass such resolutions, and declared that in future no notice of the Committee's decision would be taken by them. The members of the Standing Committee, on the other hand, asserted their right to review the work of the Ministers, as the Committee had been appointed at the biddings of Mr. Jinnah with a view to supervise the work of the Ministers, and to see that it was in accordance with the

election pledges of the League.
A meeting of the League Assembly Party was, however, summoned for April 30, 1948, to take stock of the whole situation. But Pir Illahi Bux, the Deputy Leader of the Party, also called a meeting of the Party on April 14, 1948. This unconstitutional calling of the party meeting by the Deputy Leader was characterised by Mr. G. H. Gazdar, the Secretary of the party, as ultra vires. Twelve other members of the Provincial Legislature (including Qazi Fazullah, the Revenue Minister) endorsed the objection raised by Mr. Gazdar. The meeting called by the Deputy Leader was, however, held, and it was reported to have been attended by eight out of 37 members of the party, including Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur. Mr. Khuro asked both these Ministers to resign, and seek re-election as they were manipulating and canvassing support for his removal from office. The Pir and the Mir denied, in a joint statement, the allegations made by the Premier. At the same time they stigmatised the Premier for issuing illegal orders, and added that they



had informed the Governor and the Central Government how Government servants were being utilised, and how they had been demoralised. They concluded the statement by saying: "We are of the opinion that any leader who is not able to keep the members of his party with himself without official influence has no right to be a leader."

Dramatic events followed in succession.

On April 16, 1948, a Press Note issued from the Governor's House, under the signature of the Private Secretary to the Governor, announced the re-allocation of portfolios among the Ministers. This was managed by the Governor in such a way that Home and Public Works portfolios were taken away from the Premier and allotted to Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali, respectively. The Department of Revenue which was under the charge of Qazi Fazullah, a close friend of Mr. Khuro, was taken away from him and given to the Mir. In vain did Mr. Khuro protest to the Governor.

Mr. Khuro represented his case to the Governor-General after his return from the N.-W. F. Province's tour on April 21. The Premier requested Mr. Jinnah "to ask the Governor to allow me to reshuffle my Cabinet or to agree to my expanding it by taking one or two Ministers and also revise his order regarding the allocation of portfolios. This I demand as my constitu-tional right." Without going into the merits of Mr. Khuro's submission the Governor-Goneral asked for his resignation "or be dismissed because the Governor had asked for his approval to dismiss me." Mr. Jinnah also told the Sind Premier that the Governor and Ministers Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur had made certain allegations against him. The nature of these allegations the Governor-General did not disclose to Mr. Khuro. Mr. Khuro ultimately resigned on the morning of April 26, but in the evening a Press Communique announced the dismissal of Mr. Khuro by the Governor acting under directions from the Governor General of Pakistan "as a prima facic case has been made out against him for charges of mal-administration and gross misconduct in the discharge of his duty and responsibility and corruption." The Communique further said that the Governor was making arrangements immediately "to appoint a judicial tribunal to inquire into the charges and allegations that have been made against Mr. Khuro and the fullest opportunity will be offered to him to vindicate his

For the proper understanding of the Sind Premier's dismissal, let us go a little more deep into its causes.

Mr. Khuro was a member of Sheikh Chulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Cabinet in the pre-partition Government of Sind. In the then Muslim League Assembly Party there were two rival groups, one headed by Mr. Ghulam Hussain and the other by Mr. M. A. Khuro. When the former was appointed the Governor of Sind, Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, who were also ministers in the Hidayatullah Cabinet, made a bid for the Premiership of course, with the full support of Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. But subsequently they had to withdraw, because of the formidable position of Mr. Khuro. When Khuro became Prime Ministers Two of his ministers were the Fir and the Mir and the third (Qasi Fasullah) was a those friend of Mr. Khuro. All the important postfoling the Fremier setained for himself, and the Qasi Is the property of a stagentism and personal rivalry

continued smouldering to flare up at the opportune time offered to either group, and resulting into the political annihilation of the other.

The course of events, however, did not run a smooth course for Mr. Khuro. He incurred the wrath of the Pakistan Governor-General and this gave the required opportunity to the Pir. The Pir played the trump card and the result was the final exit of Khuro.

Mr. Khuro had all through been a fervent champion of Pakistan, and a devout political disciple of Mr. Jinnah. The Sind Government, on the initiative of Mr. Khuro, invited the Pakistan Government to establish its headquarters at Karachi till the Dominion Government finally decided the place for the permanent location of its capital. After some time it became known that the Pakistan Government had designs on Karachi by permanently establishing its capital there. The Sindhis, including the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party, protested and demonstrated against this contemplated intention of the Pakistan Government. Mr Khuro promised the Sindhis that he would preserve the integrity of the Province, and would resist any such move. This open revolt on the part of Mr. Khuro greatly annoyed Mr. Jinnah, because he did not find his once docile political disciple a willing tool of the Pakistan Government.

But the most annoying grievance against Mr. Khuro was on the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees in Sind. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Pakistan Refugee and Rehabilitation Minister, disclosed in his Hyderabad speech (on May 2, 1942) that Sind had declined to take even 1,00,000 refugees and the Government had not been co-operating in their resettlement. Public, undoubtedly, cannot vouch for the correctness of this statement, yet there is no denying the fact that Mr. Khuro was not willing to take in more refugees than what he thought the Province could absorb.

The Sind Prime Minister incurred the displeasure of the Pakistan Government personnel, as he had become the spearhead of the movement to prevent Sindhi interests being swamped by Pakistan personnel from the West Punjab.

Mr. Jinnah referred to this aspect of the question, indirectly of course, in his public speech at Peshawar on April 20, when the Quaid-e-Azam appealed for unity in the League, patience with, and support for the Government and abandonment of factious jealousies and provincialism.

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Mr. Khuro's dismissal gratified the political vengeance of his opponents and it served the desired purpose of the Pakistan Government. On the 27th April, a day after Mr. Khuro's dismissal, the Pakistan Governor-General announced, while addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, that Karachi would be the permanent capital of Pakistan. The vexing refugee problem was also satisfactorily solved. It was decided to set up a Refugee Council in Sind, an exact replica of the one in the West Punjab. It was also made clear by the Pakistan Refugee Minister that Pir Illahi Bux, the new Prime Minister, had raised no objection to the creation of the Council. The Minister also expressed a hope that the new refugee and resettlement and relief arrangements would be much more satisfactorily dealt with as the Dominion Government was, hitherto, dissatisfied at the plight of the refugees in Sind.

That the Governor has a legal right to dismiss his ministers is undeniable. They hold office during his pleasure. The Government of India Act as amended by the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order provides that a Governor in choosing and dismissing Ministers acts under the Governor-General's control, and must comply with his directions. The dismissal of Mr. Khuro is, therefore, in accordance with the letter of the constitution. But this is not the whole constitutional position. Even the rigid provisions of the Government of India Act 1935, found flexibility in the Instruments of Instructions, which enjoined upon the Governors to appoint only those persons as Ministers who collectively were in a position to command the confidence of the Legislature, and to keep them in office so long as they enjoyed such confidence. In a system of Responsible Government it is understood that a Minister only ceases to enjoy the confidence of the Executive head of the State when he ceases to retain the confidence of the Legislature. To act otherwise is to disregard, rather abuse, the principles upon which subsists the Parliamentary Government; and it would be, as such, indistinguishable from autocracy, pure and simple.

With Buttoned Swords

The New Review observes:

America and Russia met on the grounds of Oota-camund; the joust was lively and the witnesses had come from eighteen nations and nine international organisations. The occasion was a meeting of what they call in international lingo the Unecafe. The Economic and Social Council acting on the recommendation of its Economic and Employment Commission had, on June 21, 1946, established a Temporary Sub-commission on the economic reconstruction of devastated areas which set up a Working Party which recommended this United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which was approved by the Economic and Social Council, is charged with sponsoring measures of economic reconstruction and development in Asia and the Far East, and will have its work reviewed by the Unesco in 1951. Which, story illustrates the method and pace of advance in international co-operation.

The Unecase held a first session in Shanghai (June 16-25, 1947), a meeting of its Committee of the Whole at Lake Success (July 10-17, 1947), a second session at Baguio (Philippines, November 25-December 6, 1947) and its third session at Ootacamund (June 1-12, 1948). At Shanghai, New York, Baguio, they

did what commissions and committees are wont to do; they discussed membership, terms of reference, programme of investigations and studies, etc. They did much the same at Octacamund, and they passed a report replete with soothing views and harmless resolutions. Two discussions, however, threw a sharp light on international psychology, and provoked America and Russia to a significant encounter, with the temporary advantage going to Russia.

The first forensic duel came out of the discussion on the membership of the Indonesian Republic. Full membership of the Unecase is given to nations in the Asian region delineated by the Unesco (Nepal is not clearly situate within this region) provided they themselves conduct their foreign relations. Associate membership may be granted to non-self-governing countries on the recommendation of their overlords. The Indonesian Republic claims independence; but The Hague argues that since the republic is only a member of the United States of Indonesia which will coalesce on equal terms with Holland to form the Netherlands-Indonesian Union under the headship the Dutch Sovereign, the Indonesian Republic must wait till the Indonesian Federation be established and needs Dutch sponsorship to join the Unecafe. Dr. Grady sided with the legal case of the Netherlands, Mr. Novikov with the Indonesian Repblic. India made a strong plea for the Indonesians; Dr. S. P. Mookerice realistically pleaded that the Unecase had nothing to do with political ideology or legalism and was limited to economic problems, that the Indonesian Republic had sat at the Havana Conference of the Unesco on trade and employment and on the Interim Commission, etc. To no avail, the colonial powers and their allies won the day but lost face in the East. The second round came when Dr. Grady tackled the rehabilitation loans to Asian countries. Loans would undoubtedly be available not by way of charities but on business terms; but investors would have to be guaranteed fair returns and consequently economic and social conditions permitting fair returns. Asian countries were puzzled and disappointed; they mentioned the gratuities which will go with the Marshall Plan in Europe; they did not demur to the idea of allowing returns but they did not hide their apprehensions that foreign investments might interfere with their internal politics; economic imperialism might he a camouflaged political imperialism, and that would be intolerable. Mr. Novikov hurried to play on such fears; he cautioned all Asian countries against foreign investments in key-industries and advocated un-

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restricted nationalisation. He boasted that Russia helped her neighbours with loans and never inserted any political clause in the contracts. He rallied many sympathies. Only the most alert among Asian representatives know that if Russia never puts any such clause in the contracts it is because she puts an occupation army in the country. Mr. Novikov tactfully cnough kept silent about the Bolshevik method of dealing with the foreign investments made under the Czars; but he scored a point when he extelled the industrial achievements of Russia on a national scale (thanks largely to foreign experts he again tactfully omitted to mention).

The problem of foreign loans must be faced squarely. Investments by foreigners are customary in all countries, in Britain, even in the U.S.A. and they are not inconsiderable; in small countries they do on occasion influence internal and external affairs. But they are rarely decisive when home politics are consolidated; British and American investments in the Weimar Republic did little to check Hitler's pace. For the present Asian countries feel weak economically and militarily; the memory of their past dependence is too fresh for them not to be allergic to any threat of imperialism, their economy is too uncertain for risking any possible interference, and their political unity is not yet strong enough for them to feel at case in the international labyrinth. With the progress of years the mood will vanish, and, with the future opportunities of investing in other countries. it will change into comforting buoyancy. But the mood is there at present, and Dr. Grady should have taken it into account, instead of giving an easy opening to Soviet truculence. The sympathies of Asian countries are still in the main with the Anglo-American bloc, but the spokesmen of British, Dutch and French imperialism should be kept away from all conferences in the East.

Bureau of Mines

Science and Culture observes:

With the advent of independence in India the attention of the country's Government, both Central and Provincial, has been directed to the proper and efficient development of mineral deposits. of India for giving effect to the various schemes of industrialization. Steps have already been taken by the Central Government to formulate a 'National Mineral Policy' for the purpose and work is in progress to set up a 'Bureau of Mines' for this country.

Following up the discussions at the National Mineral Conference convened by the Government of India in January, 1947, the Government of India decided to establish a Bureau of Mines—an administrative organization, to standardize conditions of mineral development in India and also to exercise control over the exploitation of the country's mineral assets. The scope of this central organization envisaged powers to frame rules regarding terms and conditions of future leases, application of improved mining methods to ensure conservation of mineral assets, control over experts, collection and compilation of statistical returns, enouragement of demestic utilization of ores and minerals, best processing; providing expert mineral advice and service to all and prosecution of research on missing and service to all and prosecution of research on missing

A well-argument laboratory with the latest and most up to date equipment will be attached to this bareau for sundamental and applied research in mineral development, and to the second of managers.



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Post Box 328 (M.B.O.) opposite Liepis Bank, 261-263, Hernby Read, Fort BOMBAY......Phone No. 24297. Conservation programme is still awaiting solution; wastage of good quality coal has yet to be eliminated; there has been lack of uniformity in the existing laws and licences of the Central and Provincial Governments and mineral resources are being exploited in a manner quite injurious to the country's interests.

The idea of starting an 'Economic Minerals Burcau' for India's industrial progress first emanated in 1945 from the Council of the Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India.

The Society was simply expressing the demand of the Indian scientific and industrial public for the establishment of such a Bureau in India. It is gratifying to note that the Government of India realizing the importance of this scheme has now established a Bureau of Mines though on a small scale. Schemes for running such an organization should be very comprehensive and far-reaching in character and should always be organized in a way so as to fit in with Indian conditions and peculiarities and to solve Indian problems. Such schemes might bring about fruitful results in the shortest possible time leading to conservation of the mineral resources of this country.

During the last 50 years in India enough high grade raw materials like manganese ores, mica, monazite, ilmenite, bauxite, chromite, and magnesite were allowed to be simply exported or put to improper use or wasted without serving any useful purpose to this country, and it has now become absolutely necessary that such practices should be brought to an end. Lower grade materials should always undergo processing and beneficiation before they can be marketed for better utilization. The II. S. A. has made

rapid progress in the matter of industrialization and in that respect she has made all possible arrangements to pool the mineral resources of her territory in the best possible manner. In order to get the best advantage of the different grades of minerals there has been an organization in U. S. A. styled "Bureau of Mines" through the activities of which the industrialists and the mine-owners receive adequate help and proper guidance in the matter of maximum extraction with safety and proper utilization of the minerals.

The Bureau of Mines should have as its main objectlives the promotion of safety in the mineral extraction, the conscrivation of mineral resources and the conducting of investigations on the mining, preparation and utilization of minerals. These ends are achieved through the development and introduction of safe practices and improvements in the methods of extraction and utilization of minerals of

different grades and quality.

But the scheme proposed for the 'Bureau of Mines' in India would include for the present three technical branches, namely: (1) Mining Engineering: (2) Mines Inspection; and (3) Mineral Treatment, (A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs is provided for in the first year to give effect to this scheme.)

In the earlier stages it will function primarily in an advisory capacity without executive or statutory powers, nor will it undertake actual, mining or any marketing of minerals. It will give advice on mining, marketing and will collect information and statistics, organize training and research, formulate policy and co-ordinate measures for the conservation and development of the country's mineral wealth.

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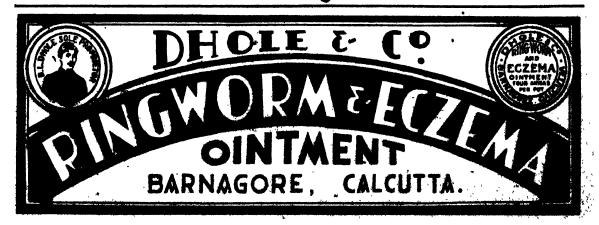
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Twilight of the Princely Urder

Under the above caption, India Today observes the state of affairs in the Princely States of India:

One of the least known but most significant developments in India during the first seven months of freedom is the integration, control and in some cases elimination of the Indian Princely States.

Before independence, there were some 562 Princely States scattered in a crazy quilt across the Indian penin-With few exceptions, the States were ruled by absolute monarchs in medieval style. Even the modest reforms in British India were never extended to the

While the British ruled India directly, the States were ruled indirectly through a unique system known as paramountcy. Under paramountcy, the British entered into treaty relations with the nominally independent Indian Princes. The British undertook to protect the Princes from external aggression or internal attack in return for control over their external relations. The pupper Princes. were ruled and manipulated through the powerful and notorious Political Department of the British Government in India.

The Princely States made sense from only one point of view: the desire of the British to consolidate and maintain their rule and to prevent social change. Geographically and economically, most of the States made no sense at all. Many of them were very small, being no larger than estates. Others, like Hyderabad, were larger than some Provinces of British India. Some were extremely backward both in agricultural and industrial development.

A very few had important industrial plants. Some States were even located within Indian Provinces or parts of one State would be found in another State. Tariff barriers made the flow of trade unbelievably complicated.

While the organization of popular resistance in British India was the India National Congress Party, the States people had their own organization, the All-India States' People's Conference, which maintained close and friendly relations with the Congress Party and carried on agitation

against the excesses of Princely rule.

Under the terms of agreement which ended British rule on August 15, 1947, paramountcy was abolished and the States were left free to remain independent or to join India or Pakistan. The British, however, made it clear that they would not recognize any Indian State as an independent entity with dominion status which some of the larges States had obviously hoped for.

It had king been the contention of Indian nationalists that once the British left India, the Princes would not be able to maintain themselves and their order intact without

able to maintain themselves and their order intact without outside heigh. Even in the seven menths which have passed since Inglis set her freedom, this contention has already proved to be largely accurate.

With the division of India, most of the States fell within the India, with the state of the more than 300 States in the more than 300 States in the more than 300 States in the states and the indian and the indian and the indian and the states of Hyderahad

has not yet acceded. Kashmir, which has acceded provi-

sionally to India, is a contested case.

Under the instrument of accession, the State relinquishes control over foreign affairs, defense and communications. Many States have also begun to introduce reforms in a democratic direction, the content of which varies a good deal from State to State. In this process, the Princes are under a double pressure from the powerful States Department of the Government of India, headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and the popular resistance movements in

Since August 15, 1947 over half the States have been merged into neighbouring Provinces or have been grouped into Provincial units, and the rest retain their identity. The 39 Orissa and Chhattisgarh States, for example, have been merged into neighbouring Provinces. The 280 Kathiawar States have grouped themselves into Provincial units. The 16 Deccan States, which are interspersed with Bombay Province, have been absorbed into that Province, only Kohlapur, the largest with a population of a million, retaining its identity.

On March 17, the United States of Matsya, composing the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Kaurali with a combined population of nearly 1.9 million came into being. The administration of Alwar and Bharatpur had previously been taken over by the Government of India in an investigation of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh activities there. It will be recalled that the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi was, a member of that organization. Virtually all the Moslems in the State had been driven out during the riots. The Government was forced to send in troops on March 16 to keep order in Bharatpur after Hindu tribesmen were reported to be in rebellion against the merger, incited by the younger brother of the Maharajah.

Further State merger and unification projects include the United States of Rajasthan, which includes seven States in Raiputana which came into being on March 25. The Vindhya Pradesh Union of 34 Bundelkhand States with a population of 3.6 million will be inaugurated on April 2. In April also, a conference of rulers and popular representatives from Indore, Gwalior and other Malwa States will consider final proposals for the Union of Malwa.

About 20 Gujerat States will hand over their administrations to the Government of Bombay on June 5, and a number of other States in this area will also be integrated with Bombay Province, thus increasing its population by nearly 2.6 million persons. A merger of Punjah States has also taken place.

When all this has been accomplished, the number of States will have been reduced to about 30. This will still leave a number of smaller States which, according to the Government's view, will not be viable units. There is little doubt that these States will sooner or later have to merge or federate. A number of major States will remain unaffected and have been given separate fepresentation in the Constituent Assembly with a pledge from the Covernment that they will be treated as separate, viable units,

Hyderabad remains a chief source of coutroversy. The Nimm of Hyderabad signed a year's standstill agreement

with the Government of India after a good deal of nego-However, according to reports, up to the agreement. There have tiation and difficulties. Hyderabad has not lived up to the agreement. been a number of raids from Hydcrabad on Indian territory. Other points at issue include Hyderabad's purchase of securities in Pakistan and more important, the question of the establishment of a popular government. Hyderabad, whose population is 91 per cent Hindu, has a Moslem ruler and a fanatical Moslem communal party, Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen, in control. With the introduction of popular government, this party's influence would be broken and this explains in large part the Nizam's reluctance to accede to India. There has been a good deal of agitation inside the State against the Nizam's despotic rule.

There is little doubt that the Nizam, beset by pressure from within and without, will eventually have to come to terms with Delhi. Meanwhile, tension between the authorities and the Hyderahad Peoples' Conference and between

India and Hyderabad is growing.

Observers point out that the record of Indian Government in inducing the States to accede, and to merge or federate has been an impressive one, particularly in view of the many difficulties that the Government has had to face in the first months of existence. Of course, many problems in relation to the States will remain. The most vital of these is the introduction of democratic government. In the last analysis, this will depend both on the amount of pressure that the Government is willing and able to put on the States and on the strength of the popular forces within the States.

In the case of Pakistan, as has been pointed out, only a few States fell within Pakistan's orbit. Two of the important States which have acceded to Pakistan are Bahawalpur, adjacent to West Punjab and Khairpur, adjacent to Sind. On March 21 Pakistan accepted the accession of Makran, Kharan and Las Bela, three States which form part of the Kalat Confederacy in Baluchistan, an association of semi-independent chiefs under the Khan of Kalat. (British Baluchistan automatically went to Pakistan under the terms of agreement on the division of India but the independent States in Baluchistan were left free to accede to either dominion or to remain independent.) While part of the Kalat Confederacy has acceded, Kalat has not. Observers point out that this must have occasioned deep disappointment in Pakistan. It is recalled that a few weeks ago, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's Governnor-General, held a Durbar in Quetta, Baluchistan, for the purpose of inducing the independent States in Baluchistan to accede. The Khan of Kalat is reported to have protested strongly to Pakistan in regard to the accession of the three Kalat States. Their accession cuts off Kalat from the Arabian Sea and the Iranian frontier.

The States acceding to Pakistan sign the same instrument of accession as the States acceding to India. The question of democratic reforms in the States will no doubt be raised as democratic forces begin to develop in Pakistan.

How We Get Our Coal

F. J. North writes in the Journal of the Society of Arts, February, 1948:

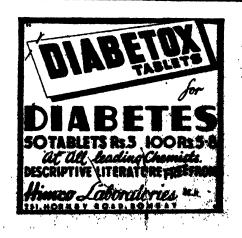
It is often possible with the naked eye to see that coal is made up of layers, some of them bright, some of them dull, and some of them so soft as to soil the fingers as black as if they had been smeared with soot. In the bright layers we can sometimes recognise flattened fragments of the stems of plants, whilst the very soft black layers look as if they were made up of flattened fragments of charcoal or carbonised wood. When specially treated polished surfaces of coal or slices of coal, cut thinly enough to transmit a certain amount of light, are examined with the aid of the microscope, the more detailed examination that is then possible shows that the substance is made up almost entirely of the debris of plants in various: stages of disintegration and decomposition.

From this we are entitled to assume that coal began in forests in long-past ages, and a consideration of the regions where coal seams now occur shows that whilst the coal-forests, as we may call them, existed in many areas and at many periods in the history of the earth, they were most widely spread and continued for a longer time during what geologists call the Carboniferous (or coal-bearing) period, which began about 240,000,000 years ago, and continued for about 30,000,000 years.

Fragments of plants that we can recognise in the coal itself, together with the fossil plants-impressions of leaves, stems, fruits and the like-that are to be found in the rocks that are associated with coal seams, enable us to reconstruct in imagination the successive stages in the formation of coal seam. Each one began in a forest extending over a wide area and lying sufficiently near to sea level for the dead and decaying vegetation to remain more or less water-logged as generation after generation of trees grew upon the rotting remains of their ancestors.

From time to time large areas began to subside, the forests were "drowned," and the surviving trees were killed off. Their remains, together with those of the remaining trees that had lived whilst the forest thrived, were buried beneath layers of mud or sand, brought down as sediment by the surrounding rivers and spread out on the floors of the newly-formed water-basins. The mud and sand gove rise to the rocks that separate one coal seam from another, for in a typical coalfield there may be many coal seams, carying from a few inches to several feet in thickness, separated from one another by beds of rock-usually relatively soft shale in layers like cardboard but sometimes hard sandstone.

This series of processes, the accumulation of extensive and thick layers of decomposing vegetable debris on the sites of swampy forests, and the hermetical scaling of the debris when subsidence caused the site to be occupied by water from which mud and sand were deposited, was repeated time and time again. As a result, many thousands of feet of coal measures (as the rocks associated with coal seams are called) were laid down. Each layer of vegetable debris, the product of centuries of forest growth, subsequently gave rise to a seam of coal, but when the coal-forest period came to an end, the first coal seams to be formed were very deeply buried and even the most recently formed one were overspread with rock and would have been invisible to a human observer, had there been one at the time.



The exposure of coal seams sufficiently near to the surface to make it practicable to dig mines to reach them is the result of movements in the earth's crust, which caused the more or, less flat layers of coal-bearing rock to be thrown into great arch-like and trough-like folds. As the "arches" were being uplifted, their tops were worn away as a result of exposure to rain, wind, and frost, and in many regions the coal-bearing strata were completely removed from such areas, leaving those which remained in the basins or trough-like folds to be preserved and, after other movement and deformation, to become the coalfields of to-day.

The earliest coal workings were small shallow exeavations where seams actually appeared at the surface and it is interesting to note that in recent years the great demand for coal has led to a return to opencast mining, as coal digging at the surface is called. Nowadays the coal is not obtained from small holes dug by hand, but great trenches are excavated by powerful machines that lift or scrape away the rock that rests upon a coal seam and expose the coal which can be removed and

loaded into lorries.

Whether on a small scale as in the old days, or on a large scale as now, opencast mining is only possible where the seams lie comparatively near to the surface and are not very steeply inclined, but the basin-like structure of a typical coalfield carries the seams more and more deeply beneath the surface until in the deepest parts of the basins the seams may be covered by several thousands of feet of rock.

The history of coal-mining is a record of triumphs over the dangers and difficulties of bringing the coal from deep pits, and from working-places-that (in mines worked according to a plan commonly adopted in this country) move farther and farther away from the pit bottom as the mine grows older. After a few years of working the miner may have to travel a considerable distance underground a mile or more from the bottom of the shaft by means of which he has descended from the surfacebefore he reaches the place where he will begin work, so that mining involves not only the digging and hauling of coal, but the maintenance of underground roads giving access to the working places and along which coal may be

brought to the shaft and thence to the surface.

The "roof" left when the coal has been removed has to be supported by wooden or steel posts (pit-props) until it is safe and convenient to allow it to subside and close up that part of the space left by the removal of the coal which has not been filled with the fragments of rock disledged during the mining process. Fresh air has to be pumped to all parts of the mine, not only to enable the miners to breathe, but also to sweep away the explosive gas (methane) that is given off from the coal in many mines. If this were not done, explosions would be more frequent than they are and work in many mines would

become impossible.

Working as they do in total darkness miners need light. At one time candles or oil lamps were used, but their flames so often ignited the gas, giving rise to fires and explosions that early miners were compelled to seek for a light that would not ignite gas. A hand-driven machine, by means of which a steel disc was made to rotate rapidly against a piece of flint, thus producing a stream of sparks was tried, but it was soon abandoned because the light was poor and not as safe as it was hoped it would be. was poor and not as sale as it was hoped it would be. Decaying fish was tried because of the phosphorescent light it emitted, but the lighting difficulty was finally overcome in the early, part of the nineteenth century, when Dr. Claumy, George Stephenson, and (Sir) Humphrey Davy, working independent lamps that would burn and give light in air consuming explosive proportions of methane, and yet not guite the gas. In Davy's lamp, which is the real ancestor of the modern miners safety lamps, the flame was enclosed within a cylinder of wire gauze; air could reach the flame and light could be emitted, but the gauze conducted away the heat of the flame so quickly that the explosive mixture outside the lamp was not ignited. In modern safety lamp. the gauze is partly replaced by glass to provide better illumination, and the remainder is surrounded by a sta jacket to prevent it from being damaged due to a fall or to contact with a flying splinter of rock. Electric lamps are extensively used nowadays, but the "safety lamp" is still necessary, because, apart from the light it emits, 14. shows the miner when gas is present and enables him to determine when the amount is becoming dangerous. In the presence of explosive mine-gas a blue cap appears over the usually yellow flame and grows taller as the amount or gas increases.

In the old days all mining operations were done by hand-the coal was excavated by miners using picks and it was hauled to the bottom of the shaft on sledges (later in small wheeled vehicles), pulled or pushed by women or boys. In some mines it was even left to the women to carry it up ladders attached to the side of the shaft in order to bring it to the surface. At an early date machinery was used to wind the cages up and down the shafts, whilst horses, endless ropes driven by revolving drums, and ropes hauled by compressed air machines

were introduced to haul the coal underground.

The nature and rate of the introduction of mechanical methods has varied from coalfield to coalfield and from mine to mine according to a variety of conditions, but the present tendency is to use machinery for more and more of the processes. Machines are now available to cut the coal at the face, to load the fallen coal on to travelling belts or into cars hauled by locomotives by which it is eventually brought to the pit bottom. Where such machines can be introduced, they will do away with hand digging and cutting, and will relieve men of the arduous work of shovelling coal into the trucks or on to the belts. They will also do away with the necessity for boring holes into the coal so that explosives can be fired to dislodge it and break it into pieces that men can handle or shovel up.

It will be some time before such machines can be universally used-indeed, there are pits where some of them may never be used because natural conditions do not permit. But by replanning some mines and opening others designed along new lines, and, as a result of the research that is being undertaken to lessen the risks of injury and disease amongst mine-workers, coal-mining will lose many of the characteristics that have made it so arduous, unpleasant, and dangerous, and will instead become a highly mechanised industry calling for a technical knowledge and ability of new kinds. The work will always be hard, and in varying degrees unpleasant, but it will be divested of much of the drudgery and of most of the dangers that have characterised it in the past.

Mechanisation in mining is usually associated with American practice, but that is, largely because machines were easier to introduce when new mines were being opened up than in old ones that had been planned in the days when machinery was not available. Some of the most efficient machines which cut the coal without the use of explosives and automatically load it on to conveyors are

British inventions.

With the realisation of what has to be done and the determination to do it, there is no reason why our coal mining industry should not play as important a part in the future of the country as it has in the past. Britain showed the world how to use coal, and for a very long time supplied the greater part of the world's needs. Even as recently as 1890 Britain produced about half of the world's output.

What We Do With Our Coal

W. Idris Jones writes in the same issue of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Arts:

Coal has been known from very early times. It is referred to in China three centuries before the time of Christ, and there is evidence of its use during the Roman occupation of Britain, as we have found coal cinders mixed with Roman coins at Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1217, the Forest Charter was granted by Henry III giving certain Lords of the Manor the right to dig for minerals, and coal-mining seems to have been carried out in Wales, the Midlands, the North and Scotland in the thirteenth century.

In Chaucer's time coal was brought from Tyneside and became the common fuel in London. Later, under Queen Elizabeth, it was substituted for charcoal for smelting certain minerals. Gradually its use developed and coal-mining became more similar to that of modern times. At the beginning of the eighteenth century coal was successfully used for smelting iron and following this development the coalfields expanded rapidly. Newcomen's Atmospheric Engine in 1705, James Watt's steam engine in 1765, and Trevithick's locomotive in 1804 made it possible to hoist and transport much greater quantities of coal and set the Industrial Revolutin of Britain into its stride. In 1600 the annual coal output was about 250,000 tons, in 1700 it was 3,000,000, and in 1800 it had jumped to 10,000,000. Now, of course, it is about 200,000,000.

When coal arrives at the surface of a pit in tubs or trams, it is a mixture of various sizes and is contaminated with impurities such as shale, rock, fireclay, and so on. The larger coal is separated by screening and is then passed over picking belts where the stone and shale are picked away by hand. The smaller coal is sorted in a variety of ways—usually by floating the dirty coal in a pulsating current of water or in a mixture of water and sand.

There are many different kinds of coal ranging from peat to anthracite, and including the various bituminous coals. One might say that peat is a very soft and young coal, whereas anthracite is very hard and old.

There are three main uses for coal; as a source of heat and power; as a raw material for certain manufacturing processes; and as a source of gas and a host of other valuable chemical products.

Now the energy of the sun is preserved in coal substance. One pound of coal contains enough energy to lift a ton weight to the summit of Snowdon. To release this energy we can, of course, burn the coal. About 70,000,000 tons of coal are used in this way to raise steam each year, and 60,000,000 tons to heat and light our homes, either by using the coal directly or in the production of the coke, electricity or gas, produced from it.

Coal is also an essential material in a wide range of manufacturing processes. It contains carbon and we require this carbon not only for the production of iron and steel out of iron ore and thus in the manufacture of motor cars, bicycles and so on, but also for many chemicals such as washing soda and lime of white-washing or coment.

Then there are a host of valuable chemical products which come from coal. When we burn coal we waste the smoke and the ash. Now if we extract gas from coal in gas works and coke ovens we get left behind some tar. a liquid looking rather like dirty water and having a smell of ammonia, and a solid coke residue. Now the gas and the coke between them can be used to light and heat our homes and from the tar and the other residues.

we can get many valuable chemicals. From the gas we can also, besides many other products, get beitzele to add to petrol for driving cars, and we can get hydrogen sulphide and hence sulphuric acid, from which we make sulphate of ammonia, used as a fertiliser and in the purification of drinking water. The coke also is of the greatest importance in the production of iron and steel.

From the dirty water we get ammonia, which we can also get from the coke ovens. It is a wonderfully valuable chemical, being used as a refrigerant, and being convertible into fertilisers and into high explosives. From the tar we, of course, get the material, with which we make our roads, in many different grades, suitable for heavy or light traffic and for hot or cold climates, but we can also get much more. We can get pitch for briquetting coal or for roofing, and we also get cresote for the protection of railway sleepers and telegraph poles from the deteriorating action of the weather. In the last century Perkin, a very great English chemist, produced from this tar a dyestuff called mauve; and this discovery was the open sesame to a bost of similar developments, until by to-day very many valuable products are produced from coal tar; motor fuel, plastics of many kinds, synthetic rubber, dyestuffs, pharmaceutical products such as M. and B .for pneumonia, Vitamin K, substitute for stopping haemorrhage, aspirin for headaches, antisepties, anaestheties, flavourings and essences, perfumes, explosives, plant growth promoters, soil fumigants, and so on,

Further, I would like to mention that coat has been converted into oil, and coal gas can be used for producing chemicals such as formaldehyde, which is most valuable to-day in making plastics and high explosives or as an antiseptic. We can also, by heating together to a very high temperature coal, coke and limestone, produce calcium carbide, from which we get various chemicals such as plastics, artificial silk, acctone, essences, and many more. Coal is also used in the making of hydrogen, which was used to fill barrage balloons during the war or, more recently, to convert fish oils and vegetable oils into margarine.

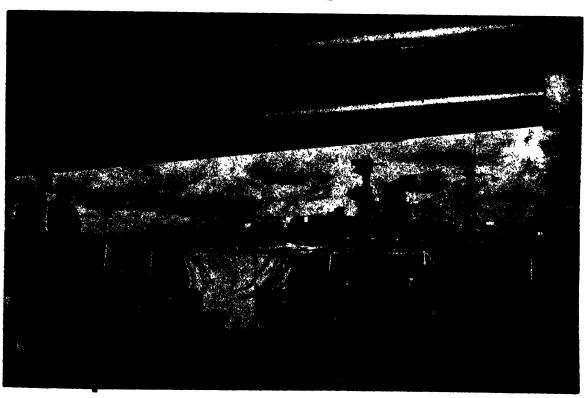
It is possible to go on cataloguing the many uses of coal for a very long time and it is difficult to know where to stop. It is veritably one of the most precious diamonds in the British Crown. I have no doubt that its use will continue to increase more and more during the years that lie shead. Why, even in the field of atomic energy, pure carbon for the piles, which form an integral part of the atomic plant, can be made from coal tar pitch!







A view of the handing over ceremony of H.M.I.S. Delhi at Chatham, which was received from the British Admiralty on behalf of the Government of India by the High Commissioner V. K. Krishna Menon



A modern British war-ship



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NOTES

The "United Nations" and India

The International tangle is getting more and more complex. The Indian Union's position is still very anomalous. Though we have shown a desire for peace and a sty all round, the two groups into which the U.N.O. is becoming pronouncedly divided are both making moves to force the Union of India to declare itself as a partisan of one or the other. Political blacker of is being resorted to against India, at the U.N.O. by the democratic group, while Russia is maintaining a spanox-like silence, being well-aware of the fact that these blandering moves on the part of the democracies are tending to force the Indian Union into the orbit of Moscow

But all the same it cannot be denied that in the diplomente sphere we have as yet attained nothing or little to our advantage. On the contrary, we have made certair blunders, mostly minor, which have been interpreted by the world outside to our disadvantage. The sending of Vijayalakshmi Pandit to Moscow and Asaf Ali to Washington gave an impression to the demoraches that was quickly utilized by our enemies in the (1 N.O. Further, the unauthorized declarations, by Asai Ali at Washington and Syed Hassan at Cairo, that in the Palestine affair India was backing the Pan-Arab confederacy, gave needless offence to the Zionists and their sympathisers, without bringing any benefit whatscever to our cause. For, it must be apparent to all but the densest that the Pan-Arab leaders have no intention whatsoever to throw their weight on the side of India, at any time.

Pandit Nehru is going to the Commonwealth Conference. He will have an opportunity to assess the position at first hand. The International tension today stands at almost the critical point of explosion. Our Foreign Minister, needless to say, must be well-aware of the fact. And furth , by new, at must have realised by bitter experience, hat blissful faith and innocence alone cannot enable up to keep clear of the traps and pitfails laid at every

agency of our enemies. Caution is the prime essential now, for India must not get herself entangled willy-nilly in the International imbroglio. No nation today is being actuated by purely altruistic motives to come to the aid of another and as such we must not either be fooled by empty promises nor should we be stampeded by black-mailers.

Our problems as yet are mainly domestic, though enemy aggression has made deep inroads on our resources. And by the same token, we must look to ourselves alone in the main for the solution. If we ask for outside aid, as we did in the matter of Kashmir, the price paid will have to be heavy beyond measure, and we may find ourselves far more involved in the end than what we were at the outset.

We must open our eyes to realities. We must understand that "Comity of Nations" is an empty phrase, excepting at the lowliest level. Hyderabad is an object lesson, as is the case of Kashmir. The rise in the tempo of anti-Indian propaganda abroad, the gunrunning exploits of Sydney Cotton and other soldiers of fortune, the mock-heroics of Zafrullah Khan, were not isolated phenomena. It all indicated concerted action by the enemies of India, and the lack of alertness and want of efficiency in ourselves. The howl of rage and anguish that went up in the British Press at the collapse of the Pakistan-cum-Razakar plot in Hyderabad was not merely the echo of the gnashing of teeth by the Colonel Blimps of Britain. It had a far deeper significance. For example, Mr. Bevin did not observe any war-like spirit in Pakistan, even after it was admitted that Pakistani regulars were fighting in Kashmir, but he was prompt in opening his lacerated heart when the Police-action went through according to plan in Hyderabad!

The World is well-aware of the weight of the tremendous potentials of India. Naturally each group wants it to be ranged on its side, in the event of World War III. If it be not available, then that potential must either be destroyed or rendered useless as in China of today. We must realise this fact and spare

no vigilance or effort to guard our assets and to enhance our potentials.

Mr. Bevin, and others of that ilk, in and out of the U.N.O., watched Pakistan letting loose hell in Kashmir, with mass rape, loot, murder and arson in its train, without turning a hair. They saw the Pakistancum-Rasakar plot in Hyderabad develop to alarming proportions with smug contentment. Hundreds of thousands of poor inoffensive people, mostly Hindus went through untold suffering without those worthies uttering a single word of protest. But when the Hyderabad plot collapsed, then we hear no end of protests. Even Argentina is moved to "righteous indignation." And this is the "United Nations' World."

Hyderabad and Kashmir

More than once we have expressed the opinion that the sentiments and follies that created the Pakistan State were at the root of the Hyderabad imbroglio. History will record that the stresses and strains of the last decade that led to the final upheaval of Pakistan were carefully developed inside the Nizam's State. And it is significant that a professor in the Osmania University, Prof. Abdul Latif, should have been the first, who attempted to rationalize the inchoate ideas of a separate State or States for Indian Muslims to be carved out of India. Now that the Nisam has seen light and realised that with a 87 per cent Hindu population in the Hyderabad State it is foolish and futile to think and speak of this State being "Islamic," the world might have thought that the problem of Hyderabad would no longer trouble their thoughts. But events proved the contrary. The watch-dogs of the United Nations Organization, a motley crowd, half democrat and half imperialist-fascist, are so anxious to justify their existence, that they refuse to allow the Nisam himself to withdraw his complaint filed before them by his reactionary emissaries. And thus we witness a burlesque where the judges are replacing the complainants! The Indian Union must not complain; it is the part and lot of a free State to be subjected to the slings and arrows of an outside world which is generally ignorant of the essentials of a problem and where there are people who flourish by fishing in troubled waters. Britain's Foreign Minister, Mr. Bevin, exposed the true mind of his country's ruling class, Tory or Labour, when he "regretfully" discovered on September 15 last, the development of "a war-like spirit" in the Indian Union. The Kashmir affair high-lighted the fact that irresponsibility and malice are the ruling passions in Britain in regard to India of our fellow Dominion. In October, 1947, Pakistani hordes were let loose by their leaders on a campaign of loot arson and rape on the unoffending peoples of Kashmir. The Maharaja acceded to the Indian Union for protection from this invasion, and the rulers of our State were left no choice but to hasten to the defence of a territory which was juridically Indian. Despite difficulties of terrain and the lack of adequate land communication. The Indian Union forces have

given protection to the stricken people of Kashmir, pushing back the savage and brutal hordes of Pakistan. The gallant and heroic action of our armed forces have evoted admiration throughout Kashmir.

In a moment of idealism and mistaken respect for the spirit behind the UNO, the leaders of the Indian Union succumbed to the temptation of calling upon it to stop the outrage on international peace perpetrated by Pakistan. In January, 1948, delegates of the Union moved the UNO to issue directives to Pakistan, one of its member-States, to withdraw the invaders of the territories of another member-State, the Indian Union. Then ensued a series of arguments and petty quibbles which exposed the malign hand of Anglo-American power-politics; it came as a revelation to Gandhiji and the ruling authorities of the Union. It was sophistry of the deepest dye that could pretend that the Pakistanis were justified in their aggression, and could advance pleas in this behalf. For about five months with intervals this exchange of arguments continued; after which the UNO decided to send & commission to study conditions on the spot with a view to judge between the aggressor and aggrieved. The pleas that were trotted out to justify this step were so perverse that one finds it difficult to discuss them with patience.

The Commission came to India in July last; visited New Delhi and Karachi; the members came in batches and surveyed the scenes of devastation and battles in Kashmir. It interrogated ministers of the two States and the head of Kashmir Administration, Sheik Abdulla. The Pakistani ministers are reported to have confessed that their armed forces were in the field; this after months of deceit and falsehood. The Commission suggested a "Cease Fire." The Indian Union accepted it; the Pakistan rulers clouded their denial by a barrage of questions and petty quibbles. The Commission has now gone back, and we hear they are busy at Geneva drawing up their final report to be submitted to the UNO.

These two episodes of Kashmir and Hyderabad have confronted us with one fact. That for reasons unexplained the U.S.A. and Britain have lined themselves up to keep the Indian Union and Pakistan quarrelling with each other. We do not desire to accept the interpretation that these two States, one newly grown conscious of its own power and the other conscious of its declining power, have combined their forces to maintain the dominance of Anglo-American democracy over the world's affairs, and that the Indian Union and Pakistan are pawns in this game. But the way in which British Ministers and their representatives in the UNO have been behaving and the docility with which their opposite numbers in the United States have been following the British lead, strengthen the suspicion that there is substance in the suspicions referred to above. Whalever be the truth in the matter, the Indian Union cannot retriat from the path of iustice.

India's Position in the Commonwealth

The Churchill school of British politics is fond of speaking of the British Commonwealth of nations. India—the Indian Union and Pakistan—cannot by any stretch of imagination be called as being States typically representative of a British nation or nations. This was the controversy that raged in India between the "moderates" and "extremists" in Indian politics during the first fifteen years of the present century. The former talked of "colonial self-government," and the latter challenged them to prove how India with a non-British population could be a "colony" of Britain.

During the times of Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore there was some propaganda to induce the
British authorities to authorize the "colonization" of
India by men and women of British stock. The hope
behind this idea was that as the "colonists" of North
America had been able to attain Statehood by revolting
against the "mother country," so would British "colonists" in India help India to attain Statehood independent of Britain. Our ancestors did not know, perhaps,
that the United States had grown to power by effacing
the "Red Indians," and that the British "colonists" in
India could only revolt against the "mother country"
only when they could be assured that there were not
any "native" Indians to trouble about.

But whatever be the reason, the fact remains that India has attained Statehood without the help of British "colonists." And the problem that confronts us today is whether or not there is any necessity for us to remain where we are—a Dominion of the "Commonwealth of Nations," as many in Britain hope to rechristen their super-State with a view to remove the stain of imperialism from off its face. During the days following the outburst of nationalism consequent on the agitation against the Curzonian partition of Bengal, the "moderates" and "extremists" were engaged in this controversy. The former were almost silenced by the absurdity of their own position, and one of the leaders of the latter, Bipin Chandra Pal, put forward a scheme that would have transformed the British Empire into an "Indo-British" Federation, India holding primacy by her resources. The ruling race could not fancy it; and the idea was still-born. With the emergence of the Gandhi era, there ensued again the old controversy.

The late Revd. Charles Andrews came out on the side of complete independence; The Modern Review was fully with him. Gandhiji would not make any outright declaration; he spoke of the "substance of independence." Deshabandhu C. R. Das in his last will and testament as recorded in his Faridpore speech thought loudly of "federation" being a higher unit of State organisation than what "complete independence" indicated. The Lahore resolution of 1929 did not change anything; the interpretation of the status—"independence"—remaining utauthoritytive, because of every Congress leader putting on it his own interpretation. Subbas Chandra Boss was the only man who was

unequivocal in his stand for complete dissociation from Britain.

The second World War hardened feeling against Britain, and Gandhiji issued the demand on Britain to "Quit India." The Cabinet Delegation's Plan seemed to accept the logic of this demand; the 20th February (1947) declaration and the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, were made in confirmation of this acceptance. The India Independence Bill of July, 1947, passed in the British Parliament followed the same track; and India today is a Dominion co-equal with Britain in the scheme of world States. The constitutional position being this, the question that confronts the Indian people is whether or not they will go out of the British Commonwealth. There is no sentiment that could influence us as is the case with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and North Ireland. The only consideration that seems to be unconsciously moving amongst the rulers of the Indian Union is whether or not it would be safe to move out of the strategy of defence planned by Britain, whether or not we should decide on "withdrawal from the British plan of defence," to use the words of Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari uttered in July, 1940. Rajaji is today Governor-General of India.

But since these words were uttered many things have happened. In the Constituent Assembly of India it has been solemnly resolved to proclaim "India as an Independent, Sovereign Republic." India's final State structure has yet to be decided. But there are individuals and classes in India who are represented by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, for instance, who desires the continuance of the British connection; on their behalf Dr. Ambedkar has moved for a change in the words of the above declaration substituting for the word "Republic" the word "State." This change proposed by a Minister of the Nehru Cabinet, has been interpreted as a sign of the return of softness for Britain, as a token of anxiety to retain connection with her for needs of defence at least.

The Prime Minister of the Indian Union has agreed to be present at the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference to be held in London sometime during the latter half of this month. Whether or not he will be carrying any mandate from his Cabinet, we do not know. The members of the Constituent Assembly which is the Central Legislature also have all grown wiser, and they have maintained a discreet silence on the problem, which is unhealthy for the evolution of an instructed democracy in India. We do not understand why the Nehru Cabinet should not have initiated a discussion on the subject, and got a mandate from the representatives of the people. Members also could have taken the lead in the discussion of this matter. As none of them, Ministers or legislators, have cared to do so, an intellectual vacuum, has ensued; people are being led blind-folded to a situation which may commit the country to a decision that may prove harmful to its interests.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in Britain

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Indian High Commissioner in London, rebuked the British Press and the British Broadcasting Corporation, whom he accused of misrepresentation of the facts of India's action in Hyderabad. Mr. Menon called a Press Conference at India House on September 21 immediately after his return from a short visit to India. Mr. Menon told the assembled Press men: "We greatly regret the opinions on this matter of Hyderabad expressed by some leading newspapers in this country and also the way in which the case has been presented to the B. B. C." He continued:

"We do not charge them with malice, but it is extremely difficult for even informed people of India to accept the view that it is just one of those things."

"It will become pretty apparent that the majority of Press correspondents in India have been pretty poor reporters.

"It is not my business to be concerned with the motive. I am only concerned with the consequences of misrepresentation. Consequences have a bearing on understanding and relationship and it is my business here in Britain to try to seek and promote understanding."

Mr. Menon read extracts from the Times, Manchester Guardian, Daily Telegraph, Evening Standard, Evening News and Daily Graphic, and summed up with the words "these reports are wrong and are not related to the facts."

He asked, "What do you think any objective public can think when they see that the British newspapers give more space to Hyderabad than the whole question of Indian Independence?

"From September 13 till today there has not been a single communal incident throughout the length and breadth of India.

"Every single Moslem leader of repute has stood by the Government of India and loudly proclaimed it.

"This standing together of the people during these days is a factor that the British Press might have noted, instead of writing what it did.

"The British newspapers have declared that India was at war. But that is not true.

"India was not at war. Why did India send troops into Hyderabad? If you are going to take police action, one must use sufficient force to restore order. Our army had the strictest instructions not to use more force than was necessary. Practically 99 per cent of the aerial bombing was on two air-fields. The bombing was never used to threaten civilians. The airfields had been used by gun-runners so we demobilised them. The remaining one per cent of bombs were tropped on military targets. Not a single bomb was dropped anywhere on the population or for striking terror. Our airforce co-operated with our army mainly in reconnections.

"In Pakistan also there has been very little trouble except one or two demonstrations. We do not want

Pakistan to be a state of difficulty, anger, or poverty. We want prosperous neighbours. The general impression on lesser informed people after reading the reports in the British Press on Hyderabad is that India is on probation and that Britain is only waiting to pounce on us, as we are in trouble.

"If a fine honor, a theft, or a Royal procession had been reported in the British Press as has been the question of Hyderabad, I do not think the reporter who did it would keep his job.

"The best evidence of why we sent troops to Hyderabad is the Nizam's own story. The troops were welcomed by the population and mercy troops were left behind to deal with the situation. The Government having got Hyderabad into this state, it abdicated.

"We withdrew our troops from Secunderabad in the first instance—and this was against public opinion and some expert advice and then we sent them back again when trouble broke out. We did not say we were going to conquer, we said we were going back to restore order. There has been no disarmament of the Hyderabad Army. We have taken away such weapons as are not necessary.

"The normal administration functions in Hyderabad. We were merely negotiating an accession agreement.

"The future of Hyderabad must be decided by the people of Hyderabad themselves. It will be decided by a Constituent Assembly which will establish its own formal Government.

"We have put no restrictions on the sending of news from India. We are entitled to some consideration for the hospitality we have offered to British Press representatives. British correspondents in India, contrary to what happens here in Britain, have personal access to our Ministers. To see a Prime Minister in India is one of the easiest things in the world.

"I would say to everyone: Do not create trouble that will separate the people of India from this country. I think the time has come when British correspondents in India should realise that this is a matter which has serious implications."

He also expressed surprise how the Government of India's demand for stationing of troops in the State could be considered wrong, while it was never considered immoral during the 200 years of British rule. Nor could he understand, he said, how India Government was expected not to do anything in a situation which the British Government would not have tolerated for five minutes.

There had been criticisms, Mr. Menon continued, that India had forsaken the path of Gandhiji. It was a welcome susprise to him. The Indian High Commissioner remarked that there had been a sudden appreciation of what Gandhiji stood for, especially when it could be used against the present Government.

India's Relationship with Britain

Only a fortnight before this London Press Conference, the Congress Party in the Indian Parliament discussed the question of India's relationship with Britain, especially the question of India remaining within the British Commonwealth. The meeting was held with Pandit Nchru in the Chair and there was some opinion in that meeting for not severing the last links with Britain. It has decided that India must function as an Independent Sovereign Republic but at the same time must frame her foreign policy in manner so as to maintain the present cordial relationship with the countries of the world, particularly Great Britain and the Commonwealth countries. This decision, coming after Britain's actions at the UNO on the Kashmir and South Africa's Indian baiting questions, indicates the depth of generosity in the Indian mind. But Britain's support at the UNO for Hyderabad with the backing of the most powerful section of the British press, has been a rude shock in India even for those who still pine for a continuance of political association with Britain and has fully justified the popular demand that India should completely sever her relations with that country. Short-sighted British policy has paid dearly in America, the mother country is today a debtor nation to her former colony.

Battle Against Inflation

Having invited and obtained the views of a variety of interests on the question of fighting inflation, the Government of India has released to the Press summaries of six reports on the economic situation in India. These are the reports of (1) the nine economists, (2) the Government of India economists, (3) the industrialists, (4) labour leaders, (5) bankers and (6) the views of Prof. Ranga and Shri Jaiprakash Narain. A brief outline of the suggestions made in these six reports is given below. The suggestions put forward may be divided into six broad heads: production, labour, foreign trade, monetary, fiscal and economic controls.

To take production first. Almost all interests have conceded the need for increasing production but none has put forward any concrete plan for it. The industrialists have recommended improvement in transport, rationalisation of labour, introduction of third shifts where possible, special depreciation allowance, special tax concessions to new industries, re-enunciation of Government's industrial policy to restore confidence, ensuring easy and quick availability of essential raw materials at economic prices, uniform labour legislation and ending of labour intransigence.

The bankers have recommended the removal of transport bottlenecks, increase in internal food supplies, better procurement machinery, establishment of new factories, increase in the hours of work, tax relief for new enterprises for first, few years, banning of strikes and lock-outlend correlating of wages to the quantity and quality of output.

The nine economists have suggested that the Government should lay down for each major industry and establishments a production programme and a production target, working parties for suggesting improvements in efficiency, development of small-scale and cottage industries with a view to mitigating the essential shortages.

The economists of the Government of India have suggested that the industrial policy be so refashioned as to eliminate "technical bottlenecks" and to provide incentive to private enterprise, and that efforts be made to procure capital equipment not only from the leading industrial countries but also from other countries. They have also suggested that foreign private investment should be encouraged in order to accelerate industrialisation. It is surprising to find that with the examples of China and South-East Asia before us this suggestion has been strongly approved by Shri Jai Prakash Narain. He has also suggested grant of a rebate in taxation for extra production.

Surprisingly enough, the labour leaders have not put forward any notable suggestion on the question of ensuring the support of labour to an increased production drive. This is not unexpected. The Communist labour leaders and their stooges in the A.I.T.U.C. have gone all out in attempting the sabotage of industrialization and our I.N.T.U.C. have been competing with the Communists to gain popularity among labour by promising them the moon. The interest of the masses, of whom organised labour forms only a minute fraction, seems to have been lost in this unholy Congress-Communist competition in winning their favour which has definitely hampered production instead of accelerating it. The only sensible suggestion in this sphere comes from Miss Maniben Kara, who has suggested the setting up of commissions or joint councils of experts consisting of representatives of management and labour which should constantly review the progress of production, find out the causes of the fall in production and direct the activities of the units in such a manner as to attain the maximum possible production.

In respect of foreign trade, the nine economists want controls on imports and exports to be remodelled. Imports of essential consumer goods should be given preference. This suggestion carries the support of the industrialists as well as the Government of India economists.

The nine economists have suggested certain fiscal measures of a far-reaching character which deserve special consideration. The most important amongst these are as follows:

- (1) Grants to provinces out of the Central Budget, itself in deficit, are openly inflationary and should therefore be discontinued except where it could be demonstrated that they would add to the production of essential commodities in the short period.
- (2) Refund of E. P. T. deposits should be postponed except where such refunds are demonstrably

required for investment likely to add production in the near future.

- (3) All capital expenditure should be financed by genuine borrowing and the existing commitments of capital expenditure which cannot be covered by loans should be reviewed and expenditure of postponable character suspended.
- (4) The Income Tax Investigation Commission should be armed with powers to collect all necessary information from all sources in order that their work may come to early fruition. Stringent measures should be devised to prevent tax evasion.
- (5) The introduction of a graduated surcharge on income tax on personal incomes above Rs. 5,000 should be considered.
- (6) The rate of Business Profits Tax should be raised to 25 per cent.
- (7) The rates of personal super-tax should be raised to the levels of 1947-48.
- (8) Steeply graduated death duties should be introduced without delay.

While the industrialists are in favour of balanced budgets and cutting down of unproductive expenditure, they have opposed any increase in income-tax and other similar direct taxes. On the other hand, they have suggested the abolition of the capital gains tax. In order to augment the Central revenues, the industrialists have suggested the following steps:

A purchase tax on luxuries and a special graduated surcharge on railway, shipping, and air fares should be imposed.

Considerable economy in Government expenditure is possible and these economies should be effected as soon as possible.

Machinery of tax assessment and collection should be improved, and arrears realised.

While long-term projects of a productive character need not be shelved, it is necessary in the present emergency that expenditure on other new projects should be curtailed to the minimum extent possible.

All new expenditure on social services should be avoided in the immediate future.

Irrespective of the merits of the prohibition policy, its implementation should be delayed or suspended to enable Provincial Governments to restore budgetary equilibrium.

The Government of India economists have suggested that capital expenditure in connection with such projects as the Damodar Valley Project and Sindri Fertiliser Factory should not be withheld. This view is also supported by Shri Jai Prakash Narain, who however, feels that, as an antidote to the inflationary effect of such capital expenditure, production must be increased at any cost.

As in the case of production, everyone has emphasised the need for more borrowings and more savings, though there is some difference of opinion on the question whether it should be compulsory. Both the economists and the industrialists have suggested

a country-wide savings campaign to attract the surplus money from farmers and factory workers. In regard to rate of interest, the industrialists, the bankers, and the nine economists are not in favour of increasing it, though the latter have recommended a slightly higher rate of interest in the case of National Savings Certificates. Another interesting suggestion made by the industrialists, as well as the economists, is that Treasury Bills, of a longer duration, say six months or one year, should be issued. The bankers have made the novel suggestion of issuing bearer bonds carrying a nominal rate of interest at one per cent, and repayable after five years. The issue of these bonds is to be made by some of the banks authorised by the Government and the sale-proceeds are to be invested in Government of India loans, Shri Jai Prakash Narain also is in favour of issue of such bearer bonds. The object of issuing bearer bonds is that they will provide an outlet for black-market money.

Among other suggested monetary measures which fall under borrowings, mention must be made of the nine economists' proposals that the proceeds of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund should, for the time being, be invested in Government securities or held in deposit with the Government and that terminable Government loans which mature should not be repaid immediately if, under the terms of the loan, the repayment can be postponed. The nine economists have also suggested that a ceiling on the note issue of the Reserve Bank should be placed at the existing level and that all banks should be required to hold Government securities to the extent of 25 per cent of their total demand liabilities. The bankers and the industrialists have proposed that some restrictions on bank credits, which are of an inflationary nature, may be imposed by the Reserve Bank in consultation with banks.

Practically everyone has advocated reimposition of price control on all the necessaries of life, especially foodgrams, sugar, cloth, kerosene, domestic fuel, etc. Control of the prices of essential raw materials also has been recommended. In addition, the nine economists have suggested a tightening of capital issues control. They also favour the freezing of all personal incomes, such as wages, salaries, and dividends. The industrialists too have advocated this step, but they have stressed that it should be followed by efforts to bring them down by gradual stages. In this connection, they observe as follows:

"Earnings of industrial labour, comprising wages and dearness allowance, have reached a level which must be considered reasonable. With the fixation of prices and wages, the level of profits would be automatically controlled. But what affects the economy of the country, and particularly the inflationary situation, is the distribution of profits. Industrialists undertake voluntarily not to distribute dividends above the average of the last three years. In the case of companies which have not yet paid dividends, or have

paid dividends lower than six per cent, they undertake that dividends distributed shall be limited to six per cent. If Government are not satisfied with the implementation of this undertaking by industry, they should take such action as effectively to enforce the proposed limitations."

While the interests of labour are silent on the issue of prohibition, all economists, bankers and industrialists are in favour of dropping it. In regard to abolition of zamindari, while the industrialists are in favour of postponement, the nine economists have merely stated that the compensation payable should be so devised as not to lead to an addition of cash into circulation.

Kautilyan Studies in Calcutta University

The Board of Studies in Economics of the Calcutta University has adopted a proposal for the inclusion of Kautilyan studies in the curricula of the Intermediate and B.A. Examination. At present it has been proposed to include Kautilyan Economics as one of the subjects to be taught in Civics in I.A., and Economics in B.A. The suggestion emanated from Prof. H. C Ghosh of the Bangabasi College and Calcutta University and the Note that he had circulated amongst the members of the Board of Studies in Economics deserves special attention. It has been a misfortune for us to graft Western blonomics, suited to serve the needs of an Industrial civilisation, to our country whose economic foundation has in agriculture. It is now high time that our own system of economics which has given the civilisation India the longest lease of life in the world, should studied in greater detail and with deeper attention. he post-war reconstruction schemes in the Mahatrata, the economic and political systems developed · Manu, Kautilya, Sukra, Brihaspati, Parasara and by one nost of other seers of this country should now receive juste attention, specially now that we are free. 'ersities of Berlin, Munich, Paris, Oxford, Harvard, Petersburgh, etc., have, during the past two suries, studied them when we neglected our own unti nal wealth. Even Communist Russia today pays greater attention to our Mahabharata than we ourinves do. The move of the Calcutta University has been in the right direction and we hope other Universities of India will also follow the example.

fu view of the thought-provoking nature of the Note, we reproduce it substantially:

"At the present moment, the courses of studies in Economies in I.A. and B.A. (Pass and Honours) are practically based on what we usually know as Cambridge School of Economies. The modern economic organizations and institutions throughout the world are mainly based on these principles. I have tried to show very truefly in the following note, that these are fair weather organizations and they can hardly stand any social cataclysm or political revolution or devastating wars. Whereas institutions embodying Kautilyan principles successfully survived the onslaught of several devastating wars and far-reaching social changes.

"Now that we are freed from political bondage we can shape the destiny of our country entirely according to our own plan. We are at crossways and must make up our mind as to whether we shall render India an eastern district of New York or London or develop India on her own lines. . . .

"Marshall has defined Economics as a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life which examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and use of the material requisites of well-being. The key to Marshall's synthesis is his concept of the science of Economics as a two-sided study of wealth and man. Marshall has thus limited economic science to dealings with one side of man's life, studying individuals as members of industrial groups. He separated from Economics the goals or ends of life and the quality of human motives which he considered more the concern of the philosopher than of the economist. He fully appreciated the importance of the latter but failed to synthesise it with economic activity.

"Marshall gave no new theory, he sought to supplement the Classical Economics of Smith, Ricardo and Mill. The militant socialism and the organised labour movement of the mid-nipeteenth century had attacked the Classical Economic doctrines of Ricardo and Mill and had seriously undermined them. Adam Smith's doctrine of laissez faire also could not stand the test of time and was buried in the first World War with a revival of Mercantilism. The Physiocrats had equally failed to give a solution to the economic problems of the time. Adam Smith had brought labour and capital into prominence, but could not solve the problem. The Classical Economics was developed to suit the needs of an industrial civilisation in England after the Industrial Revolution, Ricardo's theories of Iron Law of wages and Non-Interference of the state in the fixation of wages were seized by the capitalists as most suitable to them. Ricardo's real contributions were his theories of taxation and distribution, but they were not favoured. . . .

"Following the Classical School, Marshall and Keynes put much importance on "business," "individual action" and "material requisites." The conscience element in economic activity and the doctrine of just price were ignored. Material wealth was lifted up as the summum bonum of human life and no means were considered too mean for the acquisition of wealth. The inevitable result was unboly monopolistic combinations, cut-throat competitions and war. Instead of solving the 'problem,' the Classical School evolved the theory of trade cycles to explain away the evil.

"The idea of a just price lay at the root of economic theories from ancient times down to the days of Mercantilism. In medieval days, Thomas Aquinas developed the idea. Industrial developments led the mercantilists to abandon the doctrine of just price and they gave more consideration than their predecessors to extrinsic or market values. A cost theory of value, with

emphasis on the labour element, replaced the concept of intrinsic value. The value of precious metals was over-estimated and the balance of trade idea lay at its back. Thus developed a body of policies, designed, by government regulation of trade and industry, to secure a large net profit for the State as a trader-or better. perhaps, the traders in a State—in the shape of treasure. No distinction was made between the profit of the merchant and the gain of the kingdom, which are so far from being always parallels, rather they run counter to one another. Mercantilism has again developed following the depression of the nineties and has become thoroughly established after the first World War. This is illustrated by the emphasis on the actual and attempted gold hoards of various nations, and related policies as to tariffs, import quoats and exchange restrictions. After the first World War, Keynes declared the end of laissez faire and a return to Mercantilism. The only material change that took place was a combination of the functions of the merchant and the industrialist. Keynes was the soul of neo-Mercantilism which may better be called Industrialism.

"The three centuries of classicism in Western Fconomics solved no problem but created many. It saw several devastating wars, the Napoleanic wars, the Balkan wars, and the two world wars, all of which were attended with economic warfare which either preceded or followed them. The problems of production, distribution, value, exchange and employment all remained unsolved. While wealth gathered at the top, the masses suffered. Poverty remained as acute as ever. Poor laws, unemployment Insurance and such other social benefit schemes failed to touch even a fringe of the problem. Over-production followed under-production, long del ressions followed short-term booms giving rise to periodical economic crashes which brought about untold suffering for the multitude. Classical Economics failed to guarantee a stable price and steady income structure for the people. It could not bring about peace and happiness.

"Here lies the success of Kautilya. He saw that great riches and happiness were incompatible; because the rich man could not be a perfectly good man as part of his wealth must necessarily be acquired and spent unjustly. He realised that out of a false good arises a true evil, since the encroachments of the rich are more destructive to the State than those of the people. His regulations all point toward conception of just price. The things forbidden were false weights, false money values (usury), false commodity values (monopoly, underselling, cornering, etc.), false profits and the like. The following subjects to him were the most important: occupations, agriculture, interest and usury, labour and wages, property rights, taxation, inheritance, weights and measures, adulteration, monopoly and the poor. Kautilya condemned poverty as the root of all crimes but, like the classical Economists did not separate human values into intrinsic and extrinsic; he grounded all economic activities on ethics and duties. He set

dharma as goal or end of life and subordinated artha to it. His economic theories secured a full state of employment through an organised decentralisation of industries and prices were stabilised by monopolising key industries and subjecting private enterprise to competition with the State. Merchants and industrialists were looked upon as thieves though not in name and concentration of wealth in their hands was rigidly controlled. Ricardo, Mill and their successors have all failed to solve the labour problem because their interests lay with capital. Kautilya solved it so successfully by enforcing just wages properly balanced with just profit and just prices that through three millenniums, class struggle and strikes remained unknown in India. Agricultural production was secured by giving the cultivator a real interest in land. Money was strictly looked upon as a means of exchange. Value of money was kept at a controlled level by maintaining prices low and real wealth high. Kautilyan Economy, besides being the most scientific Economics, both Applied and Theoretical, successfully survived the onslaught of several devastating wars, specially during the thousand years of Muslim Rule. Besides conferring full material benefits, it had a religious significance. In that society, one gained primarily not only economic wellbeing, but a right life, a clear conscience and a spiritual perfection. Kautilya foresaw the danger of increasing wants and strictly regulated wants. By standard of life he did not mean more money or more material wealth, but more independence, more energy and more self-respect. He aimed at reducing wants and increasing employment and made clearness of conscience the pole star of economic activity. In Kautilya has been codified the economic thought of India as enunciated by Manu, Parasara, Vasistha, Brihaspati and other sages like them; and in the Puranas and the Mahabharata.

"Acceptance of Kautilyan economics by us today will not lead us to any insular position in the modern world. Following him we can build up our consumption industries and agriculture on a thoroughly decentralised basis and by rigidly preventing big industries, as he did, from competing with them. The ideal position may be achieved through the enforcement of the principle that the finished product of the big industry must be the raw material of the cottage industry. The two must be complementary and not competitive. A pyramidal all-India marketing organisation will ensure regional selfsufficiency as also inter-village, inter-district and interprovincial flow. Consumption industries like textiles, sugar, shoes, umbrellas, paper, soap, agricultural implements, cutlery, etc., may be organised on a decentralised cottage industry scale and cordoned off by an all-India trade barrier. The defence and heavy industries may be developed on full governmental or big capital plan under government control. Limitation of our international trade to this top-sphere alone will relieve most of our trade complexities and foreign exchange headache. The commercial geography of India fully warrants the adoption of such a policy. . . .

The First Year of Education

As we believe that the future of this country depends on a sound education, we have kept an anxious watch on the activities of the Central Ministry of Education, Education being a 'provincial subject' it is all the more desirable that at the Centre there should be a policy of intelligent co-ordination and a progressive lead, in the present state of development of the country. When the Congress Government took over at the Centre last year, they found a fairly adequate administrative machinery already set up for education. The Central Advisory Board of Education, consisting mostly of Indian educationists and administrators, had worked hard and a plan to cover the entire field of education was ready. The stage was set for a start to be made and no Government could complain that they were being held up by uncertainty as to what should be done or how it should be done.

One of the first moves made by the present Education Minister was to contene a Conference of Educationists last January. He pleaded with the Conference for a 'sense of urgency' and an entirely new outlook. He thought the entire education plan which had received an overwhelming popular support should be implemented within a decade. Forty years, as calculated by the Central Advisory Board, was too long a period for the new Education Minister to wait. The Moulana Sahib's views were acclaimed in the Congress Press, more so amongst his close followers. Since then a good amount of public money has been expended on Committees and Conferences and columns galore of newspaper space has been consumed by "statements" on new policies and reports of various committees of educationists and politicians. It is understood that Moulana Sahib has since been advised that the plans he wanted to implement in ten years will take not less than twenty, if the bulk of the resources of the country were made available for Education and if the Education Scheme were given the top priority. It has also been made public that the Central Minister of Education propose to recommend nearly a hundred per cent increase in the salary of Basic School teachers and a fifty per cent increase in the salary scales of High School teachers, which were proposed in the C.A.B. Report. We have always pleaded for the improvement of the conditions of service of teachers along with the improvement of the quality of new recruits. It is to be noted that the scales (minimum) recommended in the Board's report are based on pre-war figures and are not too generous. It would however be well to remember that even on the basis of those scales the scheme, when in full operation, would cost the country about 250 crores excluding Pakistan. The question therefore arises, is it practicable or even possible for India to expend annually say 400 crores within a period of twenty years The Central Education Ministry seem to imagine so and would like us to believe so. Circulars have been issued to Provincial Governments to prepare

estimates on the new basis and Committees are meeting frequently to find out 'ways and means' to implement Moulana Sahib's emergency schemes. In pathetic contrast to this propaganda of the Education Ministry, the Central Government are urging on the provinces the immediate need of drastic economy, even at the cost of nation-building services; they have also warned the provinces that the Centre can only contribute half of what they originally promised for the development programme. It is also being stressed that nation-building schemes—Health, Education, etc.—may have to wait for the present. The public has hardly ever seen any worse confusion in Government policy or perhaps, one should say, in Government propaganda.

Amongst the notable achievements of the Ministry during the year under review, the following may perhaps be mentioned: Firstly, the establishment of the Central Institute of Education. This Institute, which we were told, would give a lead to provinces in the modern methods of training teachers and higher research in educational technique, was inaugurated with a great flourish by H. E. Lady Mountbatten, soon after the Hon'ble Moulana Sahib took over. It is now functioning in a rented residential building of the University, and experts consider that the quality of training is far below that already attained by existing Provincial Training Colleges. Secondly, there is the scheme of writing a History of Indian Philosophy and Culture. Public are not aware what amounts have already been spent on the project. A scheme like this should have been left to voluntary enterprise, particularly when funds for urgent educational development are not superabundant. Thirdly, there is the scheme of introduction of "Social Education" in the Centrally administered area. No noticeable change or improvement has yet been noticed by the residents of the Delhi City or the Province in the field of education. Does the Ministry want the public to believe that by mere changing the 'label' they were making their 'products' more market-worthy? It is high time that present educational facilities of Delhi Province were improved to meet the normal requirements of the area. The facilities available at some provincial capitals are at a much higher-level. Fourthly, we have the project of producing literature on communal harmony. One wonders if it is a legitimate function of an Education Ministry. When there is a separate full-fledged Ministry for Propaganda and Publicity, we have yet to learn what this section of Ministry has produced to justify its maintenance from public funds.

The main functions of the Central Ministry of Education is to advise and co-ordinate. It is doubtful if the Ministry with its present staff is in a position to give any effective guidance to the Provincial Governments. The newly recruited Adviser and Joint Adviser seem to have been brought in—and that through devious means—more for their political sagacity than their experience of educational administration. The educational administration at the Centre appears to

have gone down to a lower lever than that obtaining in the major provinces and most of the provinces will have little to gain in the way of expert guidance from the Centre. Finally, the country may pertinently ask, is the present Minister with his personal antecedents and cultural background at all equipped to build up an educational system to suit the requirements of young India—a system which will derive its inspiration from the moral traditions of ancient India and yet will be capable of receiving and assimilating all the worthy gifts of modern civilisation?

Adult Education

The Central Government of the Indian Union has been working at a scheme which is proposed make 50 per cent of the adult illiterates literate and socially conscious in course of the next five years. A summary of the recommendations that we have seen said that in the case of these adult illiterates "emphasis will be more on Social Education than on mere literacy." And in the pursuit of this ided of more extensive facilities for the spread of education amongst the widest commonalty of the land, Government of India is prepared to bear half the expenses of the experiment. It appears that they have been concentrating their attention on the centrallyadministered areas thus setting an example to the provinces. And we see in the daily press announcements now and then of the progress in the provinces of plans for this education. The Ministry of Education in Bengal has appointed a Committee with Shri Atul Chandra Gupta as Chairman to frame and submit a scheme in this behalf. Other provincial Ministries have been as equally busy, though we may not be as equally informed of their activities.

It appears that the Bengal Adult Education Committee has submitted an Interim Report to the Ministry through the Director of Instruction who is a member of this Committee. Since the last week of July, the Committee have had two meetings every week for about a month and a half. The general principles discussed as we find from a summary published in the Nirnay, a Bengali-language weekly, are all right; the concrete plan of organization of this new campaign, as embodied in the report, waits for the approval of the Ministry though it was submitted more than two weeks back.

When we remember that the campaign is to start by the end of January next, it is hardly possible to congratulate the Education Minister on his enthusiasm for the education of his "masters," the people. The Director of Public Instruction is generally a person who is burdened with departmental technicalities and duties. But Rai Harendra Chandra Chowdhury has in the department under his charge any number of Special Officers one of whom could have been easily diverted to the organization of this new education. But knowing the congenital dilatoriness of bureau-

cracies, we are not sure that any officer, almost on the retired list, will be able to bring to the conduct of this campaign of enlightenment the necessary drive and inspiration.

We do not know what the concrete proposals of the Interim Report arc. But from what we hear we are led to think that the Committee would have been well-advised to propose an autonomous body under non-official direction to launch out this scheme of Adult Education. In every country it is not the Government that pioneers reform and reconstruction. In the history of education in India since the days of Ram Mohun Roy and Radha Kanta Deb in Bengal, we have seen the Government following from a distance non-official initiative. Even in a free India we cannot expect a change in human nature quickly brought about in course of twelve months.

Reform of Import Control Administration

Commending the Note prepared by Mr. R. D. Shah of the Eastern Commercial Trading Co., Bombay, on the question of reform of import control to the attention of the Government of India, the Communication stated in its issue dated May 29, 1948 that "the Government would be well-advised to inquire into the working of the department in order to set matters right, before public criticism swells in volume, as well as in tempo." In its issue dated September 4, the Commerce points out that public criticism has already swelled in volume and in tempo, a clear evidence of which has been found at the recent special meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber convened to consider the problems relating to import control. The meeting discussed the many inconveniences which the business community has to undergo in its dealings with the Department and indicated remedies which would put an end to such inconveniences. Instances have also come to our notice where measures are being taken by this department the result of which will be a strengthening of the British merchants in this country and a weakening of our own economy. This has been clearly demonstrated in the allotment of import quota for tea chests which has been done in a way that will not only benefit the British planters in this country who, even today, represent about 85 per cent in the trade but also will place them in a position which may be utilised to crush the Indian side of the plantation. The Indian Tea Association is a misnomer, it represents primarily the British planters in this country and represents their interest. A deputation of Indian merchants had recently visited New Delhi and we have reason to believe that they had failed to obtain even a sympathetic hearing from the luminaries of the department. The Minister for Commerce leaned on the side of the bureaucrats and almost summarily dismissed the deputation.

The declaration of the import policy of the Government of India should be reviewed at regular

intervals, preferably twice a year, instead of declaring it at the whim of the department. This will give sufficient time to the importers to get ready with their applications and to represent the Indian viewpoints to the government in time so that measures may not be taken in the name of Indian interest but in fact, for pandering up British capital in this country. Licenses should be ready in the importers' hands before the quota period begins instead of confronting them with a fait accompli by handing over the maximum quota to British commercial interests.

The application forms should be simplified. They must be made available in all important towns and cities. The *Handbook of Import Trade Control* should be reprinted whenever necessary and should remain widely in circulation. The unnecessary and irksome details in the application forms, sometimes demanding trade secrets, the disclosure of which is injurious to the trade but of no benefit to the Government, should be climinated.

These are only some of the numerous gatevances that have piled up against the Commerce Depurtment of the Government of India. The public discontent regarding the manner in which import controls are being administered should be looked into and remedied instead of brushing them aside and them as is being done at present. Unplanned and un-co-ordinated action taken by the Commerce Department is bound to do harm not only to trade and commerce but also to the industrial life of the nation as well Government of India owes it to the public to see that the administration of import controls is carried on with just the minimum of official formalities necessary to express the purpose of the regulation and with the object of serving genuine national interests

Development of South India's Resources

The Business Week, the commercial weekly Madras, has been filling a long-felt gap in the sphere of news in the Southern Presidency. The articles published and the information these carry deal, however, with all-India economic measures and tendencies, and these evidence the watchfulness of the conductors of the journal. In a special supplement, dated August 21 last. it featured a special article on the Resource Development in South India. It was the product of intensive study by the "Kerala Round Table Group," a body of earnest students of affairs, and their plan, if "completely developed," would, it is hoped, lead to the fuller development of the agricultural and industrial resources of South-West India. The article lays stress on the importance that the South has gained by the partition of India. The biggest irrigation works in India were placed in the West Punjab and Sind-now lost to vs. It is now the turn of South India to pioneer activities that would help build a better India materially and intellectually. For, South India "possesses an extensive sea-board and several extensive harbours. Strategically

South India is best suited for the location of essential war industries. . . In the place of coal there are almost unlimited water power resources in the region, if the numerous rivers of South India are fully harnessed." Reference is made to the Periyar River Project No. I and Project No. II which, harnessing the waters of the River Periyar in the high ranges of Travancore, are estimated to produce about five lakhs K. W. electric energy, equal to the total requirement of industrial and other purposes for the whole of South India in the near future. The projects already functioning in Mysore and in contemplation in connection with the Tungabhadra Project, open out vast possibilities as well.

Kandla as a Major Port

The Government of India, in a Resolution published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated September 6, have accepted the recommendation of the West Coast Major Port Development Committee that the major port on the stretch of coast covering Kathiawar and Cutch should be sited at Kandla. The Government of India agree that the need for a major port is immediate and imperative in order to compensate the loss of Karachi and that the port should be sited at Kandla. The Government have also agreed with the committee that all the existing ports Kathiawar should be placed under one Port Commission which should include Okha and Verawal. The Government have accepted the recommendation the Committee that a concentrated effort must be made to get better dredging results at Bhavnagar, so as to maintain adequate depth of water at the berths. After satisfactory dredging results have been obtained. one extra berth should be constructed at Bhavnagar.

The Kandla Creek, situated at the eastern end of the Gulf of Cutch, constitutes a natural sheltered harbour and is easily navigable. It has maintained a depth of water of over 30 feet since 1851 although a bar has formed at the entrance in recent years. The land on the west bank is only two or three feet below high water and presents no scrious reclamation problem.

The geographical position of Kandla is best suited to replace the port of Karachi in its service to the hinterland. As between Kandla and Karachi, Delhi is 656 miles from Kandla as against 783 miles from Karachi. Similarly, Hissar is 688 miles from Kandla as against 733 miles from Karachi. The other advantages of Kandla are:

- (1) The deep water sheltered harbour in close proximity to high land affords quick and economical development into a major port.
- (2) Economy of construction and maintenance; low cost of reclamation and comparatively little dredging.
- (3) Considerably shorter rail leads to the hinterland.
- (4) The undeveloped and unexploited nature of the territory of Cutch, covering 1700 square miles of

which the two Ranns of Cutch comprise 900 sq. mi'es. There are great potentialities for the development of industries such as salt, cement, glass and fishing, and development of vast mineral resources like gypsum, lignite, bauxite, etc.

(5) Unlimited availability of land for the part

Kandla can be developed, in the first instance, to handle 2.3 million tons of cargo per annum by the construction of berths facing the creek. The site lends itself to the construction of an impounded dock if necessary.

The Committee points out certain disadvantages in respect of Kandla which, however, are remediable without much difficulty and at an economic cost. They are the bar at the entrance to the creek, non-existence of rail communications and inadequate water supply at present. In regard to the bar, the Committee is of the opinion that it could be removed by dredging-Further, the water in the creek is only very slightly silt-laden, and the fact that the remainder of the criek has maintained a great depth of water for many years is a further indication that the bar could be removed.

As regards the second defect the Committee has proposed two rail connections—a broad-gauge line from Jhund to Kandla, a distance of 137 miles, at an approximate cost of Rs. 6 ctores and a metre-gauge railway line, 174 miles long connecting Deesa, Radhanpur, Piprala and Kandla at a cost of roughly Rs 4! erores. Traffic surveys made in this connection show that immediate returns will be 2 to 3 per cent on the capital outlay. The proposed railway lines will run through vast virgin tracts of territory and will be of connectable strategic importance.

In regard to water supply, the Committee made an exhaustive study of all the relevant data and thorough investigations and is of the opinion that there are resources for an adequate water supply both to the port and port town at Kandla.

In conclusion, the Committee refers to the future of minor ports in Kathiawar. Emphasising the need for co-ordination of operation in each of these ports under one .Port Commission, it suggests that the procedure and charges at the various ports should be similar, storage charges should be reasonable and the total available space should be utilised by all the ports to the best advantage. "Although we recommend the construction of a major port at Kandla, we believe it to be essential to maintain in efficient condition the existing ports in Kathiawar, namely, Navlakhi, Bedi, Okha, Porbunder, Verawal and Bhavnagar. These ports are very necessary for the country's economic life."

In order that Bhavnagar Port in Kathiawar may be able to handle increased traffic and be self-supporting, the Committee has recommended a "concentrated effort" to get better dredging results at Bhavnagar and, after satisfactory results are obtained, the construction of one extra berth at the port.

The State and Our Scientists

The scientists of India represented in the Indian Science News Association have been expressing dissatisfaction in their monthly organ Science and Culture with the way in which "those in power" in the Indian Union have been managing things. In the opening article of the July (1948) number, a catalogue of the evils that infest our life has been given. It is a formidable list-"poverty, hunger and disease, low productivity in industry and agriculture, . . . and emergence of new problems like those of extreme provincialism, and the threat of babelism, . . . the growth of the spirit of intolerance and indiscipline amongst the masses." The writer appears to have grown impatient with those who raise "the cry of Nationalization to cover their own failure to meet a problem," and asks why even those nationalized industries, such as rail-road communications, the telephonic service and the armament n dustries which were "very efficient before the war" should have now become "bye-words of inefficien y"? We in our own way have been critical of the Nohru Government and to a large degree share the feelings given expression to by our contemporary. But we doubt whether the remedy suggested in the article-"al! problems must be studied in an objective way and operations to be taken should be decided after objective study of facts and figures, and a careful consideration of the consequences to which these operations may lead"--will bring forth the universally prayed-tor result. It cannot be contended that the Central Administration in India have been lacking in sympathy towards "objective" studies and plans and programmes that follow therefrom. Rather, we have often felt submerged under the flood of "Interature" that issue out of New Delhi on every conceivable subject concerned with the re-making of India. The analyses that have been thrown out have created confusion, and "the native hue of resolution" has been "sicklied over with the pale cast of thought." Why this should have been so, we do not claim to know. We think the trouble lies in the obduracy of those in whom lies the power for the final decisions. Executive authority has as yet a tendency to sway towards the dictates of vested interests. This must be remedied.

Western India's New Set-up

Spread from Cutch to Travancore, this vast stretch of territory is in the throes of a more constructive future. The people inhabiting it, of many languages and habits, have been reinforced by the arrival of a new element constituted by the Hindus from Sind. We cannot say what proportion of the 14 lakhs of Sindhi Hindus and Sikhs have been forced into moving into this area. But we are sure that they will introduce a new richness into its life.

There have been other forces at work to stir to activity many a feeling and ambition seeking out-let into political and social life. Of these, the strongest has

been the demand for the re-constitution of units in the Union of India based on linguistic affinities. We are familiar with demand for Marhatta, Karnataka, Kerala and Gujarat provinces. Arguments for and against are being bandied about with regard to the wisdom of this move for linguistic States; the prospect of Bombay going into the Maharashtra Province appears to have excited the greatest controversy, some even going so far as to suggest that the island of Bombay should be constituted into a separate province with a cosmopolitan set-up.

But this is not the end of the story. In the columns of the Bombay Chronicle has been elaborated a new scheme proposing the division of the whole coastal area south of Daman to Cape Comorin into two provinces of 500 miles each. Thus we have a picture where Western India is presented as divided into a 1,000 miles area from the borders of Sind across the Gulf of Cutch to Daman; the other 1,000 miles will appear equally divided into two maritime Provinces with a depth of about 200 miles west of the Ghats. The writer signing under the pen-name of "A Nationalist" b ilds his scheme principally on the defence requirements of the Western Coast of the Indian Union, Naval stations, ship-building yards and other accessory needs are referred to. The southern province, Kerala, about 500 miles of coastal territory predominantly, will be linguistically compact. The northern unit will be a composite one speaking Kannada, Konkani and Marhatti.

This proposal will make Bombay the capital of the northern province linked up with the hinterland. But we do not see why Bombay in the Maharastra Province-to-be will fail to play the same role in the scheme of things in Western India. It may be that there are intricacies that we do not understand as the writer has not cared to bring these out. But the two articles leave the impression in the mind that there are influential circles who find it hard to reconcile themselves to the idea of living in a province where the Marhattaspeaking people are likely to be dominant.

East Punjab Developments

It is difficult to analyse the trends in East Punjab, the new province that confronts West Pakistan, a centre of storm that may burst over and overturn arrangements that were agreed to between the two States' rulers. During the British regime Punjab was called the sword-arm of India; with its disappearance, East Punjab has acquired a new significance in our country's life as the majority of the millions of Sikhs, uprooted from their ancestral homes, deprived of the majority of their sacred places, have by choice and circumstances been concentrated within its boundaries. This virile element in our composite life threatens to develop into a problem that will challenge the sense of proportion of all of us, if we accept the writings in the Khalsa and the Liberator as giving expression to the authentic voice of the Sikhs of India. The insistence

special consideration for Sikh interests opens out the doors of an ugly memory associated with the growth of Muslim separation that has disrupted our country's unity and integrity. The leaders of thought and action amongst the Sikhs have been finding it difficult to give a lead to their people suffering from a frustration of immeasurable dimension. They appear divided into so many groups that we are at a loss to differentiate between their conceits and demands.

As far as we understand things, all the groups amongst the Sikhs appear to have one mind on the question of having in the East Punjab Province the recognition of Punjabee in the Gurumukhi script as the language of the State. The followers of the Aryn Samaj who, by their service to the people's education and the emancipation of their social con-cience, have acquired an importance out of proportion to their number appear to be opposed to this ambition; they insist on Hindi in the Devnagri script as the language of the State. Their opposition appears to be inspired by the consideration that the recognition of Punjabec in the Gurumukhi script would be transforming the province into a Sikh enclave where no other will have freedom to follow their values of life. This fear forms part of whole malaise in thought and life in the modern world, specially in India where the Muslim League has taught us to beware of tolera'ing differences.

We can not persuade ourselves to say that the Sikhs come under this category. Circumstances being as they are, their leaders should be conscious of the danger of encouraging and inflaming separatist feelings and ambitions. The tragedy of their recent experience is responsible for the spirit of unbalance that characterizes their activities and utterances. We are sure that they will regain the heritage of reconciliation that was the special contribution of Guru Nanak to India's evolution. The present discontents are a temporary phase which it should be easy to get over by the Sikhs with their traditions and aptitudes.

Agrarian Reform in Bihar

The President of the Congress has appointed an Agrarian Reforms Committee with Prof. J. C. Kumarappa as its Chairman. The Committee has been moving from province to province collecting necessary facts, hearing evidence of representative citizens that throws light on the intricacies of the problem with which is bound up the life's work of 80 per cent of our population. The Committee has already visited Bombay, the Central Provinces, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam, and it is now in Bihar going through its routine. The Legislature of the Province has passed an Abolition of Zamindari Bill that has been awaiting for the sanction of the Governor-General to make it effective. The Bill's handling of the problem of mines forming parts of zamindaries has created difficulties, and the heated discussions in the Bihar Legislature may prove to be mere sound and fury. We hear that the Ministry in the province has been thinking of an Interim Land Reform Scheme alternate to the one which was embodied in the Bill. This scheme touches on such immediately necessary measures for facilitating the reclamation of waste lands, provision of irrigational facilities, distribution of loans and improved seeds to cultivators and other operations interconnected with the agriculturists' life. But, for the new system of land ownership and superintendence over it to be exercised by the State, the Bihar Government appears to be waiting for the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee's recommendations.

This delay goes towards emphasising that the question of agrarian reform in India has yet to secure unanimity in methods of advance, that while the abolition of the Zamindary system is a job easy enough for any Legislature, the adoption of a satisfying substitute is a task that will exercise wisdom of the wisest amongst us. The reformers have been finding that out. In the case of Bihar, the Zamindars, small and great, play such a dominant part in the province's social life that there is nothing unnatural if they should put up a last-ditch fight for the defence of their interests. And, in the organization of this fight caste feelings are being mobilized, Brahmin zamindars organizing their people, Khatri zamindars doing the same, Muslim zamindars seeking the co-operation of their credal followers. As in other fields of activities, everything being in a flux, the abolition of zamindary will create a vacuum of which we appear to be getting afraid.

Bihar and Bengal

Shri Kishorelal Mushruwala, editor of *Hurijan*, has addressed us the following letter, dated September 8, 1948, which we publish below:

"Dear friend,

My attention has been drawn to your Note— "Bihar's Dilemma"—in your current issue. You have confused two different articles—and

You have confused two different articles and circulars. My article in *Harijan* of June 27, refers to the 'Mines Circular.' That circular has not been denied, nor have I made any 'amends' for my criticism upon it. My criticism upon it stands, and I am still pursuing that matter to the extent I can.

The Circuair which has been denied by the Bihar Government and which necessitated my 'Amends' is the one referred to in my article "Unclean Means' in Harijan, dated, July 11. As this matter will be further discussed in Harijan in due course as space permits, I need not refer to the subject here in greater detail.

While I am not satisfied with the policies pursued by the Bihar and Assam Governments towards Bengalis and other immigrants in their areas, I must also say that the leaders of Bengal proper—both East and West—are not helpful in the matter. If the provincialism of the Biharis and Assamese is an evil arising out of narrowness, it cannot be cured by the adoption of the same policy by Bengalis. Please do not consider that when I refer to Bihar, Assam and Bengal by name, I express any satisfaction for other provinces. As a matter of fact, like asthma

succeeding constant attacks of cold, provincialism has succeeded communalism based on religion, and the evil has spread all over India. Let us all co-operate in fighting it by encouraging the adoption of a wide outlook."

We stand corrected. We were led into this confusion by memories of Circulars issued by Bihar Administrations during the last 35 years since Bihar was helped to set up separate household for herself in 1911-12 These Circulars, breathing a spirit of administrative discrimination against non-Biharis or non-Hindi-speaking Biharis, have poisoned relations between the unit of communities and classes that inhabit Bihar. Kishore lalji will have understood the genesis of this evil from the extract from the article published in the Bihar Herald of June 12, 1948, which we quoted in ou last issue. The full article entitled "The Rarhy Community" will enable him to get inside the skin of the problem better than anything that we may write.

We have been writing on the subject of "Provin cialism" and inter-connected issues. Speaking for our selves, we are not inclined to accept the criticism implici in the words that "the leaders of Bengal proper-both East and West-are not helpful in the matter." W cannot say that we fully understand the significance of this criticism. We have often felt that publicists and public men in Bengal have been too patient with the caucus that rules the roost in Bihar today. In tha province, Ministers and publicists have not scrupled to join in baiting the Bengalee. Has anything like thi happened in Bengal? The Bengal Ministry-we mea the West Bongal Ministry-has been silent; the Bongal member of the Congress Working Committee has been most markedly dumb in this campaign of silence. It was almost at the last moment that the Bengali member of the Central Legislature and of the Constituen Assembly picked up courage to present a Memorandun to the President of the Constituent Assembly, requesting the extension of the reference to the Linguistic Pro vinces Commission so that the question of Bengali speaking areas may be taken up for solution while tha of Andhra, Maharastra and Karnatak is under consi deration. The letter of Sri Atul Chandra Ghosh pub lished in September 19, 1948, of Harijan brings to focus the spirit of sweet reasonableness that has been maintained all through the discussion of this problem We are the last persons to claim any special excellence for Bengalis. But it would be patently unjust if th idea is accepted that Bengalis have been aggressive in pressing their claims to their heritage.

We do not propose, however, to close this month' discussion of this matter with this note of impatience We share Kishorelalji's sorrow that narrowness should be on the ascendant in India today. But we cannot say that we have any "open sesame" that will open the gates of amity to our people. The letter of Shri Atu Chandra Ghosh is an indication of how the people 'Manbhum, predominantly Bengali, have been waiting to have the problem solved.

"Our stand all along has been that we should not be participant to any move for (?) demand for any particular province, that the question should rest with the High Command to judge the principle and do the needful . . . I would ask anybody to prove our complicity with any move for amalgamution. . . ."

We have also been prepared to leave the solution , the wisdom of the Congress, and we have been tryig to bring out all the elements of the problem that we been aggravating feelings between two neighbouring rovinces. We have been trying to remove the imression that the Bengalis in Manbhum and its eighbourhood are "strangers" and "newcomers" to the reas. History tells us that they have been there for ver a thousand years; they have merged themelves into the area's life maintaining their own aditions; they helped to create conditions of modern fe in these areas, as in all north India. The 912 leaders of Bihar recognized this status of theirs then they indicated with meticulous care the areas that hould go to Bengal when the eventual formation of rovinces on linguistic basis took place. We reproduced rom their statement of January, 1912, the portion elevant to this problem, in our August (1948) number inder Notes entitled "Babu Rajendra Prasad's Apoogia." This declaration constituted the charter of lengah demands in the matter. The 1911 Congress ession registered a resolution praying for placing "all he Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same dministration."

It was expected that the Congress would take the nitiative in doing the right thing by the people affected by the 1911-12 re-partition of Bengal. Why the present encration of Congress leaders in Bihar have been epudiating the undertaking of their predecessors we lo not know; why the all-India leadership of the Congress has been sitting on the fence we have not peen told. Even so influential an organ of public ppinion as Harijan has not been able to enlighten us n the matter. But what we see is that the idleness or inwillingness of the Congress High Command has not wen able to throw oil on the troubled waters of interprovincial relations. This should not have been so. What the States Ministry has been able to do with 600 States could not be beyond its competence in the natter of re-drawing the boundary-lines of half a dozen provinces. If the Nehru Government is alert, people vill settle down to constructive activities, and cultivate he "wider outlook" for which Kishorelalji pleads and or which we pray and work.

Developments in Indonesia

Things have been getting a little confused from the riewpoint of the world public in general, in the islands of Indonesia. The scanty and infrequent news items in the press are hard to reconcile. The Dutch Government have announced the setting up of "independent" States in Indonesia while the position of the Republic

of Indonesia in this new set-up remains indeterminate. There is a "Good Offices Committee" sent by the Security Council of the United Nations consequent to enforce their "Cease Fire" Order issued on August 4, 1947. This Committee appears to have been trying to straighten matters out between the Imperial Government and the Republic with as little success as their opposite numbers in the U.N.O. Kashmir Commission. And during these months the Dutch imperialists have been straining hard to push on with their scheme of a come-back to irresponsible authority over these rich islands, rich in natural resources and rich in the labour power of about 7 crores of people. A review of the position in the third anniversary number of the Merdeka, Delhi organ of the Indonesian Information Service, Pritvi Raj Road, New Delhi, tells the world that the Republic was stripped of "nearly half of Java, half of Madura, and about one-tenth of Sumatra, and had to withdraw about 35,000 of her troops from those areas." The whole of Madura has since then been annexed by the Dutch.

All this has happened when the United Nations Organization had been apprised of the whole issue of Dutch Imperialism and Indonesian Nationalism. We are, therefore, not taken in by the news from the Hague, the Dutch capital, about the granting of "independent" status to certain Dutch-sponsored States in Indonesia-East Indonesia, West Java, East Sumatra, Madura, West Borneo, Banka-Beliton, Palembang, South Sumatra, Padang, etc., etc. Hot on the heels of the decision of the Dutch Parliament on August 20 last with regard to Indonesia's "independence," comes the story of a Communist rising which has established a Government in the city and province of Maduin in East Java. The name of an ex-Premier of the Indonesian Republic, Dr. Sharifuddin, has become associated with this adventure. The Republic is thus being torced to fight on two fronts-an "undeclared war" with the Dutch imperialists, and this fight against the Communist menace.

Leaving to the future the decisions on the fields of battle, the world should be told of the nature of the "independent" status granted by the Dutch ruling classes to the Indonesians. We have got some details by the courtesy of the Publicity Section of the Royal Netherlands Embassy at New Della, whose September 1, (1948) News-Bulletin presents thus the status of "a sovereign Federal United States of Indonesia."

A High Commissioner of the Crown is to be appointed in agreement with whom all appointments are to be made. He is to be consulted in matters relating to foreign relations, finances and similar affairs. For instance, the Federal Government, in consultation with the High Commissioner, regulates the organisation and work of the foreign services. Foreign relations in Indonesia and foreign policy are also matters in which the Netherlands government decides. Another matter which the Federal Government takes care of in consultation with the High Commissioner is the organisation and training of the federal armed forces. Authority over the Royal

Netherlands Navy, the Royal Netherlands Indies Army and the Royal Netherlands Air Force remains with the Crown.

The High Commissioner of the Crown is Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces in Indonesia. The army and navy Commanders have a vote in the Executive Council for matters concerning their field of work.

If no agreement is reached between the High Commissioner and the Federal Government on certain points, a decision of the Netherlands government can be requested.

We in India who have passed through the various devices of our late rulers to reconcile their supremacy with our aspirations find no difficulty in seeing through all the illusions sought to be created by Dutch propaganda in this matter of their generosity to the Indonesians. We have often wondered why the Dutch could not learn anything from the Britisher.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

On the 11th of September, 1948, departed from the field of his mundane activities a great Indian who had helped to disrupt the unity and integrity of his fatherland.

History will assess the good and the evil of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's life, of the elements that went to the making of this great Indian going out of his fatherland's lendership to preside over the foundation of the greatest Muslim State in the modern world.

We will not say as it is the habit for writers of obituary notices to say that we are too near the tragedy of a man's death to be able to rightly judge the good and the evil of his life, of his greatness and smallness. We know that Mohammad Ah Jinnah was not the initiator of the idea of a separate State for Indian Muslims. When the poet Mohammad Iqbal first threw out the suggestion in course of his address as President of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Allahabad in 1930, he thought only of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province, constituting a predominantly Muslim bloc and thus capable of forming the nucleus of a State on "the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities." There were other dreamers-Rahamat Ali Chowdhury, for example, Moulana Abdul Wadood of Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Sarhad, Prof. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, who had their different plans for the division of India to suit the convenience of Indian Muslims. About ten vears later Mohammad Ali Jinnah adopted the second of these "affinities" as the platform of his campaign. Thereby he halved the Muslim population of India, and elected to remain satisfied with the allegiance of one of these two. The other half, left out of Pakistan, finds itself in an equivocal position today, and it will take them long to reconcile themselves to the disruption of the values of their life.

It is in the light of this analysis that the life and

work of Mohammad Ali Jinnah should be studied. Whether or not the achievement of a separate statehood for a section of Indian Muslims has any intrinsic or enduring value of its own, only time will testify; and then will come the time to pass judgment on his astuteness as a politician. Till 1937, we do not think that he knew his own political mind. By that time he appears to have realized the value of exploiting the British policy of "divide and rule" for the advancement of the class interests of the upper class Muslims who were prepared to accept this plebian for their leader. A child of Western rationalism, the custodians of orthodoxy amongst Indian Muslims made no appeal to him; his habits of life repelled them. And it is a curious phenomenon that a Sharitt-inspired State has been created by one who was the least influenced by the traditions of Islam, that the frenzy of the masses of Indian Muslims could be roused by a man who was more akin to Sir Syed Ahmed, whom the Muslim divines of Mecca and Medina had stigmatized as a "Nature-worshipper"; the scholarship of an Abul Kalam Azad and the piety of a Hossain Ahmad Madani could not stand against Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a product of the agnostic West. The reason why of this contradiction to the accepted view of things that the Muslims are a people under the thumb of their religious leaders has to be found.

Shoebullah Khan

The name of this young Muslim journalist will live in India's history as that of one who dedicated his life to the cause of India's unity integrity. He was editor of the Urdu daily in the State of Hyderabad, the Imroz (Today). He fell a victim to the frenzy of the Razakars, the murder-gangs that were organized by the Majlıs-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen (Union of Muslims) organization. He braved their fury by his consistent condemnation of the Nizam's misrule, of the communalism and the fanaticism nurtured and patronized by it. It required no small courage and the utmost self-forgetfulness to go forward against the rising tide of barbarism released over the State by the Razakars and their patrons. The faith that had upheld Shocbullah Khan extorts homage from us; for, he by his supreme sacrifice and dedication testified to the fact that the "two-nations" theory of the fevered imagination of the Muslim Leaguers was a delusion and a snare.

Kaka-Saheb Khadilkar

The death of one of the most intimate of Balawant Gangadhar Tilak's followers creates a void in journalism and literature in Maharashtra that will be hard to fill up in the near future. Trained under Lokamanya's spacious eyes in the office of the Keshari which was the harbinger of militant nationalism in Western India, Kaka Saheb shared along with Narasimha Chintamon

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Kelkar the responsibility for the conduct of this paper when the Master had to divert his attention to politics. For about 20 years these two men were companion-atarms. But the parting came with the Gandhi era when Kaka Saheb elected to follow the new way of life and thought blazed away by Gandhiji. He started a new paper, Nava-Kal (New Times) which was the organ-voice of the new politics that gave a new meaning to our strivings for Swaraj. The controversy that ensued between the Tilak School and the Gandhi School made public life in Western India during the third decade of the present century.

Kaka Saheb has carved for himself a distinct place in Marhatta literature also. He was a great dramatist adopting our Mahabharatan episodes to give point to our political struggles against alien authority. The British bureaucracy frowned upon these efforts of his and put under ban his dramas. But his flaire was in tournalism, and in his hands the Nava-Kal attained eminence in Marhatta journalism During the last few years paralysis forced idleness on this body, but his mind was as active as ever.

Raj Narain Basu

Under the auspices of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and of the Raj Narain Basu Memorial Committee a meeting was held on September 8 last at the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Hall in celebration of the 122nd birth anniversary of this maker of new Bengal and new India. When Aurobindo Ghosh rose over the horizon in India's political firmament, his maternal grandfather. Raj Narain Basu, came to be known as "the grandfather of Indian Nationalism," thus justifying and bringing towards fruition the renaissance in India of which Ram Mohun Roy was the morning star. The President of the meeting, Sri Sarat Chandra Basu, and the speakers in their own way tried to bring out the various phases of the developments towards national selfrespect and self-assertion of which Raj Narain Basu was both propagator and symbol. He, one of the generation of "Young Bengal," vowed to the destruction of the traditional norms and forms of Indian life, lived to assert the superiority of these in the face of aggressive Westernism. In this he represented what has been called the "Return Movement" in India's recent history under the British regime. He had his fellow workers in other parts of India. In "Young Bombay," for instance, we remember the names of Naoroji Fardoonji, popularly known as "Naroji Master" to distinguish him from Dadabhai Naoroji known as "Naoroji Professor," and of Dr. Bhau Daji.

Dr. Subba Row Dead

The New York Herald Tribune has announced the death of Dr. Yellapragada Subba Row, Director of Research for Lederle Laboratories Division of the American Cyanamid Company at the early age of 52. Dr. Subba Row was regarded as one of the most

eminent medical minds of the present century. Among his exploits were investigations which helped to revolutionise the modern concept of muscular contraction, research in that component of liver extract effective in the treatment of pernicious anemia, work with folic acid derivatives which, among other things, as made available a new approach to the study of cancer; and more recently, the development of a new drug, aureo-macin, which promises to treat serious infections in human beings which do not respond either to penicillin or strepto-mycin.

Dr. Subba Row was born in Madras. He received his M.B. and M.Sc. degrees at the Madras University and received a degree of Doctor of Tropical Mediciae at the London University, where he met Dr. Richard Strong, then Head of the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine. It was at Dr. Strong's invitation that Dr. Subba Row went to the United States in 1923. At Harvard, he worked, under Dr. Otto Folin, in biochemistry, and took a Ph.D. degree in the field. Some of his earliest work was under the direction of Prof. Cyrus H. Fiske, Harvard Professor of Bio-Chemistry. They devised a method for the determination of Phosphorus, a procedure widely used today, which helped to lead eventually to the discovery of a substance known as phosphocreatine and other organic phosphorus compounds in muscle which has revolutionised man's understanding of the mechanism of muscular contraction.

During the invectigation of phosphorus compounds of murcle and liver, Dr Subba Row became interested in the component of liver extract that was effective in the treatment of pernicious anemia. His attempts to isolate this active component introduced a series of studies in animal and bacterial nutrition which added much to the furdamental knowledge of vitamin chemistry. Fractioning the liver extract in the course of his investigation he isolated hundreds of chemical substances; and testing these substances, he demonstrated that some were valuable in the field of animal nutrition and others were valuable in the field of bacterial nutrition. His researches carried Dr. Subba Row into a teaching fellowship at Harvard, then to an instructorship and an associate professorship. He was also a Rockfeller Foundation Fellow and in 1940 he joined Lederle.

Dr. Subba Row started work on the folic acid problem a few years ago. A number of substances known as vitamin M. Factors U. R. S., etc., vitamin Bc, vitamin B-10, B-11, and others, were reported on by investigators and soon it became apparent that all were related to one compound, folic acid. Dr. Subba Row's study of this compound and his synthesis of it added a weapon in the fight against such diseases as pernicious anemia and sprue, which is a type of anemia. The study of folic acid also yielded a new approach to the career problem and the problem of leukemia. Dr. Subba Row's untimely death makes a great set-back in the attempt to discover a remedy for cancer.

Fight for Berlin

The story of the crisis over Berlin could be traced to February, 1945, when Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill agreed at Yalta (Crimea) to inaugurate "co-ordination, administration and control" of Germany after her expected defeat. On June 5, 1945, the American, Soviet. British and French Governments announced that

"The area of Greater Berlin will be occupied by the forces of each of the four powers."

The Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, confirmed this arrangement, re-emphasizing the right of the Western Powers to share in the administration of Berlin. But with the surrender of Germany there has come a change over the spirit of the dreams of all the victorious powers, their camaraderie evaporating in the piping times of peace. This goes to prove once again of the instability of arrangements devised by human intelligence. Not all the commandments of religions nor the exhortations of prophets or the living examples of saints have been able to transform this "original sin" of human beings and lead them to paths of sanity or amity. And the modern world appears to be preparing itself for another world war when, it is being prophesied that it will be finished within 40 hours by the killing of millions within that short space of time.

Chartered Accountants Bill

The Chartered Accountants' Bill is on the legislative anvil in the Indian Parliament. In this connection, the Accountants' Association of India has addressed a memorandum to the Commerce Minister of the Government of India, which, we believe, deserve special attention and sympathetic consideration. The memorandum makes out a special case for the unregistered G D. A.'s and requests an exemption for them from the three years' articled clerkship. We fully agree with the Association's request for granting the experienced but unregistered G. D. A.'s full facilities for enrolment as associate members in the Register of Chartered Accountants contemplated in the Bill. In the Income Tax and other taxation departments of the Central and provincial governments, as well as in many of the audit offices, the efficiency of the G. D. A.'s in handling the accounts of our indigenous merchants has been proved beyond doubt. Where the British-educated Chartered and Incorporated Accountants have failed. the Indian trained R. A.'s and G. D. A.'s have come out successful.

When the Indian Companies Act of 1913 was enacted, the restricted certificate-holders in the profession were allowed to practise as auditors in view of their long and varied experience in the line. Even as late as 1945-46, the certified Accountants' Association of London, the third largest body of professional Accountants in the British Commonwealth, were recognised as practising Auditors and Accountants. Many members of the above association had not undergone the articles but won recognition by sheer weight of their

experience in the profession. It is also well known that some of the oldest veterans of the Chartered and Incorporated Accountants' Association of England are men with years of practical experience, on whom the honorary memberships of the Associations were bestowed. In consonance with the traditions and established practice of the accountancy profession in England, it is quite reasonable that similar concessions should be granted to veterans in the profession in this country as well instead of compelling them to serve as article clerks under men who might take lessons from them. Like the practice of medicine and law, experience plays a very prominent part in the practice of accountancy as well.

The G. D. A. Board was in existence up to 1933 when it was abolished. So the last G. D. A. is a person with 15 years experience in the profession. The high standards and stiff tests in the G. D. A. Board are well-known and examinations were at par with the Chartered or Incorporated Accountants' test in London Along with their mastery of the theory, the G. D. A's have proved their efficiency and integrity in the practical field also. The books of different types of commercial concerns maintained by the G. D. A's have passed the scrutinizing eves of the practising auditors and the Income Tax authorities throughout India Among the G. D. A's there are many who are holding high and responsible positions as Accountants. Secretaries, Cost Accountants and Income Tax Consultants.

The Accountants' Association have suggested the following amendment to Sub-clause 3 of Rule 4 under the caption "Members of the Institute," which, if accepted, would fully meet the situation:

The Council of the Institute shall have the power to recognise in fit cases persons who have passed the CDA examination and who have put in at least 10 years' responsible service in the Accountance profession, in Government, semi-Covernment or in business houses as either responsible Assistants or Accountants or Secretaries Such a recognition will be at the absolute discretion of the Council and the Council will have the power to enrol such persons as Associate Members of the Institute provided such applications are made within a period of five years from the date of coming into force of this Act.

India's National Anthem

The Prime Minister. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a statement on India's National Anthem, said in the Indian Parliament that when a provisional decision became essential the Cabinet after consulting the Provincial Governors came to the decision that provisionally "Jana-Gana-Mana" should be used as the tune for the National Anthem. till such time as the Constituent Assembly came to a final decision.

Everyone of the Governors except the Governor of the Central Provinces had signified his approval of "Jana-Gana-Mana", the Prime Minister said. Subsequently the new Premier of West Bengal informed the NOTES 271

Government of India that he and his Government preferred "Vande Mataram."

It was thought by some people, said Pandit Nehru, that the "Vande Mataram" tune with all its very great attraction and historical background was not easily suitable for being played by orchestras in foreign countries and there was no movement in it.

It seemed, therefore, that while "Vande Mataran," should continue to be the national song par excellence in India, the National Anthem tune should be that of "Jana-Gana-Mana", the wording to be suitably altered to fit in with the existing circumstances.

This question had to be considered by the Constituent Assembly and it was open to that Assembly to decide as it chose. It might decide on a completely necessary or tune if such was available.

Pandit Nehru, who was renlying to Mr. V. C. Kesava Rao, said, "The question of having a National Anthem tune to be played by orchestras and benda became an urgent one for us immediately after August 15, 1947. It was an important from the point of view of our Defence Services and our foreign embassies and legations and other establishments. It was obviously not suitable for "God Save the King" to be played by our army bands abroad, after the changeover to independence. We were constantly being asked as to what tune should be played on such occasions. We could not give an answer because the decision could only be made ultimately by the Constituent Assembly.

"The 'Jana-Gana-Mana' tune, slightly varied, had been adopted as National Anthem by the Indian National Army in South-East Asia and had subsequently attained a degree of popularity in India also.

"The matter came to a head on the occasion of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 in New York. Our delegation was asked for our National Anthem for the orchestra to play on a particular occasion. The delegation possessed a record of 'Jana-Gana-Mana' and they gave this to the erchestra who practised it. When they played it before a large gathering it was very greatly appreciated, and representatives of many nations asked for a musical score of this new tune which struck them as distinctive and dignified. This orchestral rendering of "Jana-Gana-Mana" was recorded and sent to India. The practice grew for our Defence Services bands to play this tune, and foreign embassies and legations also used it whenever occasion required. From various countries we received messages of appreciation and congratulation of this tune, which was considered by experts and others as superior to most of the National Anthems which they had heard. Many expert musicians in India and abroad, as well as many bands and orchestias practised it, and sometimes slightly varied it, with the result that the All-India Radio collected quite a number of renderings.

"Apart from the general appreciation with which this tune was received, there was at the time not much choice for us, as there was no proper musical rendering available to us of any other national song which we could send abroad. At that stage, I wrote to all the Provincial Governors and asked their views about our adopting "Jana-Gana-Mana" or any other song as the National Anthem. I asked them to consult their Premiers before replying I made it perfectly clear to them that the final decision rested with the Constituent Assembly, but owing to the urgency of some directions being sent to foreign embassics and the Defence Services, a provisional decision had become essential. Every one of these Governor except one (the Governor of the Central Provinces) signified their approval of "Jana-Gana-Mana." Thereupon the Cabinet considered the matter and came to the decision that provisionally "Jana-Gana Mana" chould be used as the tune for the National Anthem till such time as the Constituent Assembly came to a final decision.

"Instructions were issued accordingly to the Provincial Governors. It was very clear that the wording of "Jana-Gana Mama" was not wholly appropriate and sore changes would be necessary. What was important war the tune to be played by hands and orchestras, and not by the wording.

"Subsequently the new Premier of West Bengal informed us that he and his Government preferred "Vande Mataram."

"That is the position at present. It is unfortunate that some kind of srgument has arisen as between "Vande Mataram" and "Jana-Gana-Mana." "Vande Mataram" is obviously and indisputably the premies national song of India, with great historical tradition and intimately connected with our struggle for freedom. That position it is bound to retain and no other songs can displace it. It represents the presion and poignance of that struggle, but perhaps not so much the culmination of it.

"In regard to the National Authem tune, it was felt that the tune was more important that the words, and that this tune should be such as to represent the Indian musical genius as well as to some extent the western so that it might equally be adaptable to orchestral and band music, and for being played abroad. The real significance of the National Anthem is perhaps more abroad than in the Home country. Past experience has shown us that "Jana-Cana-Mana" tune has been greatly appreciated and admired abroad. It is very distinctive and there is a certain life and movement in it. It was thought by some people that the "Vande Mataram" tune with all its very great attraction and historical background was not easily suitable for being played by orchestras in foreign countries, and there was not enough movement in it. It seemed, therefore, that while "Vande Mataram" should continue to be the national song par excellence in India, the National Arthem tune should be that of "Jana-Gana-Mana." The wording of "Jana-Gana-Mana" in to be suitably altered to fit in with the existing circumstances.

"This question has to be considered by the Constituent Assembly, and it is open to that Assembly to decide as it chooses. It may decide on a completely new song or tune if such is available."

The Chukai Fibre

Sj. Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, had, in July last, drawn attention to the chukai plant which might serve as a jute substitute and requested the Government of West Bengal and the Central Government to follow the matter up. We had also the pleasure of publishing the Note Sj. Das Gupta had prepared on the subject. We are rather surprised to find that the Government of Bengal have come out with a press-note with the apparent object of contradicting the idea that Sj. Das Gupta had "discovered" a substitute for jute, but the real object of this entirely unnecessary press-note seems to be to do propaganda for a particular functionary of the Indian Central Jute Committee at public cost. Srijut Das Gupta had never claimed any "discovery;" he merely published his personal observations on the plant with some suggestions about its possibilities as a jute substitute. The following lines constitute the material portion of the press-note:

As a result of the decision of the Indian Central Jute Committee at its last meeting research work on this and other substitute fibres have already been taken up by the Agricultural Research Institute of the Committee.

When was this last meeting held? The press-note sublished on September 30, gives a long schoolboy compilation of the history of the plant but is silent about the date of the meeting which decided to start research work on the chukai plant. If it was after July last, Sj. Das Gupta can certainly claim public appropation for having rousing our fat-salaried functionaries from slumber

Recognition for National College Graduates

Kalikata Vidyapith of the Gaudiya Sarva Vidyayatan had been the national college and University which had been founded in Calcutta in January 1921 by Deshabandhu C. R. Das for higher education on national lines under the direction of the Congress and was opened by Mahatma Gandhi. During the non-co-operation movement many students who had boycotted the Government schools and colleges had joined this institution. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was the Principal of the Vidyapith and Sri Kiran Sankar Roy was the Secretary of the Gaudiya Sarva Vidyayatan. The instructive staff of the college included some of the best professors of Bengal. The students of this National College and University were as meritorious as the best students of other Universities. They sacrificed their life's career and by joining the National University maintained the dignity and standard of the Congress and the Nation. After passing through regular examinations, the students received their degrees and diplomas of Adya (equivalent 10 Matriculation), Madhya (equivalent to Intermediate Arts), Upadhi (equivalent to B.A.) and Bishes (equivalent to M.A.).

The ex-students of the Kalikata Vidyapith have submitted a memorial to the Central and Provincial Governments praying for recognition but no heed

has as yet been paid to it. They have also drawn the attention of the All-India Congress Committee in this respect.

"The First Year"

This is the title of a publication issued by the Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Union of India commemorating the first year of freedom from "British control." It is a superb volume, 88 pages, superb in its make-up. To the tax-payer of India, the duplication of propagarda literature issued on behalf of their Government is a little difficult to justify. The Indian Information's "Independence Number" of 140 pages covers almost the same ground. The First Year, however, presents us with articles that are more interpretative than informative as in the Indian Information. Krishnalal Shridharani's character-sketch of the first Indian Governor-General tells us the familiar story of Rajaji's political life, but it does not explain the psychology of the change that came over the high-priest of Gandhism of the twenties. The other articles just touch the surface of the problems discussed in them. The only exception is K. M Pannikar's (India's ambassador to China) article entitled Indian History as It Should Be; it takes us to the beart of the subject as it has evolved through the centuries maintaining the original bias given to our people's thoughts and activities. What we have felt to be lacking is a background story that would explain the developments of this "Year," our reaching towards the ideal and our falling back on our brute heritage. We do not know the reasons which stood in the way of the editor. otherwise wide-awake and competent.

In Memoriam

At the memorial meeting held on the 29th September in Calcutta, Sj. Makhan Lal Sen said that Ramananda was one of those great sons of Bengal of nineteenth century who had devoted their versatile genius for all-round progress of the country. His strength of character and religious devotion was unsurpassed. He had dedicated his whole life to awaken the national consciousness which Indians seemed to have lost at that time.

Rai Bahadur Bejoy Behari Mukherjee said that Ramananda had a unique capacity for righteous judgment. Honest in every sphere of life, he maintained a high standard of journalism against all odds.

Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh said that Ramananda had left a standard for every journalist in Bengal. Cifted with a high sense of journalistic honesty and courage of conviction, he never failed to adhere to what he believed to be true.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays "The Modern Review" Office and "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from the 8th October to the 21st October, 1948, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI, Editor.

OUR IMMEDIATE FUTURE

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, RL,C.L.E., Hony, D.Lift,

THE LAW OF OUR BEING

India has been often called a continent (and not one country), in view of her diversity of climate and natural products. But she does not possess the advantages of a true continent, in which each country is marked off from all the others by strong physical barriers, compactness of territory, homogeneity of civilisation, and a commouness of tradition and spirit born of one uniform government within its particular limits during many centuries. The peculiar geography of India makes the defence of her frontier against foreign aggression impossible unless the armed strength and material resources of the entire country are concentrated for the purpose. No Indian province acting in isolation can long make a stand against an invader from outside. Provincial defence must be a Central subject, a concern of the Federal Government. The extremities of the Indian Dominion must be joined to its heart by an ever-present sense of vital connection and sameness of fortune.

But that is not possible unless the provinces realise that the law of their being enjoins on them mutual co-operation amounting to fusion, under one common sovereign authority, and that they must cheerfully subordinate their local interests and parochial pride to the needs of the Central Government.

At the same time the Central Government must be a true father to its numerous children. There must be a living and beneficent contact between it and the provinces. The Central leaders must frequently tour the provinces, and the provincial leaders must frequently come in contact with the Centre by means of political, economic and cultural missions of common concern to the whole land. The Central Government must be felt by the provinces almost as a part and parcel of their daily existence.

INTEGRATION OF INDIA'S PROVINCES

Our military defence and economic advance alike require not only that all the parts of the Ludian Union should be merged under one common Central authority, but also that they should be fused into one by developing uniformity of life and thought, by giving them the same system of administration and law, one official language, and a common and mutually interchangeable system of education and set of directing officers and technical experts. This is no doubt an ideal and its realisation will take time. But to forget it or to check the operation of any centre-moving force would be suicidal. Insistence on the special culture or characteristic of any province, or fanning its parochial pride would be a crime against the greater Indian nationalism.

Look at the map of India as it was under British Imperialism. The portion under the rule of the

Central Government of India was usually colcured red, and embraced two-thirds of the surface-area of this country. The remaining one-third was covered by nearly six hundred Native States, some as large as France, others containing only a square mile or two; and yet all of them were entitled to sovereignty and independence of the Central administration of India, with varying degrees of autonomy and presenting "a veritable jig-saw puzzle of conflicting political and economic factors." On the map they look like pockmarks on the fair face of India. Some of them were too small even to be represented by dots on our maps; c.g., in Kathiawar there were 449 States in an area of 22,000 square miles, or 50 square miles each on an average, and yet each was ruled by a His Highness, the political equal of the Governor of Bombay or Calcutta! Today they have all merged, with the exception of Hyderabad, which still stands as a large leprosy patch on the skin of India and continues its independence as a "feudal anachronism" in the midst of the modernised rapidly progressive Indian Union. This is the first gain of our first year of freedom; the partitioning of India rigidly maintained by the British during the two centuries of their paramountey has been quickly undone, though not wholly as yet.

All great countries have grown great only by this process of geographical union and the consolidation of that union through uniformity of education, administration and life. This is the lesson of history. England, France, Germany and the United States, besides Italy and Switzerland have all followed the same course.

Union Makes States Strong

England before the Norman conquest, consisted of England only without Wales, Scotland or Ireland : and even in England the nobles who administered its different districts tried to assert their local independence; hence Harold could not offer a united defence against William the Conqueror. But in a few centuries the whole country-and finally the British Isles, were fused into one State, which could successfully defeat France, a country nearly six times its size. France was at first a bundle of separate provinces, each with its peculiar laws, constitution, traditions and local pride,-and sometimes local dialect. But Louis XI by long patience and artful policy united most parts of the country under the Central Government of Paris. The administrative concentration was completed by Louis XIV, and the full unification of all parts of France was effected by the French Revolution, which swept away the old provinces, with their separatist barriers. systems of government, and traditions. The country was now finally divided into 83 uniform divisions called Departments, which were subdivided into districts (arrondissements) and further into Cantons.

The French Constitutional Assembly made this change in 1790, because the "provincial spirit is the enemy of public spirit, and the attachment of the citizen to any smaller group conflicts with allegiance to the Commonwealth. . . . The new Departments . . . presented a smooth blank surface upon which the legislator might impress whatever pattern he thought proper."—Cambridge Modern History, VIII, 190.

Thus France became strong, because one, and she could defy the whole of the Continent. One law, the Code Napoleon, was imposed on the whole of it.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA WONDERFULLY SIMPLIFIED

The case of Germany is exactly parallel to that of India. Here, before 1806, there were more than 400 separate sovereign authorities (comparable to 600 for British India) over an area about one-fourth of India's size.

But Napoleon effected a wonderful "simplification of the political geography of the country, which . . . entitles him to be called one of the makers of modern Germany." "The smaller princes who had habitually looked to Austria I "the paramount Power" I were swept away. . . The French armies (in 1805-6) shattered the political fabric which had so long kept Germany disunited and strongled all crots at reform . . . The process of reform would never have been completed had not the Holy Roman Empire been dissolved."—Cambridge Modern History, IX, 407, 91.

Here if you read British for Roman and M. Gandhi's epithet for Holy, you will get an exact pucture of India's disunion and stagnation during the two centuries before 1947. Physically the unification of Germany thus begun by Napoleon in 1806, was completed by the "blood and iron" policy of Prussia in 1866 and 1870. But the gain was made permanent only because it was something greater and deeper than a change in the colouring of the map. Ever since Napoleon's Confederacy of the Rhine (1806), many parts of Germany felt the revivifying touch of the modern doctrines which the French Revolution had brought to Europe. The Code Napoleon was adopted, sweeping away the old feudal system, the peasants were freed from serfdom, and the people began to taste some (local) political freedom, See H. A. L. Fisher's Napoleonic Statesmanship: Germany, for the littlestudied details of this momentous change, Within fifty years of the death of Napoleon the reunited Germany became unconquerable. Geographical fusion was followed by the uniform training, equipment, and control of the armies of its different constituent States under Prussia's central authority, which made the French disasters at Sedan and Metz (1870) possible and easy.

The United States, too, have grown by the coalescence of parts. At first each of the 13 States was jealous of its "independence" and resisted every attempt of the Federal Government to effect reform. Hence the bloody Civil War of 1861-65, in which Uniotriumphed over provincialism at the cost of millions lives. India has (as yet) been spared this havoc. But since 1865, the whole trend of American history has been to strengthen the authority of the Central Government and curb the "State rights," i.e., local laws, where they oppose modern progress or liberal administration. The greatest authority on the United States, James Bryce, thus describes this change in public opinion:

"It is clear that the nation feels itself more than ever before to be one for all commercial and social purposes, every part of it more interlaced with and dependent on all the other parts than in any previous epoch of its history. This feeling . . . steadily gaining ground, cannot but have its effect upon political institutions (i.e., the American constitution). It presages some further extensions of Federal authority."—American Commonwealth, ed. of 1910.

In India we have to educate public opinion on these lines if we are to combat provincialism.

ESTABLISH UNIFORMITY THROUGHOUT INDIAN UNION

India's geographical merger will fail to save her unless it is followed—and followed quickly—by administrative, educational, social and military standardisation, by the evolution of a common body of citizens and soldiers. It is no good denying the fact that the administration of many "independent Native States," like that of Hyderabad, is a "feudal anachronism," while certain neighbouring British-administered provinces have reached a high level of education and political experience. How to pull the bad boys up to the level of the good ones if they are to sit in the same class of the administrative school?

A fully-planned scheme of the development of "backward areas"-provinces and ex-States,-must be drawn up by the Centre and relentlessly pursued by its own agency, because there is in such provinces no local staff fit for the work and none will be found till the next generation, after receiving this training, comes into the field. The trainers will be not only school masters, but also judges, police prefects, transport officers, mechanical directors and even doctors. And they will have to work in the teeth of the most ignorant and fanatical local jealousy. This-even more than the final settlement with Pakistan-is the most difficult and vital problem before Indian statesmanship today. Success is possible if there is not only persisent drive from the Centre, but also active co-operation by preaching and voluntary service on the part of every Indian of goodwill and real patriotism.

How to EDUCATE BACKWARD PROVINCES AND STATES

Let us now consider what this administrative unification of India implies. From the over-riding need of a common defence of the Indian continent follows the inevitable necessity that high officers,—whether military commanders, organisers of supply, technical experts, transport directors, educationists, and specialists of every particular branch,—must be freely internangeable between one province and another at the ation's need, and the local conditions should be so

arranged that they can feel quite at home and work with their maximum capacity in the province to which they have been deputed by Centre. This is a sine qua non, not only in respect of our armed defence, but also in that of development and organisation, for modern defence presupposes a complex and diversified mass of adjuncts to the mere soldiers. Here provincial exclusiveness—or insistence on quotas and domiciles, would be suicidal. The whole educational level of a backward province must be raised quickly by importing an ar: of teachers from more advanced provinces. The nature l bitterness of such "foreign" importation in the hear of the local population will be softened at the outset if only exceptionally able men are taken from outside, and it will entirely disappear if all the imported talent is replaced by local men in the next generation as a statutory obligation.

Lord Cromer raised Egypt out of the misery and degradation into which it had sunk under the Khedive's misrule, by modernising the administration, economy, education, and defence of the country. He imported Britishers for the key-posts of direction and even many losser posts of importance, but he replaced them by Lgyptians as soon as trained for these offices. It was his rule never to employ a foreigner as soon as a native of nearly equal ability was available. (No doubt the good effect of his system was spoiled by the infamous sentence in the Denshawei case). Cromer had full 23 years of continuous service at the head of the Egyptian administration to complete this training. Will our provinces and ex-States have the patience for such a long course of tutelage?

UNIQUE PLACE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
This brings me to the last point of our future
programme. For years to come the English language

must continue to be used as the medium of communication at the top level (in the Centre and the Provinces alike and also between province and province). It should continue as the medium of instruction and examination for the highest stage of learning in the country. Furthermore, for the benefit of the inevitable and gradually expanding all-India services, there should be maintained in every province some schools and colleges with English as the principal language and one Indian vernacular (preferably a simplified gender-less Hindustani) as a compulsory second language,—exactly n the lines of the schools in India teaching for the Cambridge Senior and Junior examinations. These have been found most useful for their sons by the military, railway, engineer and other officers of high rank who, as members of all-India services, have to be transferred to widely distant places. This is a matter of common experience.

It is a foolish and ignorant patriotism that hates English as a foreign language, or a badge of servility to the British oppressors. Let me pour a little cool air into the heated atmosphere of the nationalist debating hall. The *Times* writes (19th June, 1948):

"Millions of people in Europe and Asia speak our language with fluency and precision. The two World Wars have caused us to realize the benefits of a common tongue. . . As travel becomes swifter and commoner the need for easy communication of minds will grow. English is the easiest language to learn, so simple that, a Frenchman once remarked, it is scarcely entitled to be called a language. It is the nearest of all languages to the rank of a world-speech, and is more likely than any other to fulfil the world's need. . . . One of the most delusive of popular superstitions is the belief that its language is a nation's soul."

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

IV

In this section we propose to discuss the question of citizenship so far as it has been dealt with in the Draft Constitution. Although who should be citizens is an important matter for a state, the question is usually left to the legislatures to be determined by laws enacted after the constitution comes into force. Here in this country the question has assumed added importance because of the division of the country and the problems that it has given rise to, such as large-scale migrations of population, the psychological maladjustment of many people with the new set-up, etc. So the authors of the Draft Constitution have thought it' fit to devote a section to this question so as to determine who should be treated as the citizens of the Indian Union at the commencement of the constitution. This, of course, is just a tentative arrangement and does not exclude the

authority of Indian Parliament to deal with the matter as they deem fit subsequently. (Section 6).

Modern States usually follow two principles in determining citizenship—(a) territory (jus soli) and (b) descent (jus sanguinis). Under the first principle all those who are born within the territory of the state become ipso facto its citizens, whether they are born of citizen parents or foreigners. Under the second principle persons born of parents who are citizens of a state get its citizenship wherever they may be born.

The authors of the Draft Constitution had a difficulty in adopting either of these principles as the basis of citizenship in India. Both these principles may determine the citizenship of those who would be born after the constitution comes into force, but the immediate problem was to lay down some specific qualifications for determining who should be treated as citizens of the Indian Union at its inception. The problem was complicated by the fact that some parts of what constituted "India" before August 15, 1947, were detached from what is now "Indian Union" without ascertaining their wishes. It was felt therefore that in all fairness the door should be kept open to admit as many as chose to adopt Indian citizenship. If residence within Indian territory was made the only criterion the door would be shut against the large body of persons in Pakistan who would like to adopt Indian citizenship. The same result would follow if descent from purents or grandparents born within the territory of what now constitutes "India" was made the sole criterion. At the same time the Drafting Committee felt that a person should have some sort of territorial connection with the Union either by birth or descent or domicile in o.der to be a citizen at the commencement of the constitution. They observe:

"The Committee doubts whether it will be wise to admit as citizens those who, without any such connection with the territory of India, may be prepared to swear allegiance to the Union."

Their reason for this insistence on such territorial connection is stated as follows:

"If other States were to copy such a provision, we might have within the Union a large number of persons who, though born and permanently resident therein, would owe allegiance to a foreign state."

So they made a compromise between the two principles in laying down qualifications for citizenship at the inception of the Union and made a special provision for the easy accession of persons 'displaced' from Pakistan to the 'citizenship' of Indian Union.

They have therefore recommended that the following two categories of persons are to be citizens at the commencement of the constitution:

(1) "Every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in the territory of India as defined in this (i.e., the Draft) Constitution and who has not made his permanent abode in any foreign State after the first day of April, 1947."

The territory referred to in this clause is the territory of Indian Union after the partition.

(2) "Every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted), or in Burma, Ceylon, or Malaya and who has his domicile in the territory of India as defined in this Constitution."

Both these are subject to the proviso that such persons must not have acquired the citizenship of any foreign state before the date of commencement of the Constitution.

It will be noticed that the provisions in the second clause regarding requirements of citizenship have been made more liberal and purposely so. A person in order to be a citizen of India needs be (1) either (a) himself born, or (b) have either of his parents or grand-parents

born in undivided India i.e., including those parts that are now Pakistan or even in outlying parts such as Burma, Ceylon or Malaya, and (2) have his domicile in what now constitutes "India." The "domicile" required is explained as follows: A person shall be deemed to have his domicile in the territory of India—if either

- (1) he would have had his domicile in such territory under Part II of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, that is, he would not only reside in India for a certain period but also demonstrate his intention, to the satisfaction of a competent authority to continue his Indian residence to the exclusion of residence in Pakistan or any other foreign country, or
- (2) if he has, before the date of commencement of the constitution, made a declaration before a District Magistrate, a declaration in writing that he desires to acquire domicile in India and has resided in Indian territory for at least one month before the date of declaration.

It is obvious that the second clause relating to the determination of citizenship at the commencement of the constitution has been formulated with the avowed object of roping in the large number of 'displayed' persons popularly called the 'refugees' from Pakistan within the category of "citizens" of the Indian Union, thus offering them the benefits of membership of the new State on equal terms with those who are nationals of present-day "India" both by birth and domicile.

Nobody would perhaps question the bona fides of the authors of the Draft in their genuine effort to accommodate the displaced persons from Pakistan or accuse them of lack of sympathy and consideration for the latter, although how far they have been able to meet their special requirements, admits of difference of opinion. Criticism has been made in many quarters that the concessions recommended do not go far enough.

Here it is necessary to point out that the problem is quite different so far as Western and Eastern Pakistan are concerned. In the West the problem has been practically solved, at a great cost though, by wholesale exchange of population carried out under compulsion of events. As regards those who have come over from Western Pakistan their case is satisfactorily met by the second clause discussed above. It is otherwise, however, with Eastern Pakistan. A large section of the population there, for some reasons or other feel that they cannot adjust themselves to the new situation in which they find themselves due to the partition of India the decision for which was taken without reference to them. Many of them are valiant fighters in the struggle for freedom of India. Such persons may justifiably claim that they should get the citizenship of their choice. Some of them have managed to come over to India on their own. With regard to them there is not much difficulty. Simply by making a declaration before a Magistrate as stated shove they would acquire

citizenship of India. Exception was taken to the practical difficulty for the great majority of refugees for getting such a declaration and getting it registered, but the objection has been met by further simplification of such procedure to which we shall refer presently. The procedure might be further simplified to accommodate them, if necessary. But there are others and they constitute a majority who have not been able to migrate to India. There may be some among these who may be able and willing to adjust themselves to conditions in Pakistan. Such persons will in due course adopt the citizenship of Pakistan. With regard to them also there is hardly any difficulty. The real difficulty arises with regard to those-a very large section-who have not been able to migrate on their own, but at the same time cannot adjust themselves to Pakistan State It would have been well if the Government of the Indian Dominion could effect a planned evacuation of such persons and thus admit them to Indian citizenship. But the Government is not at all willing to encourage the idea, as they find the problem too huge for their resources. As a matter of fact, both the Governments of West Bengal and of India refused to acknowledge the existence of a "refugee" problem at all until it was borne in upon them by continuous exodus of non-Muslim population from East Bengal to West Bengal which created serious problems for the West Bengal Government. Even now the policy that is being pursued is to provide for relief and rehabilitation of those who are coming into the province on their own and discouraging further exodus and to make all possible attempts to induce them to stay on in East Bengal by bringing pressure on Pakistan Government to accord just and fair treatment to minorities through Inter-Dominion Conferences, etc. How far this policy has succeeded in its object or whether it is not time to

effect a planned evacuation of all those who want to settle in India or to negotiate for at least a partial exchange of population are questions which are not quite germane to our present discussion except in an indirect way. But supposing things remain where they are, the question is how far it is possible to offer facilities of Indian citizenship to those persons in East Pakistan who want it. On this point, we think the Drafting Committee is perfectly right to insist on some form of territorial connection, whether by birth or descent, or domicile, as the condition of citizenship, as otherwise if other States, in particular, Pakistan, were to imitate the same principle we may have in our State a large number of persons who, though born and permanently resident therein, would owe allegiance to a foreign State. Much adverse criticism has been directed against this view of the Committee, as it excludes the minerities in Pakistan from benefits of Indian citizenship. However unpalatable the position may be, it appears to us to be inevitable, as no State can allow a large part of its inhabitants permanently resident therein to owe allegiance to a foreign state, nor is it possible for a person to have dual citizenship. There is another danger also in throwing open citizenship indiscriminately to habitual residents of a foreign state, as it might be abused by interested groups to influence elections in the country detrimentally to its best interests. The only solution of the problem is either to arrange for planned evacuation of such persons to Indian Union before the commencement of the constitution or to leave the door open for them to easily acquire citizenship of the Indian Union whenever they may come over, taking due precaution against admission of undesirable elements to citizenship

(To be continued)

----:0: MINORITY SAFEGUARDS IN PAKISTAN

BY PRINCIPAL DEVAPRASAD GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

The problem of minorities has been very much to the fore during recent years both in India and abroad.

In Europe, after the conclusion of the Great War of 1914-18, when numerous new States were set up as a result of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian Empires, the interests of the minorities in these various "Succession States" were sought to be safeguarded by the "Minorities Guarantee Treaties" drafted under the auspices of the League of Nations. About a score of such States (like Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Yugo-slavia, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania, etc.) entered into these arrangements for the protection of the "racial, linguistic and religious minorities" resident within their respective borders.

In India, ever since the days now about half-acentury ago, when the Muslim community (the biggest minority in India considered as a whole) began agitating for separate representation and weightage in order to safeguard their rights and interests, the necessity has been felt of providing for such safeguards in some shape or other in the various stages of constitutional reforms through which India passed during this period, vis., the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909), the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919), and the Government of India Act (1935) following upon the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences.

Latterly, the Muslim leadership felt—whether rightly or wrongly is beside the point in the present context—that the differences, racial, cultural and religious, that divided the Muslims from the Hindus, were such as to amount to altogether distinct nationalities.

It will be interesting to recall in this connection what Mr. Jinnah wrote in September, 1944, in course of a letter to the late Mahatma Gandhi:

"We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation."

As a result of the development of this outlook. there has been a cataclysmic change in the political set-up of the Indian sub-continent. The State of India has been partitioned into two separate and independent Dominions, the Indian Union and Pakistan. Thus the raison d'etre of the emergence of Pakistan as an entity independent of the rest of India has been the recognition of the distinction in the rights, interests and culture of the Hindus and Muslims considered as distinct Nations. Much might be said, theoretically speaking, both for and against the recognition of such distinctions as calculated to foster dissensions, stereotype differences, retard the growth of a sense of common nationality, etc. etc., but considered in the light of the actual historical developments up-to-date in India. such discussions would be of merely academic interest; for the plain blunt fact is that the new State of Pakistan has been ushered into existence, on the basis of Hindus and Muslims as distinct nationalities, and upon that basis it must rest; otherwise, that is to say, it that basis is to be given up and if the concept of a composite nationality in Pakistan be now sought to be developed instead, the State of Pakistan itself will have no moral basis to stand upon as an entity separate from the rest of India, with which it is economically, culturally, geographically, connected in an indissoluble manner.

It is therefore hardly necessary at this stage to indulge in elaborate argumentation on the necessity of safeguards for the minorities in Pakistan, for it is an agreed proposition. I would therefore content myself with attempting to make some suggestions as to how such safeguards, political, economic and cultural, can be offectively secured.

It is a trite saying that the best and surest safeguard for a minority lies in the good-will of the majority. Undoubtedly so. If the majority so behaves and comports itself that the minority instinctively feels that although belonging to a different community or even nationality, its members are looked upon as co-equal and honoured citizens of the State with no mark of inferiority branded upon them; and if the high policy of the State itself be to treat all its citizens on a footing of perfect equality with the fundamental rights of free speech, free press, free association, free exercise of social customs and usages, religious rites and ceremonies, etc. etc., guaranteed to all-then the minority will have no cause for complaint and will naturally develop a sense of loyalty to the State that no amount of coercion and admonition can evoke.

It must be said to the credit of the first Governor-

General of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Jianah, that in his inaugural speech at the first session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, he struck the right chord and made this heartening declaration:

"We are starting the State with no discrimination, no distinction, between one community and another, between caste or creed. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of our State. We should keep that in front of us as our ideal; and you will find that in course of time, the Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslems will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the State."

It is a good beginning and an excellent ideal; but in the hard rork-a-day world of stern realities, there are fallings-of: from the ideal, as a result of communal bickerings and jealousies, individual preferences and idiosyncrasies, lust for domination and supremacy, and such-like tendencies. And against such fallings-off, there must be safeguards for minorities embodied in the written constitution.

Particularly so in the present circumstances; for the feelings of hostility on the one hand and nervousness on the other, roused by the intensive political campaigning of the last few years that ushered in the advent of Pakistan, though happily on the wane, will take a long time to disappear altogether; and in the meantime, for at least a generation (or, say, a quarter of a century) very definite measures will have to be taken, if this nervousness and sense of helplessness and insecurity on the part of the Hindu minority in Pakistan are to be effectively removed. And this restoration of the sense of confidence in the minds of the minorities so very essential in the present circumstances can only be brought about by adequate safeguards for them.

I am accordingly proceeding to suggest some such safeguards below:

First, as to political safeguards for the minorities. In Pakistan, the Hindus (including the Depressed Classes) constitute the biggest minority. Among the smaller minorities (in fact, they are exceedingly small) might be mentioned the Buddhists, the Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. What I am going to suggest with regard to the Hindus may be taken to apply mutatis mutandis to all these smaller minorities.

In all constitutions based upon the principle of responsible Government, it is the Legislature (or Parliament) representing the people which wields supreme political power, for the Executive is responsible to itself. Consequently, for any safeguards to be politically effective, the composition of the Legislature must be such that the minorities have adequate and effective representation therein. Many methods of such minority representation are known to political science; and one or more of such methods have found their way to actual practice in various constitutions all the world over; e.g., separate electorates, point electorates with reservation of seats, proportional representation (on the

Hare or Andrae or other models), cumulative vote, limited vote, etc.

In India, in the actual development of its constitutional history, proportional representation (with its variants) has hardly been made use of, except on a very limited scale (e.g., in the election of members to the Upper House from the Lower House in the Provinces, for instance). The main reason for mon-adoption has been that the "choices" or "preferences" in the multi-member constituencies involved in this system are hardly understood by the vast majority of the electorate who are mostly ignorant and uninformed, and also because of the great complexities in counting votes on the "single transferable vote" system, with its "quotas" and "surpluses" and "transfers" to the "continuing" candidates. The cumulative vote and the limited vote system, too, have been rejected as unsatisfactory,

Practically, the choice has lain between separate electorates on the one hand, and joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities on the other.

There are arguments on both sides. Those who prefer separate electorates for the minorities do so on the ground that the candidates returned on this basis will really represent the minds, the ideals and the interests of the minorities concerned; while, on the joint electorates with reservation basis, the candidates returned with the help of the majority community votes are likely to be merely "stooges" "puppets" of the latter, and will not be real representatives of the minorities concerned. There is much substance in this point of view. And as a matter of historical fact, the Muslim League has been the stoutest champions of this point of view ever since the days of the Morley-Minto Reforms; it has consistently rejected joint electorates with reservation of seats for the safeguarding of Muslim interests. Even the modified form of such joint electorates with reservation—suggested by the late Maulana Muhammad Ali-to the effect that the candidate must obtain at least 40 per cent of the votes cast by his own community, did not find favour with the Muslim League. The Muslim League stood firm in its demand for separate electorates with weightage in its favour, and got it sanctioned both by the Indian National Congress and the British Government (vide, the Lucknow Pact and the Communal Award).

Those who dislike the system of separate communal electorates do so on the ground that it is likely to stimulate and perpetuate communal separatism and retard the growth of the sentiment of a common nationality. This argument, too, has great force, but only in a State like the Indian Union, for instance, which is professedly and (one might say) almost ostentationally a Secular State, but not in a State like Pakistan, which is admittedly based upon the fundamental concept of Hindus and Muslims as distinct Nationalities and is thus in effect a multi-national State with only the bond of common citizenship bind-

ing them together. Hence the system of separate electorates with weightage for the Hindu minority forms the only logical basis of communal representation in Pakistan.

With respect to the Depressed Classes among the Hindus (now styled the Scheduled Castes), they constitute an integral part of the Hindu community, upon which devolves the responsibility of improving their condition and removing their social disabilities, if any. As the Donoughmore report put it pithily, "The enfranchisement of the Depressed Classes and the provision of equal adequate educational facilities are the true remedies for their condition." Untouchability, as such, might be declared unlawful, and not recognized by the State as being inconsistent with human dignity. If that be done, only the minor social disabilities would remain. These too would fast disappear under the impact of enlightened public opinion amongst the Upper Caste Hindus, who will naturally try to remove the backwardness of their depressed brethren, if for nothing else, at least in their own interests to strengthen the Hindu minority as a whole. Consequently, it is not necessary to have safeguards separately for the Scheduled Castes of the Hindu community, and the safeguards suggested are accordingly intended for the Hindu community as a whole (including its Scheduled Castes).

As to the precise figures for such separate electorates and weightage for the minorities, I shall confine myself to the Central Pakistan Dominion and the province of East Bengal; for I am not conversant with the present state of things in the provinces of West Pakistan, radically modified as their population-figures have been on account of the disturbances in that region.

In East Bengal, the Hindus constitute about 30 per cent of the entire population, and at the Centre, about 20 per cent. I would accordingly suggest that Hindu representation in the Legislature of East Bengal should be 40 per cent, and in that of the Centre 33½ per cent of the entire strength. The weightages in favour of the Hindus implied by these figures are exceedingly moderate compared to the weightages enjoyed by the Muslims (where they were in a minority) for the last thirty years. The following figures of Muslim representation in the various Assemblies, Provincial and Central, under the Government of India Act (1935) will bear out the above statement:

| | Seats due on | Seats allotted |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| | population basis | under the Act |
| Madras | . 17 | 29 |
| Bombay | 16 | 30 · |
| U. P. | 35 | 66 |
| Bihar | 20 | 40 |
| C. P. (with | Berar) 5 | 14 |
| Orissa. | 1 | 4 |
| Centre | 67 | 82 |

As to the other minorities (e.g., Buddhists, Tadian Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc.), I would suggest 5 per cent seats for all of them taken together, both in East Bengal and at the Centre. These allocations would still leave the majority of seats (55 per cent in East Bengal and about 62 per cent at the Centre) for the Muslim majority community.

These figures should as far as possible be reflected in the formation of the Cabinet Executive also—the ratio of Hindu Ministers to Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet should be 40: 60 in East Bengal and 1: 2 at the Centre. If the Legislature and the Executive are constituted on this basis, there will be a returning sense of confidence, fair-play and self-respect in the minds of the Hindu minority which at the present moment is so sadly lacking.

Secondly, as to economic safeguards.

In the economic sphere, much can be done to safe-guard the interests of the minorities and instil a sense of confidence into them if the Fundamental Rights of equal and impartial treatment of all citizens are strictly enforced. If there is no discrimination in the matter, say, of granting permits and trade licenses, of the assessment of income-taxes and other rates, of arranging trade facilities and Banking transactions, etc., then the sense of uneasiness that is sitting like a nightmare upon the Hindu minority will disappear over-night. But these are matters of administration and can be hardly embodied in a constitution; these really depend upon the spirit in which the administration is actually carried on by the officers concerned.

But something can be done regarding the manner in which those officers are recruited by the State. As in the Legislature and Executive, so in the matter of officer recruitment, subject of course to the primary requirement of efficiency and qualifications, communal ratios can be laid down. And in this connection, too, I would suggest the same ratios as before, viz., the ratio of Hindu to Muslim officers recruited every year to be in the ratio of 40: 60 in East Bengal, and in the ratio of 1: 2 in the Central Services. How the absence of officers belonging to one's own community affects the morale of that community hardly needs any stressing, in view of the utter demoralization that set in in the wake of the partition as a result of the ill-advised "option" that was practically forced upon the officers of both the new-born Dominions.

Thirdly, as to religious, educational, social and cultural safeguards.

In this domain, too, if the Fundamental Rights guarantee freedom of worship, freedom in the practice of religious rites and ceremonies, social customs and usages, cultural and educational activities, and complete religious toleration, and these rights are enforced in an impartial manner, the religious, educational, social and cultural interests of the Hindu nation will be adequately safeguarded.

Besides these Fundamental Rights embodied in the constitution, another safeguard for the cultural and religious interests and personal laws and usages of the minority may be devised. In fact, such a safeguard was demanded on behalf of the Muslim League by its President, Mr. Jinnah, in one of his famous "Fourteen points"; and it runs thus:

"No Bill or Resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such Bill or Resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be increased to the interests of that community."

The Cabinet Mission sent out by the British Government in 1946, too, embodied such a safeguard in its proposals of May 16, 1946, in paragraph 15, clause (2), as follows:

"Any question raising a communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

Fourthly, as to methods that might make the safe-guards effective, there might be brought into existence a "Communal Council" to protect the cultural interests of the minority community (as discussed in the Nehru Report of 1928)—a standing Minority Board, whose function would be the supervision of educational institutions, orphanages, widows' homes, temples and Maths, Dharamsalas and Scrais, etc., of the Hindu community; and the encouragement of their languages, scripts, literature and other cultural activities; and its other important duty would be to bring to the immediate notice of the authorities any instances of injustice, oppression, unfair discrimination, etc., that may be done to the Hindus, so that their grievances may be remedied without delay.

Fifthly, these safeguards, political, economic and cultural, will have to be continued for a pretty long time, at least for a generation (or, say, twenty-five years) to come; and the question of their elimination (or of some of them) can only be seriously considered when the feeling of nervousness and the sense of inferiority have been totally removed from the minds of the Hindu minority as a result of the continued good and sympathetic attitude of the Muslim majority.

Sixthly, with respect to other safeguards for the minorities, I would suggest that in all elective bodies, like Municipalities, District Boards, etc., the same system of separate electorates be followed; and the formula recommended in the late Deshabandhu Das's famous Bengal Hindu-Muslim Pact of 1923 be adopted; viz., that the minority seats and the majority seats be in the ratio of 40: 60 throughout the Municipalities, District Boards, etc., whichever community may be in the minority.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the very emphatic manner in which the rights of the minorities were sought to be safeguarded in the celebrated resolution of the Muslim League at its Lahore session, held on the 26th March, 1940—the session which marked an epoch in modern Indian history by its adoption of Pakistan as the constitutional goal of the Indian Muslims; and it runs thus:

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for the minorities in Pakistan for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them."

Brave and generous and re-assuring words these; and if the leaders of the majority community in the Dominion of Pakistan act up to the spirit of this declaration and ensure by their attitude and conduct that all the legitimate safeguards that the minorities want will be vouchasfed unto them, and that the minorities will have nothing to fear in the pursuit of their normal avocations with dignity and self-respect, then one can hope that in the fulness of time all the uneasiness, the defeatism, the bitterness that is poisoning the political atmosphere today will pass away, and the new Dominion will launch upon a progressive and prosperous career with the goodwill of all its citizens and the blessings of Providence.*

* Memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan-

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LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By SUDHANSU MUKHERJI, Advocate, High Court

UNDER Section 290 of the Government of India Act of 1935, as adapted by the India (Provincial Constitution) Order of 1947, the Governor-General may by Order create a new Province, increase the area of any province, diminish the area of any province and alter the boundaries of any province, provided that before making any such Order the Governor-General shall ascertain the views of the Government of any province which will be affected by the Order, both with respect to proposal to make the Order and with respect to the provisions to be inserted therein. And it is provided by Section 8 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, that except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion, each of the new Dominions (i.e., India and Pakistan) and all provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that the provisions of that Act shall, so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of Indian Independence Act, 1947, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General, have effect accordingly.

Thus, under the law as it stands at present, the Governor-General has ample powers to increase the area of or to alter the boundaries of a province. There is only one restriction, that is to say, he has got to ascertain the views of the Government of the province that may be affected. It does not mean that the Governor-General is bound by such views.

In the case of West Bengal and Bihar, the matter of the alteration of the boundaries should be beyond the pale of controversy.

The Congress is now in office and can put the saddle on the right horse. The Congress unanimously passed in the 1911 Sessions a resolution stating interalla that

"In readjusting the provincial boundaries the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

There is no reason why the Congress should not in 1968 swear by the 1911 resolution. If there can be no opposition between reason and common sense, the dismemberment of Bengal should make it clear that there is great reason in what West Bengal claims for.

On top of it the leading lights of the province of Bihar (to be affected by the Order of the Governor-General) published a statement in 1912 suggesting that "the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal."

If still any one in Bihar now recant the Congress resolution and show truculence, India should not lose a moment to restore the recalcitrant to reason, and also take immediate action under Section 290 of the Government of India Act.

Dr. Ambedkar points out the necessity of taking such steps in his letter to the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly. This is what he writes in paragraph 20 of his letter;

"I would invite special attention to Part I of the First Schedule and the foot-note thereto. If Andhra or any other linguistic region is to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted, steps will have to be taken immediately to make them into separate Governors' provinces under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the Draft Constitution is finally passed. Of course, the new Constitution itself contains provisions for the creation of new States but this will be after the new Constitution comes into operation."

Part I of the First Schedule enumerates the present nine Governors' provinces and states that these are the territories known immediately before the commencement of this Constitution as the Governors' provinces. There is a long foot-note which will at once show that the "clamour" of West Bengal is not at all inopportune. Nor can it be said that her claim is anyway extravagant.

The foot-note reads as follows:

"The Committee has anxiously considered the question whether Andhra should be specifically mentioned as a separate State in this Schedule. These was recently a statement by the Government on this subject, in which it was said that Andhra could be included among the provinces in the Constitution as was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Government of India Act, 1985. Accordingly, the Committee was at one stage inclined to mention. Andhra as a distinct State in

however, the Schedule. On fuller consideration, the Committee feels that the bare mention of the State in the Schedule will not suffice to bring it into being from the commencement of the new Constitution. Preparatory steps will have to be taken immediately under the present Constitution in order that the new State, with all the machinery of Government, may be in being from the commencement of the new Constitution. This was what was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Act of 1935; they were made into separate provinces with effect from April 1, 1936, while the Act came into operation on April 1, 1937. The Committee therefore recommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new States whose formation it may recommend to be created under Section 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted."

Dr. Ambedkar as Chairman of the Drafting Committee made these observations on 21.2.48 when he submitted the Draft of the new Constitution of India to the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly of India.

Have Government of India, in accordance with the recommendation of the Draft Committee, appointed any Commission "to work out or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions"? If no such Commission have yet been appointed as regards "other linguistic region," do not our National Government owe an explanation to us? It cannot be said that the recommendation emanated from a handful of wicked agitators. The recommendation emanated from distinguished and responsible men of the day Ambedkar, Gopalaswami Ayengar, Alladi and Munshi and others who constituted the Draft Committee and who had a long session before they forwarded their views to the authorities. If Government have not yet taken any steps, let us hope that it is not due to any disinclination on their part to accept the recommendation of that illustratious Committee.

Pandit Nehru in one of his Ooty speeches declared that he refused to be rushed. But Dr. Ambedkar and the other members of the Draft Committee took a different view and recommended the appointment of a Commission to work out all relevant matters and to submit its report before the Constitution is finally adopted.

With respect to Panditii, I should like to submit that there should be no further adjournment of the case of West Bengal and my reason are as follows;

(i) Hindi is being disseminated so vigorously that it is apprehended that by the time Panditji may take up the claim of West Bengal (as I stated on another occasion) he will perhaps find no vestiges of Bengali in any part of Bihar. So long Rihari was only an additional Court language in Manbhum. Bengali really occupied the pride of place. It is now understood that henceforth Bihari is the only language

that will hold the field in the law-courts of those places.

- (ii) The provisions contained in the New Draft are far more complicated than those stated in Section 290 of the Government of India Act. They are thus bound to cause enormous delay. But West Bengul cannot afford to wait any longer.
- (iii) The Draft Constitution contains provisions relating to the creation and administration of Scheduled and Tribal areas and it is obvious that the Singbhum and Santhal Parganas districts are bound to present a number of very hard nuts to crack

I should like to take just a bird's-eye view of the provisions of the Draft Constitution corresponding to Section 290 of the present Act in order to impress upon all that if you postpone the case of West Bengal, you will perhaps defeat her claims altogether.

Under Article 3 of the Draft Constitution Parliament may by law increase or decrease the area of any State or alter the boundaries thereof: Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House except by the Government of India and unless (a) either

- (i) a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representatives of the territory in the Legislature of the State from which the territory is to be separated or excluded; or
- (ii) a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any State whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill; and
- (b) Where the views of the Legislature of the State whose boundaries or name would be affected by the Bill are ascertained by the President both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions thereof.

A bare reading of these draft provisions and of the existing provisions embodied in Section 290 of the Government of India Act hereinbefore reproduced should make it crystal clear that to put off West Bengal's case is practically to smother a decision thereof.

There are now two mighty sons of Bengal in the New Delhi Cabinet. It is their sacred duty to take up the cudgels for West Bengal with courage and tact. They must not fail their country in need. If any of their colleagues take a mistaken view of West Bengal's claim, it is their bounden duty to take their courage in both hands and point out his mistake then and there.

West Bengal is down on her luck, Radcliffe has ripped her up. Her troubles are too many, If she want to live, her lost territories must forthwith he restituted to her.

The authorities at New Delhi should realise that this is a very live issue in West Bengal. They must not touch her on the raw. They must show sympathy and they must proceed boldly and decide justly.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GREAT POWERS' VETO

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.,

Deputy Secretary, Calcutta Association for the United Nations

If the United Nations, like its predecessor, the League of Nations, fails to achieve its purposes, the failure, I think, will mainly be due to its provisions relating to the rule of "Great Power Unanimity," more popularly known as the "Veto." In fact, recent comments on the United Nations are mostly directed against this Veto.

But what is this Veto?

To understand this we must refer ourselves to the Charter of the United Nations. There in the Article 27 we find that

"Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote," that "Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members" and that "Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members."

The same Article further provides that

"In decisions under Chapter VI and under paragraph 3 of Article 52," that is to say, when the Council is taking measures for pacific settlement, "a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting."

Now, as it is well-known, the Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations. Of them, the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America are permanent members of the Security Council and the General Assembly elects six other members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council for a term of two years. Thus it uppears that under Article 27 of the Charter any one of the Big Five could block any action by the Security Council except in two cases: First, no Great Power may veto decisions on matters which are recognised as 'procedural'; and secondly, no Great Power may even vote on decisions solely concerned with pacific settlement, if it is itself a party to the dispute; for in such a case the disputant Great Power is required to abstain from voting at all.

But these limits on the right of veto are not at all substantial. There is no official definition of 'procedural matters.' It is, of course, true that on June 7, 1945, at the San Francisco Conference, the delegations of the four sponsoring Governments of Britain, China, U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. in a statement suggested that procedural matters include the following: adoption and alteration of the rules of procedure of the Security Council, selection of times and places of special and regular meetings of the Security Council, establishment of such agencies as the Council may deem necessary for the performance

of its functions, organising the Council in such a way as to enable it to function continuously, determination of the method of selecting the President of the Council, invitation of a member of the organisation not represented on the Security Council to participate in its discussions when that member's interests are specially affected, and invitation of any state when it is a party to a dispute being considered by the Council to participate in the discussion relating to that dispute." But since this statement was not formally accepted by the San Francisco Conference as the official interpretation of Article 27, it is obvious that any of the Great Powers may consider themselves as not bound by that interpretation. The Delegations of the sponsoring Governments believed that the Charter itself contained an indication of the application of the voting procedures to the various functions of the Council and thought it unlikely that there would arise in the future any matters of great importance on which a decision would have to be made as to whether a procedural vote would apply,

"Should, however, such a matter arise," they maintained, "the decision regarding the preliminary question as to whether or not such a matter is procedural must be taken by a vote of seven members of Security Council, including the concurring votes of the permanent members."

If we turn to the Provisional rules of Procedure of the Security Council adopted by it at its first meeting and amended at its forty-eighth meeting, there also we do not find further clarification of 'procedural matters.' There it is only stated that

"Voting in the Security Council shall be in accordance with the relevant Articles of the Charter and of the Statute of the International Court of Justice."

Let us then study the different Articles of the Charter and the Statute to get an idea as to the extent of the right of the Big Five to exercise a veto in the decisions of the Security Council. Now any one who studies the Articles from this point of view will simply be surprised by the bewildering variety of matters which may be and in many cases have already been considered as non-procedural or substantive:

(1) A state may be admitted to the membership of the United Nations, expelled from it and have its rights and privileges suspended and later on restored only on the basis of a decision of the Security Council and any one of the Big Five may exercise a veto in all these cases.

- 2. Yearbook of the United Nations, p. 24 and United Nations Charter, Arts. 28-32.
 - 3. Yearbook of the United Nations, p. 25.
 - 4, Ibid., p. 457.
 - 5. United Nations Charter, Arts. 4, 5, 6.

^{1.} United Nations Charter, Art. 28.

- (2) Special sessions of the General Assembly may be convoked by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the request of the Security Council and any one of the Big Five may exercise a Veto.
- (3) The Security Council deals only with those disputes or situations which if allowed to continue are "likely to endanger" in its opinion the maintenance of international peace and security. Any one of the Big I'ive may claim a veto on decisions as to this likelihood."
- (4) When the Security Council deals with a dispute as a problem of pacific settlement under Chapter VI of the Charter, it is true that the disputant Great Power may not vote; but obviously any Great Power could have its veto right if it is not disputant, that is to say, not a party to the dispute.
- (5) When however the Security Council deals with a dispute not as a matter for pacific settlement but as a matter requiring action on its part to enforce its decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, then a Great Power, even though party to the disputer recovers its right of veto, which it might have lost during the discussion of the subject in the Security Council as a matter for pacific settlement.
- (6) "All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreement and of their alteration and amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council" and "The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas." In all these decisions of the Security Council any one of the Rig Five could exercise its veto.
- (7) "A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." But there could be no recommendation of the Security Council, if any one of the Big Five liked to exercise its right of yeto.
- (8) The Sceurity Council may, if it decems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment of the International Court of Justice, if any party to a case fails to perform the obligations imposed upon it under the judgment. But then there might be no agreement among the Big Five and any one of them might exercise its right of veto.
 - 6. Ibid., Art. 20.
 - 7. Ibid., Acts. 33, 34,
 - 8. Ibid., Art. 65.
 - 9. Ibid., Art. 98.

- (9) The Security Council may approach the International Court of Justice with a request to give an advisory opinion on any legal question. But on account of the veto right of the Big Five there might be no such request to facilitate action in international affairs.
- (10) Even the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations might not be filled as a result of a veto in the Security Council.*
- (11) Any amendment or alteration of the Charter of the United Nations may not be possible, if only any one of the Big Five did not like any amendment or alteration and therefore exercised its right of veto.¹³
- (12) The Security Council could, where appropriate, utilise regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no use could be made of such regional bodies, if there were no unaumity among the Lig Five.¹⁴
- (13) The conditions under which a state which is a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice but is not a Member of the United Nations may participate in electing the Court are, in the absence of a special agreement, to be laid down by the General "Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." Here also the veto might be applied by any one of the Big Five.
- (14) Under certain circumstances the Security Council is required to fix a period within which elections to the International Court of Justice are to be held. But any one of the Big Five might so apply its veto that no such date could be fixed.¹⁰
- (16) The Security Council could lay down conditions under which the International Court of Justice would be open to the states which are not parties to the Statutes of the International Court of Justice. Here also the Veto might apply.¹⁰

This is a fairly exhaustive list of matters which under the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice may be considered as non-procedural or substantive and therefore subject to the veto power of the Big Five.

The second limitation upon the Great Powers' veto is not at all important. It simply states that when the Security Council is dealing with a dispute as a problem of pacific settlement under Chapter VI of the Charter, a Great Power which is a party to the dispute may not vote. But obviously the Great Power will have its right of veto, if it is not a party to the dispute, Besides, when the Security Council's decision would involve action under Chapter VII of the Charter, then the Great Power, even though party to the dispute, recovers its right of veto. Moreover, as the Russians

^{11.} Ibid., Art. 96.

^{12.} Ibid., Art. 97.

^{13.} Ibid., Arts. 108 and 109.

^{14,} Ibid., Art. 53.

^{15.} Statute of the International Court of Fustice, Ast. 4

^{16.} Ibid., Arts, 12 and 14.

^{17. 1564.,} Azt. 85.

have pointed out, Art. 27 of the Charter refers only to a 'dispute' but not to a 'situation', and under Arts. 34 and 35 the Security Council is empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. The Russians have, therefore, claimed that the limitation of the veto right applies only to disputes, and not to situations, and further that decisions as to which label should be stuck on are not procedural, but substantive and, therefore, subject to the veto.

One is almost tempted to say that there is veto here, there and everywhere in the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Let it be remembered further that the matters in respect to which the Security Council is expected to decide and therefore the veto may be applied are not only numerous but also of vital importance to the United Nations. The Security Council has the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security", and in view of this importance of the functions of the Security Council the Members of the United Nations have agreed to accept and carry out its decisions in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.19 The decisions of all other bodies of the United Nations are nothing more than recommendations. It is only the decisions of the Security Council which are binding, even though these decisions may relate to matters which may be considered by a Member State as falling within its domestic jurisdiction."

I do not deny that the United Nations experiment in respect of the veto represents a definite improvement upon the League of Nations. Under Art. XV of the League Covenant substantive decisions of the League of Nations Council could be taken only by the unanimous vote of all its members, permanent or nonpermanent with the exception only of parties to a dispute. However, it was under Art. XI of the Covenant that most of the disputes brought before the League were dealt with and decisions to make investigations taken, and there the unanimity rule was invariably interpreted to include even the votes of the parties to a dispute. The voting formula under the Charter of the United Nations substitutes for the rule of complete unanimity of the League Council a system of qualified majority voting in the Security Council. Under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations nonpermanent members of the Security Council individually can have no veto. There is nothing new in the veto right which the Great Powers now possess under the Charter of the United Nations, It is a right which the permanent members of League Council always had. It I do not even forget that the Charter of the United Nations does not allow the Big Five to act in complete independence of all the rest in the Security Council-Even under the unanimity requirement, the Big Five must be able to carry with them at least two of the non-permanent members in the Security Council. Thus if the non-permanent members in the Security Council could act as a group, they also could exercise a veto.²⁸

I even concede that some sort of an argument could be put forward on behalf of the Big Five for their possession of the right of veto. The Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council a governmental responsibility for taking decisions that might involve major political consequences for all the members, especially for those who command great power in international politics. The Great Powers, especially U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and United Kingdom thought that it would be an excessive dose of "world government" to allow the Security Council to decide and act on the basis of the usual democratic principle of majority rule, because the structure of the Security Council did not recognise the greatness of the Great Powers whether in respect of population or in respect of real power. This view was clearly stated by the British Government in their Foreign Office commentary on the Charter of the United Nations.28

"At least until some system is worked out and accepted by the majority of States ensuring that votes in a Council represent both the population and the real power of State, the special position which has been granted to the Great Powers for more than a century must be maintained."

After all this has been said I find it still difficult to accept the view that the voting formula in the Security Council affords any sound basis for the building up of a reliable system of collective security in the modern world. There is an inherent defect in the formula adopted. Disputes in international politics may not be always pacifically settled. It is obviously necessary that in some cases at least decisions about pacific settlement should be followed by enforcement action. As Mr. W. Arnold Foster has said:

"The Council ought not to make corporate decisions of importance unless it can be reasonably sure of being able to follow them through without being blocked at a later stage by the veto. Thus the fear of the veto permeates the whole system. Such a system has paralysis in its blood. It is like a car whose starter is apt at any time to engage the mechanism for switching the engine off."

The machine for maintaining peace is thus very ill-designed. In fact, it has been also very ill-used. The

night, therefore, be reasonably expected that, other things being equal, the voting formula in the Security Council would make the operation of the Council less subject to obstruction than was the case under the League of Nations rule of complete unanimity.²¹

^{. 16.} United Nations Charges, Art. 24 (1).

^{18.} Billi, Art. M. Ser. Company

^{20. 1544.} Ant. 25 and Art. 2 (7).

^{21.} Yearbook of the United Nations, p. 24.

^{22.} Ibid., p. 24.

^{23.} Cmd. 6666.

^{26.} The Political Querterly, Vol. XIX, No. 1

Russians have already used their veto power for about twenty-five times.

There is not only paralysis in the system; it is based on the vicious anarchical principle of conceding to each Great Power a wide license to be judge in its own cause, and thus violates the principle of 'equality before law.'*

Finally, the formula is such that sanctions are now possible only when they are least likely to be necessary. The Charter allows any Great Power to veto all decisions on disputes to which it is not directly a party. Obviously a Great Power may choose a 'client' state and proceed to shield it by the veto. The ill-will that has already been generated between the communist East and the non-communist West does not encourage us to believe in the hypothesis that in a critical situation the Great Powers would agree "in lifting the Charter's sword to protect the common peace."

What then should we do in relation to the Veto?

I think there are four alternative courses of action. First, we might simply do nothing for the present and take up rather an attitude of "wait and see." Secondly, we might ask the Great Powers to agree among themselves to regard certain subjects as procedural, not substantive, and thus liberalise the veto. Thirdly, failing such an agreement among the Great Powers, we might attempt to circumvent the veto so that peace at any rate could be maintained and aggression stopped. Finally, we could even take steps of changing the Charter itself.

Those who advise us to "wait and see" believe that time is not yet for any change at this early stage in the life of the United Nations. They argue that we are passing through a period of dangerous tension between the communist East and the non-communist West and that in a critical situation like this we should do all that is possible to limit the burden put on the Security Council and to discourage all forms of challenge to yetce lest tension between the two blocs might be increased.

But I think the argument advanced for a policy of "wait and see" ought to lead us to a contrary conclusion of doing something urgently for establishing a reliable basis of collective security. If the faith of the peoples in the United Nations is not to wither away, if in fact, U.N.O. is not to fiddle, while the world burns, something must be done to remove the veto. Otherwise, the system that is designed to act as a brake may suddenly break the machine, throw the world into flames and leave us completely helpless.

The Interim Committee, more popularly known as the Little Assembly, appointed by the General Assembly at its second session in 1947 to consider among other things also the question of veto has received from the Governments of China, Britain, U.S.A. and Canada certain suggestions based apparently

on a policy of liberalising the voto. The Chinese proposal lists four decisions which should be regarded as procedural and therefore not subject to yeto. These are: (a) The determination of whether a question brought before the Council is a situation or a dispute; (b) the determination of whether a member of the Council is party to a dispute and thereby required to abstain from voting; (c) the fixing of conditions under which a state not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice; and (d) a request to the Court to give an advisory opinion. It is also suggested in the Chinese proposal that the Assembly should make a recommendation to the permanent members of the Security Council to waive their veto right in all proceedings arising under Chapter VI of the Charter, the pacific settlement of disputes. It is further proposed that whenever the Council fails to adopt a resolution voted for by a majority of seven or more members, including four of the permanent members, a special session of the Assembly to consider the question might be called at the request of such a majority, provided the question is removed from the agenda of the Council.20

The essence of the British proposal is also a similar "code of conduct". The British suggestions are in fact a revised version of a memorandum submitted by the Foreign Secretary Bevin at the Council of Foreign Ministers in November 1946. The point in the original memorandum dealing with an abstention not being considered as a veto has been omitted, because that practice is new recognised in the Council. It is now proposed that there should be an agreement among the Big Five to consult each other where possible before a vote is taken, if their unanimity is required to enable the Council to function effectively. If unanimity is not achieved, it might be agreed that the minority of the permanent members would exercise the veto only where they consider the question of vital importance to the United Nations as a whole, and they would explain on what grounds they consider this condition to be present. Further, the United Kingdom proposes that the permanent members might agree not to exercise their veto against a proposal simply because it does not go far enough to satisfy them. It is also proposed that another agreement among the permanent members might be to the effect that questions should be brought before the Council only after other means of settlement have been tried, and that they must then be presented in proper form. The permanent members might also agree, according to the United Kingdom proposal, that they would support further rules to provide that for the consideration of any question the Council should appoint a rapporteur or a committee of some of its members to make a further attempt at conciliation before resorting to the final discussion and voting. The last point in the United Kingdom proposal suggests a formula for the definition of a "dispute."

^{25.} Ibid., p. 48.

^{26.} Ibid., pp. 43-44.

^{27. * 1518.,} p. 66.

The United States also considers that to liberalise the veto is a more practical procedure than to amend the Charter and that on the most important decisions on enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter unanimity is a necessity and corresponds to the political realities of the international situation. The United States therefore proposes that the Interim Committee should study the categories of decisions which the Council is required to make and should submit to the General Assembly a list of categories of decisions which should be taken by an affirmative vote of any seven members of the Council, whether or not they are regarded as procedural or non-procedural. In a provisional list of 31 such categories the United States includes decisions with respect to such matters as the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the pacific settlement of disputes, and obtaining the assistance of other organs such as the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice. The United States further favours mutual agreement by the permanent members of the Security Council to follow such voting procedures, and consultation among themselves wherever feasible concerning important decisions to be taken by the Council."

Canada also does not favour any attempt to amend the Charter until the possibilities of reforming the Voting procedure within the present frame-work are exhausted. Nor does it like to accept indefinite postponement of any solution or the ignoring of all proposals put forward in the General Assembly. Canada wants that not only should the means of restricting the veto be considered, but also that positive steps should be taken to improve the over-all procedures of the Council. Canada therefore proposes that (a) when a state brings a dispute or situation to the attention of the Council, it should submit a written statement showing how continuance of the dispute or situation might endanger international peace and security, and what steps the parties had taken on their own toward a peaceful solution; (b) that the Council should work out agreed procedures to ensure that the question of its jurisdiction in a dispute or situation which is restricted by the Charter to those which are likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, is settled at an early stage; (c) that the rules and practices of the Council should be based on a recognition of its obligation to deal with disputes and situations within its jurisdiction, for the Council's primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security was conferred on it by the Members of the United Nations in order to ensure prompt and effective action; and (d) that the Council should work out agreed procedures to ensure that no state is judge in its own cause."

It is easy to see that in none of these proposals there is any suggestion of abolishing the veto altogether. The essential merit of all these suggestions is that they

could be easily accepted by the Great Powers, if they so liked. In fact, the Great Powers are not being asked in any of these suggestions to surrender their vital privilege of veto. But this privilege of the few may mean disaster for the many, if in a critical situation requiring urgent action the machine designed to establish peace is paralysed by the use of veto by any of the Big Five. Even if a country be subject to aggression by another country, nothing could be done by the Security Council, if the Big Five could not agree among themselves.

Here comes the proposals for "circumventing the veto." One such proposal has come from the directors of the American Association for the United Nations. They propose that the U.S.A., "pursuant to its freedomunder Article 51," should declare as a national policy that, if the Assembly finds that a Member is the victim of armed attack and that the Security Council has failed to discharge its responsibilities for maintaining peace, the U.S.A. will "in co-operation with other nations so inclined, take measures which it deems necessary in support of the nation so attacked. In case the U.S. deems action necessary before the General Assembly can meet, and gives assistance to the nation attacked, it will report both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. It will be prepared to abide by the General Assembly's decision as to whether such aid should be continued."32 I think this freedom of action is permissible under Article 51 of the Charter, which says that

Nothing in the Charter "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The paralysis in the system is thus being removed by removing the centre of decision and action from the Security Council to an outside authority.

But the difficulty is that in the modern world this type of action in self-defence is possible only when great nations like U.S.A. are prepared to help the victim or victims of aggression. Besides, it may not be safe to transfer the judgment whether aggression is being prepared or committed from the Centre of the United Nations, that is, the Security Council to the individual Members or the majority vote in a Committee less representative than the Security Council.

We are thus left with the last alternative of changing the Charter, But perhaps the Great Powers will not agree to any textual amendment of the Charter. The veto is for them a privilege, and the privileged never give up their privilege unless they are forced to do so.

^{30.} Hid., p. 279.

If we turn to Articles 108 and 109 we will find that veto is being guarded by veto. It is not even possible to expel any of the Big Five from the United Nations nor to suspend the rights and privileges of any one of them."

From this point of view it is easy to see that the New Zealand proposal for an amendment of the Charter with the specific purpose of providing that the concurring votes of only four of the five permanent members of the Council would be required in reaching a Council decision is an impractical proposition." Argentipe makes a peculiar suggestion for amending the Charter. It proposes the summoning of a General Conference of the Members of the United Nations in order to study the privilege of veto with a view to its abolition. Under Article 109 of the Charter any alteration of the Charter recommended by a two-third vote of such a Conference would take effect when ratified by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Dr. Jose Arce, representative of Argentine, however, argues that once an amendment is ratified by two-thirds of the Member States, it should then become the law of the United Nations. Those nations which do not agree will have their sovereign right of withdrawing from the organisation, if they so desire.**

But what Dr. Jose Arce seems to have forgotten is that the Members who do not agree to the amendment proposed have also the sovereign right of staying in the United Nations.

- 33. United Nations Charter, Arts. 5 and 6.
- 34. United Nations Bulletin, Vol. 1V, No. 7, p. 271.
- 35. Ibid., p. 271.

It seems to me that some political action on an international scale, it may be some form of non-cooperation against the permanent members of the Security Council, may have to be restored to to bring them to a reasonable frame of mind so that they agree to surrender their veto power. Here two courses of action could be suggested. First, the non-permanent members of the Security Council could approach the permanent members with the proposal that if the latter did not surrender their veto power, the former might as a matter of policy decide to veto all the decisions of the Security Council.

Thus we could meet the Great Powers' veto (which each of the Great Powers is entitled to even individually) by the Small Powers' veto (which they can exercise if they act together as a group). Secondly, if the Small Powers' veto was not sufficient to change the attitude of the Big Five, or if in any case, the Small Powers in the Security Council did not act together, the Members who want to break the deadlock might notify their intention of withdrawing from the United Nations.

Let me state it clearly that I am not an enemy of the United Nations. But I am convinced that unless something is done to reform the machine and to make it more effective for international action, peoples' faith in it will wither away. Once the veto is removed it will not be difficult to introduce further changes with a view to make it more and more democratic. What I want is a democratic world-state, which the United Nations is not, and which it also cannot be so long as the veto remains to stem the growth of this international organism.

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THE NEW MONROE DOCTRINE

By P. L. MEHRA, N.A.

Even as free India was being born out of the womb of time, she took a stride that surprised friend and foe alike. The raising of the Dutch-Indonesian question before the Security Council of the U.N.O. heralded indeed a new phase in Asian—nay in world history. On behalf of the down-trodden, submerged humanity in a far-fining corner of the Indian Ocean we took up cudgels. What is more, we followed this up with a clarion call: "Foreign armies have no business to stay on Asian soil.... we shall not tolerate foreign troops operating in Asian countries." Nehru's words were clear and emphatic. Here was a new Monroe Docprine of the East, a driving of the first nail in the coffin of European Imperialism in this part of the globe.

A reference, however brief, to the Mouroe Doctrine, in the context especially of events that led up to it, would help considerably in a more correct appraisal of its present version.

Much as 1945 with the defeat of Nazi Germany presented Europe with a skein of highly entangled and complex issues issues that have baffled solution so far. 1815 with the defeat of Napoleonic France faced Europe and its "Big Four" (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria) with an equally bewildering variety of new problems. Not the least important among these was the question of the vast South-American possessions of Spain. Overrun by Napoleon and his proteges, honeycombed with Monarchist intrigues, beset with the most urgent problem of national rehabilitation, Wellington's Peninsular campaigns had spelled rack and ruin. Spain was discased at once of limb and body. For her it was difficult, if not indeed impossible, to recover the dominions that sprawled across the span of oceans. In that hour of dire need, royalist and resurgent France, the pld neighbour across the Pyrenees, aided and abetted by the powers of the Haly Alliance (Austria, Russia and Prussia), same to her fescue. It was decided that expeditionary forces be dispatched and Spain's lost possessions be reclaimed.

Just then President Monroe of the United States of America in a message to Congress made a veiled reference to these designs. His people, he declarel, could not look with equanimity upon European Powers 'interfering' in any part of the American hemisphere. America, in other words, would not take it lying down. It was a brave, a revolutionary, declaration that set the European dovecots a-flutter. And yet for all their holdness the words of President Monroe or the sentiments of his people could not have stood in the way of the troops of the Holy Alliance. America then, a shrivelled-up state of hardly 20 colonics, was not what she is to-day. She hadn't the wherewithel to meet the challenge.

Britain came to America's aid. For motives, a jumble at once of altruistic and mundane, she decided to underwrite the Monroe doctrine. The naval squadrons of the 'Mistress of the Seas' blockaded the path of the expeditionary forces. What was more Britain hastened to recognise the 'independence' of the 'republics'. Canning could indeed say, as he did, that he had called a New World into being to redress the balance of the Old. What he forgot to say was that the rough outlines of his brave New World had been drawn by his great counterpart across the Atlantic.

It would be beyond the scope of this short essay to examine all that the Monroe doctrine has entailed in subsequent history; pan-Americanism, Yankee Imperialism, the Big Stick policy, the Dollar Diplomacy, to mention but a few. To our present purpose it would suffice to say that in 1822 President Monroe saw with a prophetic eye far into the future, foresaw fairly clearly all that European colonial expansion meant in the Americas. He was indeed a statesman, helped in a remarkable measure by fortuitous circumstance: the split of European Powers, Britain's break with her continental allies, her vision of trade prospects in the New World,

The problems in Asia to-day are in no wise different from those of the Americas in the early 19th century. They might indeed have been different if the Japanese, the first to raise the political stature of the Asiatic, had not been lured into the shadowy illusion of a Herrenvolk of the East. The quivers of hope which they sent into many a breast struggling against foreign domination proved false and illusory. The conquest of Korca and Manchuria in the early thirties, followed close on its heels by the attempted strangulation of China, came as bitter distillusionments to not a few. And long before Pearl Harbour, with the brilliant military campaigns in awning and what turned out to be the rout of the aliens from the sacred soil of Asia, it was plain that Asia's calvation lay not through the race of Nippon.

Asia to-day is a boiling cauldron, a seething mass of humanity struggling against colonial imperialisms of the worst type. In certain parts-Iran or China-the struggle is not so apparent as in others-Indonesia and Indo-China. Essentially however, beyond the shady oil deals of the Kremlin in Iran, or the secretive help of the Yankees to parties and factions in China is the bare reality of Western powers controlling-or attempting to control—the economic life of these peoples. In Indonesia and Indo-China the outline is bolder and clearer. Here we are face to face with a naked 17th century colonial system trying to establish its stranglehold in the face of resurgent nationalist movements. These movements were seasoned in the fires of World War II, when the 'masters' abandoning their wards to the tender mercies of invading hordes took to flight. The invaders in turn for the economic slavery they imposed conferred the much clamoured-for 'independence'. But to-day the masters are come back again!

The pattern is closely akin to that of 1822. Then as now across the mighty oceans ply ships carrying men and munitions to help establish 'law and order' in the far off colonies. These in turn show a strange reluctance to accept the gracious offers of 'equal partnership' with the Mother-country in a joint Commonwealth. And all the while independent India, her position in the present set-up not radically different from that of the United States in the twenties of the 19th century, makes it plain that she dosen't like European powers poking their little noses in the internal affairs of these nascent republics. What the pattern lacks is a guarantor, a someone who will underwrite India's Monroe Doctrine.

In the gloom that grows thick and fast as the Hollanders' 'Police Action' carries all before it, or as the Reds succeed in extorting oil concessions under duress, a glimmer of hope beckons too. A factor of no mean import is the voluntary quittance of the British from the field. Mr. Churchill's doughty successor is fast "liquidating" the "Empire," a course of action pregnant with vast potentialities. India's liberation, with that of Burma and Cevlon round the corner, will release progressive forces of no mean magnitude. What is more, Australia's consistent championing of the underdog in lands close to hers is something not to be lightly trifled with. And finally 1947 is not 1822; world opinion to-day could not be flouted with the callousness and impunity of the days of Metternich and Louis XVIII. What the future holds in store for Asia's awakened masses would be hard to presage, what is certain is that a New World is being born here in the East, to redress the balance of the old, war-torn, bankrupt West.



HOW HINDU CULTURE HAS INFLUENCED CHINA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, MA.

Ir was, I think, 15 years ago that on a moon-lit night in our home garden, my mother told me several Buddhist stories; she talked of the happiness of Western Paradise, how everything there was exquisitely adorned with gold and silver and precious gems; how the pure waters there, over the golden sands and surrounded by pleasant walks. were covered with large lotus flowers. Thus was this happy abode perfected and adorned. Moreover, heavenly music was always heard in this abode; flowers rained down three times a day; and the happy beings born there were able, on going to the other world, to wave their garments and scatter flowers in honour of countless other Buddhas dwelling therein. In the end she said that what we called the Western Paradise was the India of today. It made a deep impression on me in my boyhood.

When I had finished the senior middle school course and attended the university, I chose Classical Chinese as my subject and besides I took up a course in Buddhism as my optional subject. After my four years in the university it seemed quite clear to me that China and India were the only two very ancient countries whose living civilizations and cultures were truly venerable; that there had been a close contact of friendship between the two countries for many many centuries; that during the last two thousand years India has not coveted anything of China but instead, gave us the sadhana of freedom and maitri. Along with that message came the wealth of her literature, art and education. We had received inspiration from India in the fields of music, painting, drama and poetry. Her apostles had brought with them great gifts of Astronomy, of medicine and of educational institutions; nor had they ever been sparing in their gifts and all their gifts were accompanied by deep love and friendship which were based on Buddhism.

Now what is it that we thus received from India? In the spiritual plane, she taught us two important things:

(1) India taught us to embrace the idea of absolute freedom-that fundamental freedom of mind which enables it to shake off all the fetters of past tradition and habit as well as the customs of the particular contemporary age, that spiritual freedom which casts off the enslaving forces of material existence.* In short, it was not merely that negative aspect of freedom which consists of ridding ourselves of outward oppression and slavery, but that emancipation of the individual from his own self, through which men attain great liberation, great case and great fearlessness.

(2) India also taught us the idea of absolute love, that pure love towards all living beings which eliminates all obesessions of jealousy, anger, impatience, disgust and emulation, which expresses itself in deep pity and sympathy for the foolish, the wicked and the simple—that absolute love, which recognises the inseparability of all beings: Buddhist Tripitaka. The teachings of those seven thousand volumes can be summed up in one phrase; "Cultivate sympathy and intellect, in order to attain absolute freedom through wisdom and absolute leve through pity."

In the cultural field. India brought us invaluable assistance. Of these influences I enumerate some.

Since India and China came into contact with each other more than two thousand years ago through Buddhism, it is natural that what has influenced Chinese culture should be through Buddhism. The translation of the Buddhist canons into Chinese gave us new ideas, new systems and new materials for our literature.

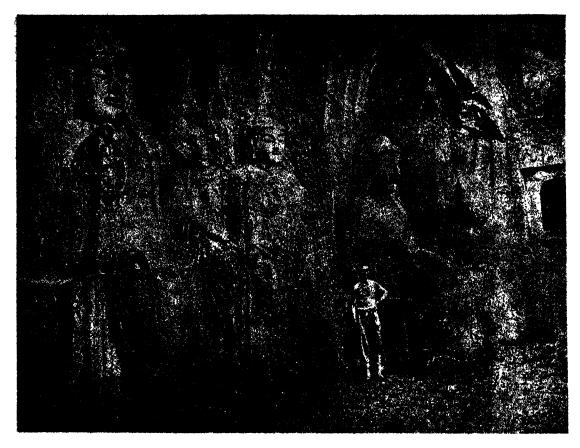
ENRICHMENT OF PHRASES

According to a Japanese Buddhist Dictionary, during the eight hundred years between the Han and the Tang dynasties prominent Chinese Buddhists created more than 35,000 new phrases and words. There were two methods: one was that of combining Chinese single words into another new meaning; such as Chin-ju. Chin means real, the word Ju means likely; their combination means Bhuta-tathata. The world is fundamental to Mahayana philosophy, implying the absolute, the ultimate source and character of all phenomena. Another example is the word Chung-Sen; Chung means all or many; Sen means born; and the combination is a new phrase meaning Sattva, all the living beings. A third example: the word Ying means first cause, Yuan mean second cause; when these two words are combined it is translated as Hetuprutyaya.

Another method was the adoption of a Sanskrit word with its original sound; an instance of this is the word Ni-Pan which is the rendering of the Sanskrit Nirvana. And Cha-Na came from the Sanskrit Ksuna. At that time, the Buddhist translators not only created many new phrases but also saw to it that they were distinct and correct. This is truly a great contribution to our literature.

WIDENING THE CHINESE WRITERS' HORIZON

The Indian literature was so fraught with the exercise of imagination that it liberated our Chinese literature which was lacking in deep imagination. Indian writers when writing had a fund of thousands of verses of the two great coics the Mahabharata and the Ramavana, the richest poems in the world, to draw upon. The Buddhist poet Sri Asvaghosa whose main poetic work is known as the Buddha-Charita-Kavya-Sutra which had been translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksa, exerted great influence not only on Chinese Buddhism but also on Chinese literature. As the late Prof. Lian Chi-chao said, our long poems of A Heroine of Mo-lang and The Peacock Flying towards The South-east belong to the style of the Buddhist literature. The novels and dramas of the Tang, Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties were influenced by Buddhism indirectly. "the equality of friend and enemy," "the oneness of myself The Record of a Pillow of the Tang dynasty, which and all things." This great gift is contained in the narrates how there was a Taoist named La was



Buddha images in rock-cut caves

having once stayed at a serai had conversed with a scholar who deplored the poor conditions under which he laboured; and then the Taoist Lu gave him a pillow and asked him to go to bed. He immediately dreamt how he passed his time in good fortune throughout his whole life; awakening, he perceived that everything that had happened was illusory. Another popular novel The Plum of the Golden Bottle of the time of the Sung dynasty states that there was a young man, the son of See-men-Ching, whom a Buddhist priest Po-chen taught the noble preachings of Buddha; the boy then changed his surname from Hsao-ko into Ming-nu and finally followed the priest as a Sramana. Such a religious novel bears of viously the influence of Buddhism.

The field of drama is complicated in itself; a famous writer of modern China Mr. Cheng Chin-tu divides a play into three parts: (a) the main body, (b) the minute details and (c) the local drama. Dramatic dancing and singling had their respective origins in ancient days, but a combination of the two does not seem to appear till after the period of the Wei and the Tsin dynasties. The earliest opera play we know of was called Pu-tow (Wedge). Medern research has shown that it was introduced from a country called Bata in South India. Till the end of the dynastics of Northern and Southern China assertal.

musical instruments introduced into China from India passed through Central Asia. The Yang Emperor of the Hsu dynasty collected all instruments and divided them into nine groups; among them, there were some instruments of Khotan and Indan,

The popular instrument of that time was the Kon-ho, a stringed musical instrument used by the ancients which came from India during the Han dynasty. An important musical instrument used during the Han and the Tang dynastics, was called the Pi-Pa, a guitar which came at that time from Egypt, Arabia and India, along with Buddhism down to China. We can therefore trace how both the literature and music of China have been deeply influenced by India. We also see that the stories of the Chinese plays, such as A Record of South Trees. A Record of Soul Returning, A Play of Thunder-peak Pagoda and A Dream of Butterfly, were Buddhist. A style of Chinese essays called Prose has been discovered from Tung-huang caves; it occupied an important place in Chinese literary field. A modern Chinese scholar Mr. Lu Chien-yu calls this the Buddhist lyric. Actually there are some differences between "Reading Prose" and "Buddhist lyrics"; the latter hody consists of religious songs translated from Sanskrit. It was prevalent in the Tang dynasty; the former is a system of prose which consists of two parts,

hoth for reading and singing such as the "reading prose" of Vimalakirti. Another popular reading prose is known as Mahamaudgalyayana Seeking his Mother from Hades. It describes how Mahamaudgalyayana to save his mother from hell made all people be inspired with the sublime ideal of "universal love" of Buddhism.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHINESE LITERARY STYLES

Ancient Chinese written books do not show sufficient effect at organization and therefore lack clarity of presentation. With the advent of Buddhist classics, it began to be more systematic and consequently more lucid and logical in the exposition of ideas. Indian Hetuvidya and methodology ushered in a new era in China in the art of writing. At the same time, the Buddhist translations were being written both in verse and prose. It created a new field for Chinese literature. All translations of Buddhistic literature were written simply, because in the study of Buddhist books the aim is to emphasize original meanings and not to fashion fine sentences. Dr. Hu-hsieh in his work, The History of Dialect Literature of China, states that the story of Jon-pan minister (see Astasahasrika-Prajnaparamita) was written in a style of revolutionary dialect in that age. He also says that the prose of Dharamaraksha and Kumarajiva were written in the then patois. Dharmaraksha and Po-yuan had translated several Buddhist Sutras in the literary style of the enigma, it was composed according to the rhyming tone of mass songs. During that time, poets wrote several poems containing Buddhist thoughts. For example, there was a great poet of the Tang dynasty named Lee-po whom his friends called "the god in exile" because he seemed to have come from a higher world than this one and to have looked into realms that most men cannot see. Here are his verses, full of Dhyana:

Why do I live among the green mountains?
I laugh, and answer not, my soul is serene; it
dwells in another heaven and earth belonging

The peach trees are in flower, and the water flows on.

Afterwards there was a development in the style of the proverb generally used by the Zen school and Neo-Confucians. This likewise was related to the Buddhist literary writing.

THE BIRTH OF THE CHINESE ALPHABET

Written Chinese consists of numerous symbols which in the earliest stage of their history were mainly pictographic in form. This was a great handicap. With the introduction of Buddhism and Sanskrit a number of Indian scholars attempted to invent an alphabetical system to solve our difficulties. The first alphabet that was thus introduced appears to have been one of 14 symbols. It is called "Si-yo-hu-shu" or "Foreign Writing of the Western Countries" and also named as "Ba-laman-shu" "Brahmanical Writing." It was then that the Indian Buddhists who had come to China assisted in forming, according to the model of the Sanskrit alphabet, a system of 36 initial

letters, and described the vocal organs by which they are formed. They also contributed tables, in which, by means of two sets of representative characters, one for the initials and another for the finals, a mode of spelling words was initiated. Shen-kung, a Buddhist priest, is said to have been the author of the system and the dictionary Yu-pien (Discrimination of Language) was one of the first extensive works in which it was employed. There was also a famous historian named Shen-yo, to whom has been attributed the discovery of the Four Tones. In his biography in the History of Liang Dynasty we find: "He wrote his Treatise on the Four Tones to make known what man for thousands of years had not understood; the wonderful fact which he alone in the silence of his breast came to perceive." When the Republic was established in 1911, our government introduced the alphabet of the standard language to the people. Although it was rather crude and did not yield very satisfactory results, it furnished us with valuable materials for further experiment,

In respect of the field of art which has been so much influenced by Buddhism, we know that Indian art was carried to China through Central Asia, where we had had trade with Indians during the early Han dynasty. Modern research has shown that the vestiges of Indian art have been discovered by archaeologists all along the Central Asian routes. In all the chief cultural outposts of China, such as Bamiya, Bactria, Khotan, Miran, Turfan and Tun-huang they have discovered remains of Buddhist grottos, sculptures, paintings, etc., which bear testimon to the great effort made by Buddhist India to bind China with lasting ties of cultural relationship.

Buddhist art reached China proper. It had strength enough to impose itself on the national art of the country and influenced it for several centuries. I think Buddhism gave a new life to the development of art in China. This art did not follow the Chinese classical traditions but represented a synthesis of strong Indian and Ser-Indian elements which gradually adapted themselves to Chinese genius. I shall give the following examples of various arts in China.

NEW STYLE OF BUDDHIST TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION

Indian architecture followed Buddhism to China; there were several new innovations, such as Buddhist temples, stupas and stone caves. Among them the temples were important to the common people for worship on the one hand and for the monks' meditation on the other. According to our tradition, those temples were built either by individuals or by prominent monks in ancient times. We have no details of architecture as there are now extant only a few ruins which tell us of the glory of these olden days. According to a Japanese engineer, the ancient construction of Pa-Ma-se (Monastry of White Horse) of Loyang was copied from the architectural style of Anathapindadarama in Kosala State. The Records of the Nunking Buddhist Temples, although they mention many events of note in temples, give no details. A better source of information in this matter is the Records of the Loyour Temples, in which are written details about the

construction of Yong-Ning-se (Monastery of Permanent Peace) which was built by an Emperess of the Wei dynasty in 516 A.D. It was an enormous Buddhist stupa in nine stories, more than 90 Chang (about 900 feet) in height and the temple was 100 Chang in height. The entire construction was in wood and occupied more than 10,000 square feet of land. It was about 100 Li (about 30 miles) from the capital whence we can see that stupa. "On the top of the tower, there was a golden mast." This was a temple constructed in Indian style; we never had such a one before the days of Indian influence. The late Prof. Liang Chi-chao says that we do not always realise how much this particular form of architecture adds to the natural beauty of our landscape. We cannot think of the West Lake in Han-chow of Chekiang province without its two Pagodas, the grand Lucy-fong (Thunder Peak) and the graceful Po-su. The oldest piece of architecture in Peking is the Pagoda in front of the temple of Tien-ning (Heavenly Peace) built during the close of the 6th century A.D. What beauty of harmony does the island of Chung-Hwang (Fairy Flower) in Pei, with the white Pagoda on its peak and the long verandah below reveal! This was what the combination of Chinese and Indian architecture alone could have achieved.

Sculpture of Caves

In ancient times we had carvings upon stone but never, I think, sculpture in three dimensions before the introduction of Buddhism. Modern research has shown that stone sculpture began with the Wei dynasty, as the King, Wen-chen, was in favour of Buddhism. Thereupon, later emperors and empresses wished to have a stone cave in the hills where there would be sculptured Buddha's statues for religious purposes. From the biographics of proneinent monks of China, we learn that Tai An-tao of the Tsin dynasty, who was generally known as a painter and literary man, was also a sculptor. He and his brother worked together upon a large image of Buddha, which enjoyed great same in its days. After that time, there are several records of famous sculpture being executed during the Six Dynasties and the Hsu and the Tang dynasties. Unfortunately all these were destroyed during the civil war between the Northern and the Southern dynasties; as well as by the deliberate vandalism of three emperors. who were bitterly opposed to Buddhism. We still possess today the great rock sculptures and reliefs, three or four thousand in number, at Ye-khu (near Lo-yang) and Lung-men (Dragon Door) executed during the Wei and the Tsin dynastics. But the great treasure we have is the group of figures at Yung-knang (Clouds Hills) Datung (great Commonwealth) large and small, not less than a thousand in number. Yung-kuang caves were located , 30 Li (about ten miles) off from Ping-chen, the old capital of the Wei dynasty. Yung-kuang is situated on the bank of the Chuang river of Wu-chow, and Ye khu is on the bank of Yi river. Both of them are similar from the geographical point of view. Hence during the Wei dynasty, the people called Yung-kuang the Northern caves and Yi khu the Southern caves of China. According

to the Book of Wei dynasty, there was a Sramana named Tan-yao who got permission from the king to carve out five caves in the Wu-chow, by the west side of the capital. There were two Buddha images carved on hill stone, one is 70 feet in height and another 66 feet. We thus come to know that cave-sculpture in the hills was introduced by Sramana Tan-yao,



The influence of Indian Art on Chinese sculpture

The Buddhist art of sculpture during the time of the Wei dynasty is best represented in the grottos of Yung-kuang and Lung-men. It is best to describe the art of Yung-kuang in the words of Chavannes, who was the first to explore the region:

"To appreciate the fineness and elegance of the art of the Northern Wei, we should study those statues

which are life-size. We shall see in them a gentleness of expression and a gracefulness of pose which other periods have not been able to render so successfully. Several of these statues are scated in a cross-legged posture in front of each other; this posture is no longer seen in the Buddhist carvings executed under the Tang dynasty."

But it has since then been recognized that the art of Yung-kuan and Lung-men is much more than what Chavannes held it to be,

Yi-khu caves were constructed by Emperor H-acwen of the Wei dynasty when their capital was transferred to Lo-yang. By the west side of Yi-khu mountains is Lung-men. On the east of that mountain is Hsian Hills; several Buddhist caves were carved on those two hills, they were very like the Yung-kuang caves.

The Yung-kuang caves were completed during the Wei dynasty. The Yi-khu (or Lung-men) caves were heing executed during the period extending from the Wei to the Tang dynasty. Because there was a civil war during the period of Hsao-ming emperor of the Wei dynasty, it was natural that little attention was paid to the construction of Buddhist caves. During the emperor of Chin-Kuan's reign (Tang dynasty), there was a chieftain of Wei state named Tai, who carved three caves in the north side of Yi-khu. These exist to this day.

The third great seat of Buddhist art of sculpture in China is Tung-hwan caves, better known as the "Grottos of the Thousand Buddhas" as there are a thousand Buddha images in them. Situated as it was at the meeting place of the Central Asian highways on the frontier of China, it has received almost all the Ser-Indian influences which have been observed in the art of Khotan, Kuchar and Turfan.

The construction of the grottos was started in the 4th century A.D. but the oldest dated grottos go back to the Wei dynasty. There are four different stages in the development of the art at Tung-hwan: (1) the art of the Wei dynasty (5th and 6th centuries A.D.), (2) the art of the early Tang dynasty (7th century), (3) the art of the late Tang dynastry (from the middle of 7th century to the 10th century A.D.), (4) restorations and additions were carried on up to the middle of the 11th century A.D.

FROM STUPA TO CHINESE TOWER

The construction of towers began after Buddhism has been introduced to China. In India, the purpose of the Stupa was to keep either Buddha's or a saint's relics. But the tower in China was used not only for keeping a saint's relics and the Buddhistic Sutras, but also as a memorial to prominent personalities. The earliest Chinese tower was built at Po-ma-se of Lo-yang during the Han dynasty. By the time of the Han dynasty, it became a common constructional operation. For example, in the 1st year of Wea-ti reign of the Hau dynasty (601 A.D.) the competer gave a royal mandate to the 30 Chinese monks who were responsible for the construction of such towers in various districts of the country.

Another example is provided by the pair of the

so-called winged lions which guard the gates of the Han graves, set up at the beginning of what is known as the "spirit path" which led up to the burial mound. It has been suggested that the impulse for the use of such guardian animals came to the Chinese from the West, probably by sea and through India, although they reshaped these impulses according to their own creative genius and stylistic tradition, which survived from the Han period. Again, the Chinese Shen-tao pillar (spirit path pillar) was also copied from the Indian Asoka pillar.

PAINTING

The paintings of the most ancient period of our history have disappeared. From several records, we only know that there was painting before the Han dynasty; when Confucius visited Lo-yang in about 526 B.C., he saw a picture of the Duck of Chou holding his young nephew Cheng on his knees. After Buddhism had been carried to China there was a new encouragement to our Chinese painting, Buddhism gave new ideas to the painters. The temple murals and Buddhistic pictures might have been influenced by Ajanta's wall-pointings, The most renowned painters in our early history were Kuo Tan-wei and Kuo Ha-to. They were famous for their paintings of Buddha. For instance, a straight still figure of Buddha, his eyes half-closed in meditation, his face quiet with inner concentration, helped the beginner to meditate. A picture of heaven or of a procession of saints moving with stately steps from cloud to cloud showed people the grace and beauty of holiness. In China, many artists lived in the quiet Buddhist monasteries and the walls of the temple were filled with decorations that showed the life of Buddha or other saints, and even the western paradise.

The most famous Buddhistic painter was Woo Tactze, who lived in the first part of the 8th century A.D. He was a Buddhist and worked a great deal in monsteries. He executed many paintings on the temple wall. It is learnt, that he painted three hundred frescoes on the wall, but, unfortunately, they have crumbled and disappeared, and his smaller paintings are lost, for even from the Tang dynasty, very few pictures have come down to us. Landscape painting was carried to its greatest perfection as the Chinese always leved Nature and felt very close to her. I think, it may be the influence of Buddhism which strengthened their love of nature, for did not Buddha say. "Truly, trees and plants, rocks and stones, all shall enter Nirvana."

We have cited enough examples in which the ideas of Indian art have deeply fertilized Chinese art.

The influences of Buddhism were also felt in the scientific field; there were four important influences;

ASTRONOMY AND THE CALENDAR

About the first part of 8th century A.D. there were some Indian monks employed to regulate the national calendar. The first mentioned is Gaudamars whose method of calculation was called "Kwang-Fec-Li" (the Calendar of the Bright House). It was used for those years and the Bright House).

Another Hindu monk named Siddhartha had presented a new calendar to the Tang Emperor in 718 A.D.; it was translated from an Indian calendar, which was called Kiu Che Li or Navagraha-Siddhanta. It had greater success in China and was in use for four years. It contained a calculation of the moon's course and the eclipses. In 721 A. D. the Chinese Buddhist named Yi-hing adopted a new method of calculation which was evidently based on the Indian astronomy as it contains the nine planets in Indian fashion: the sun, the moon, the five planets and the two new ones, Rahu and Ketu by which the Indian astronomers represent the ascending and the descending nodes of the moon.

AYURVEDA CARRIED TO CHINA

The Indian Ayurvedic system was taken into China. The earliest date was the middle of 5th century A.D. when a Chinese noble named King-sheng, who was a Buddhist had gone up to Khotan State. He has left us a work which, although it does not seem to be an exact translation from any Indian source, is at any rate a compilation from different texts of the same origin. It is called Che-Chan-Ping-Pi-Yau-Fa or the method of curing the diseases concerning meditation.

During the Tang dynasty, Emperors and nobles of the court sent a special envoy to India to hunt for Indian Thaumaturges (Tantrik Yogis) who were supposed to be in possession of secret methods of curing the effects of old age.

In the 11th century A.D., an Indian Ayurvedic book named Ravanakumara-tantra was translated into Chinese from the original Sanskrit. It is a treatise on the method of the treatment of children's diseases. The book, Kasyapasamhita, was also translated into Chinese at the same period and it deals with the treatment of pregnent women's diseases. Actually the Chinese had their own medical system and they took every care to enrich it from time to time with materials received from outside.

BLOCK PRINTING

In ancient times transcription of books was the only method to diffuse knowledge in China. It was so till the Ch'en and the Han dynasties. Though we had discovered a stone plate printing method, it was not so easy for printing purposes as the stone itself was rather heavy and it was also a clumsy thing. During the Hsu dynasty, the carved-wood plate printing method was introduced in China from India. Since then the Buddhist priests have been in the habit of giving people little paper charms, stamped with a picture of Buddha, to protect them from demons or illness. To have a quicker way of copying books and spread their teachings, Chinese Buddhists adopted this printing method and made experiments in the puiet and leisure of Buddhist monasteries. Thus the first book was printed in 868 A.D. It was one of the sacred books of Buddhism called the Vajra-cohedika-prajnaperamita sutra. A copy of it has been found recently, walled up in a temple in Chinese Turkestan. It is the aldest printed book in the world. Several other books on Buddhism printed during the Tang and the Sung dynasties have also been brought out from Tung-hwang caves. Afterwards this wood-block printing method was taken over to Europe and it developed into fine copper printing, it has also become a wood-cut art at present.

NEW EDUCATIONAL METHOD

How education was exactly conducted in ancient China, no one is able to tell; but we are quite certain that Confucius and Mencius did not resort to the method of addressing a large number of audience for the preaching of their teachings, and it is quite likely, therefore, that the system of formal lecturing, with which we are so familiar to-day, came from India. For instance, several institutions were established during the Sung. the Ming and the Ching dynasties, called "Shu-yuan," each run by some prominent scholar, who collected round him a large number of pupils to be taught a certain course. This seems to have been the same as the system of Gurukula or Asrama of ancient India. The teaching of the Shu-yuan emphasized moral discipline as well as intellectual training; it specially gave instructions on how to encourage self-cultivation which had been introduced from the Buddhistic meditational method, In the Shu-yuan system of the Sung and the Ming dynasties, great emphasis was laid on personal cultivation. contemplation, and introspection; and this was in fact the key point which brought the change in social ideas and customs. Our Chinese proverb states that we keepour mind only when we hold it fast, we lose it when we give up our hold. This is a course of mental hygiene in one of our educational methods and western scholars are going to realise the power of mind in the same way.

Furthermore, our educational method not only involves teaching of knowledge, but also the training of the spirit. Hsu Chin-yuan, the Neo-Confucian scholar of the Ming dynasty, said of learning:

"Learning is of great importance to man. One who is born intelligent would lose what one originally has without it. Without it one would not be able to maintain dignity. Without it moral transformation, as from weakness to strength or from evil to good, would be impossible. Without it one can never reach the state of perfection in moral virtues of love, righteourness, reasonableness, wisdom and truthfulness. It would be impossible, without it, for one to discharge dutifully one's function in this world of complicated dutifully one's function in this world of complicated relationship... Without it one would not know what would be the proper thing to do under different circumstances..."

Thus we find that the definition of the word learning in China, consists of two things, one is knowledge and another is spiritual experience. That is exactly what Buddhism taught its followers.

What I have referred to above comprise the main elements of our Buddhistic heritage and I am proud to say that we have made use of it to good purpose; Indian thought has been entirely assimilated into our own world of experience and has become an inalienable part of correctionsess. Indeed, Buddhism in China became much more than a accord religion. It became the most

influential religion of the country and occupied the first seat of honour, Buddhism not only influenced China in the field of culture, in art, literature and science, etc., but also influenced Confucianism which as mixed with Buddhism during the Sung and the Ming dynasties developed into the school of Neo-Confucianism. The teaching of Neo-Confucianism was more spiritual than material, and more philosophical than political. It began with the Sung dynasty and ended with the Ming dynasty.

India and China have had such cultural ties for the last two thousand years. I love India, I admire India, as India has her own philosophy which made her stand and hold her head high in the world from the Vedic period till now. The Indians prized neither wealth, nor power, nor glory, nor martial prowess; the final criterion of human worth was knowledge,--knowledge not wealth, sacrifice not accumulation, beauty not ugliness, giving not taking, the seeking rather than the end of the search. These were the things that kept the spirit of man alive and related him to God. I also love China, I admire China, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have chanced to be born on her soil but because in China we possess a philosophy which has never asked people to cultivate the sense of individual comfort, and because China has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons, Confucius, Laotze. Mencius and Chaungtze and others who taught

us the truth of universal wisdom, peace, goodness and the unity of all beings.

We have unfortunately been separated from one another for at least a few centuries, and the way of living in our two countries has been greatly affected by foreign influences both political and economic. We have to pave the way for new messengers. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China in 1924 and that of Pandit Nehru in 1939 on the one hand, and Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's visits to India and His Holiness the late Tai-hsu's on the other hand have done a great deal to revive our old relation and our old friendship. Furthermore, we have been exchanging students and professors between our two countries since the war and recently our Chinese Government has appointed Prot. Tan Yun-shan as China's cultural and educational representative in India. Now that India has become an independent country, and China has also achieved her own freedom after this war, India and China should have a closer tie of friendship. I have no better words for expressing my feelings than the words which Pandit Nehru has used:

"And now the wheel of tate has turned full circle and again India and China look towards each other and past memories crowd in their minds; ugain pilgrims of a new kind cross or fly over the mountains that separate them. bringing their messages of cheer and good-will and creating fresh bonds of a friendship that will endure."—The Discovery of India.

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ANCIENT REFUGE HOUSES IN BRITAIN

By NORMAN HILLSON

ONE of the most attractive features of nearly every English town or village of any antiquity is the row of alms-houses—period cottages dating from the time of a generous bequest by a contemporary benefactor. At the same time, there are a number of larger hospitals for the poor which are worthy of attention, by reason of their ancient history and their beautiful buildings.

Let us start with the Royal Hospital at Chelsea in London. It is the work of Sir Christopher Wren, the designer of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was 10 years in building (1682—1692). From its foundation it has been a farme for veterans of the wars who have fallen on evil days.

There is a picturesque legend that Nell Gwynne, the orange girl of Drury Lane, and favourise of King Charles II (1660—1685) was so moved by the spectacle of old soldiers about London without any means of support that she approached her royal lover.

The King said in jest that she could have just as much ground as could be enclosed by her handkerchief. Nell thereupon tore her handkerchief to bits, thread by thread, and found enough silk to enclose the broadsecrage Challes on which the hospital was built.

Alas! there is no truth in the legend; the only connection the King had with it was that he laid the foundation stone three years before his death in 1685.

The buildings contain a hall, a beautiful chapel, and extensive dormitories and recreation rooms for the old soldier inmates. The hall is now used as a reading room and contains in normal times a varied collection of medals and other military trophics.

In the chapel are preserved several of the Eagles captured at Waterloo and in the Peninsular War against Napoleon. It is almost exactly as Wren left it.

Today there are 550 fn-pensioners. They are familiar figures in London in the characteristic long red freek coats they wear in summer.

Just outside the old City of London walls is the picturesque hospital of the Charterhouse, the survival of the original Carthusian foundation established by the French knight Walter de Manny in 1871. It became a monastery, but was dissolved at the time of the Reformation in 1536.

Here Quoen Elizabeth lodged in 1556, before her coronation the following year, and King James I used it for his court when he came neath from Scotland in 1565,

a school.



The main entrance and the fine Doric portico of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London, designed by Sir Christopher Wren in 1682

The pensioners were to be 80 in number-"gentlemen by descent and in poverty, soldiers who had borne arms by sea and land, merchants decayed by piracy or shipwreck, or servants in household to the King or Queen's Majesty." The school was for 40 boys. It has grown considerably since that time, and now, in its new home in Surrey, is one of the most important public schools in England.

Until the outbreak of World War II. the Charterhouse still had its pensioners in their black gowns. They were accommodated in their own rooms, as their founder wished, Unfortunately the ancient buildings suffered considerably from fire during the air raids, but plans are on foot to re-establish their home exactly as it was.

The Midlands town of Warwick is one of the most perfectly preserved places in the country. Apart from

of fortifications, a priory, and the two town saies.

The West Gate is a place of pilgrimage for travellers because of its proximity to the picturesque Lord Leycester's this is the ancient tradition of this unique asylum. Housetal for impoverished citizens. This remarkable half-

The buildings subsequently were acquired by the rich timbered building was originally the hall of the United coal merchant Thomas Suttan in 1611. In his will he Guilds of the Holy Trinity and St. George, which was endowed the property as a home for pensioners and as founded in 1383. After the Reformation the buildings were acquired by the famous Earl of Leycester in Oueen

> Elizabeth's reign (1559-4603). He built the Tudor hospital which is now so familiar a local landmark.

Lord Leveester established his foundation for a Master and twelve brethren. Each pensioner was, and still is, required to wear in chapel a habit of blue-black, surcharged with the heraldic bear and ragged staff of the Warwick family with which the town has always been associated.

Each brother originally had to prove that he had not more than £50 a year of his own before he could he elected to the foundation. Also he had to come from Warwick. Kenilworth, Stratford-on-Avon, or Wooten-under-Edge, in Warwickshire, or Arlington in the neighbouring country of Gloucester. Today the brethren each receive an allowance of £80 a year and their quarters.

A little distance from Winchester, the ancient capital of England, set in pleasant gardens and amid fields, there



The great hall of the Royal Hospital is now used as a reading and writing room

the huge castle, there are some notable churches, remains is the ancient Hospital of Saint Cross. The genuine traveller may ring the bell at the great gate and be regaled with a piece of bread and a glass of beer, for

It is perhaps the oldest hespital of its kind in the

kingdom, for it was founded by Hyde de Blois in 1136 for the relief of "thirteen men, so reduced in strength as rarely or never to be able to raise themselves without the assistance of one another."

In 1377 Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, re-established the Hospital as a "Brotherhood of Noble Poverty," but the pensioners were drawn for the most part from his own considerable retinue.



The Leycester Hospital in the city of Warwick is a fine specimen of Elizabethan half-timbered architecture, built in 1571

It escaped dissolution at the time of the Reformation, and continues to flourish. In 1857 it was organised on a trustee basis.

At the gateway is the hatchway erected by Cardinal Beaufort. Here the beer is dispensed to the Wayfarers in horn cups, and bread is served on wodden platters which were originally made in the hospital by the pensioners.

The brethren wear distinctive robes. Those who depend on the original charity of de Blois have black

gowns with prominent silver crosses on the shoulder. Those of the Beaufort foundation have a robe of Cardinal red.

In Windsor Castle immediately opposite the beautiful St. George's Chapel, you will find a row of charming old Tudor houses. Here live that select community known as the "Military Knights of Windsor."

This honourable body of veteran officers has an ancient history, and dates from the same time as the establishment

of the famous Order of the Garter by King Edward III in 1948.

In those days the knights were called the "Milites Pauperes" and the King, in making the endowment, used these words:

"Out of great regard he had for the military honour and those who had bravely behaved themselves in his wars, yet chanced to fall intu decay, made a provision for their relief and comfortable sustenance in old age providing for them in this his foundation."

Twenty-six poor knights were originally appointed; they wore a red mantle, with the escutcheon of St. George. After their election they received 12 pence a day, and 40 shillings a year for other needs, provided they fulfilled certain duties. They had to pray for the Sovereign and the Knights of the Garter. They had to be present each day at High Mass, at masses for the Blessed Virgin,

at vespers and at complin. If they failed in their religious obligations, then they lost their 12 pennies a day.

Since 1833 they have been called simply "Military Knights" and today they are chosen from impoverished senior officers of all three fighting services. They still attend services in St. George's Chapel and have special duties at Carter chapters and other functions. They wear a picturesque red tunic, blue overalls and cocked hat with red plume.



ADULT EDUCATION SETTLEMENTS

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

Sir Richard Livingstone, the most prominent among the creative educationalists of England, wrote in 1943, amidst the blizzard and horrors of World War II:

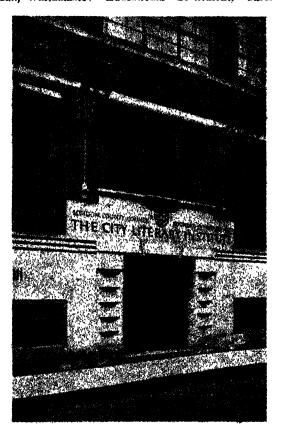
"Education cannot be completed by 18 or 21, and by failing to provide adequate facilities for its continuance, we deny in practice what we affirm in words, that it is a life-long process. One of the chief problems of the day is to make it life-long. Opportunities for systematic adult study are needed on a wider scale, and these must not be limited to lectures or classes given in any hall or schoolroom that happens to be available. They must have a 'local habitation,' a focus in the Latin sense of the word, a hearth where the fire remains continually lit, and where education can be more than isolated individual study and becomes a life shared with the others. The Educational Settlements which have grown up during the century show how such a hearth can be provided."

In his well-known book, Education for a World Adrift, Sir Richard Livingstone condemns in the most merciless and outspoken way the system of education in England with its examinations, specializations, academic snobbery and public school touch-me-notism, with its growing indifference towards history, literature, philosophy and fine arts. The harsh criticism of the author will become a hundredfold true when we turn our eyes from England to India, where the basis for a healthy nationalistic education is still to be laid. The narrow idea that education is to be got through certain approved schools and colleges is so strongly rooted in our people. The diplomas, degrees and titles become ends in themselves to be worshipped and adored, even to the extent of discarding the formation of personal character, sense of civic duties and the creative development of personality.

But today the very fact that even mass-produced graduates and the glamorous Europe-returned gentlemen feel themselves compelled to hunt after jobs for a salary equal to, or a little lower than, what the office clerks get, has turned out to be a blessing in disguise for us to ponder dispassionately the inherent defects of our educational system and our educated mentality. The lack of self-reliance, self-respect and national pride, the lack of will-power, strength of character and unlimited creativity are all found to be inseparably linked up with our present mercenary education. Whatever might have been the causes and results of such an education in the past, we are all agreed that in Free India we need the substance and not semblance of a healthy, national and creative education, more particularly for the adult population of the country, which is usually left out of our vast educational paper schemes.

To supplement and integrate the State schemes of national education in England, there are separate University Departments of what are known as Extramental studies and adult education. Then there are radidential colleges for adult education as the Ruskin

College for both men and women at Oxford, Avoncroft College, near Bromsgrove, Worcs, meant specially for the agricultural and rural workers and the Woodbrook Settlement in Birmingham managed by the Quakers for promoting social, religious and cultural studies. Non-residential colleges for adult education are numerous in England and are spread throughout the country, extending up to Wales and Scotland. Of these the principal adult educational settlements in London which are really doing pioneering work are the City Literary Institute, Mary Ward Settlement, Toynbee Hall, Walthamstoy Educational Settlement, Oxford



The City Literary Institute, London

and Cambridge Settlements in the East End and the Working Men's College. As one who has attended and seen something about these settlements from inside, I must say that the real seminars for the future Peoples' Colleges are to be found in those settlements. There is hardly any trace of formalities and academic snobbery which is the essential pre-requisite for the free and full development of humanity in us.

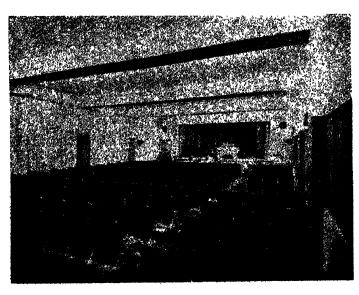
Then there are various voluntary organisations and associations that are engaged in adult education, of which special mention should be made of the British Institute of Adult Education, International

Federation of Workers' Educational Association, the National Adult School Union, Workers' Educational ised. Association and the National Foundation for Adult Education, all having their headquarters in London. comm

Workers' Educational Association, the Adult Education schemes are still being materialchool Union, Workers' Educational ised.

A great incentive to the Adult Education of the common man was given in Germany and Italy during

the reign of the Dictators, Their ideal was to give the opportunities to all the citizens of the State to enable them to acquire that amount of useful knowledge that will make them the best citizens in their own sense. It may not be out of place to mention here the part played by the G.I.L. (La gioventu italiana del littorio) in Italy for the formation of the youths of either sex during the last decade of the Fascist rule in Italy. It is no exaggeration to say that the common man gained more knowledge and experience about the economic, political and social problems of the day from those non-academic and popular institutions than from the recognised schools and colleges of the Fascist State. The State Education of the children, and of the boys and girls should later on be integrated by the efficient working of the Adult Education schemes, which, if

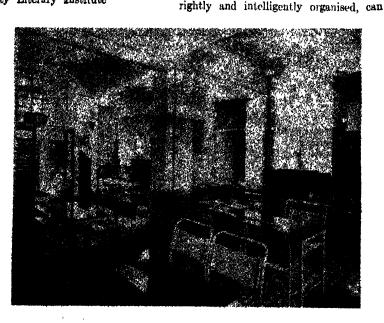


The theatre of the City Literary Institute

The settlements intended for improving the social status of the workers, the downtrodden and the unfortunate, the countrywide network of the Y. M. C. As and the Y. W. C. As—all co-operate and work together for the spread of creative education among the adult population in England.

Even with the most efficient system of general education as they have devised in England, challenging and creative minds like Sir Richard Livingstone, T. G. Williams, the present Principal of the City Literary Institute in London, are raising their voice so that the people of England may get freed from the glittering hallowness and arrogant snobbery of the Public School system and a new healthy, creative; national, allsided, and, above all, life-long education may be provided for the common man in their country.

Of all the European countries, perhaps the Scandinavian peninsula has progressed most in the field of imparting adult education. In the beginning of the world war the Scandinavian countries had provided more than 200 Adult Education Colleges for their 16 million inhabitants. Proportionately and qualitatively England was lagging far behind the Scandinavians. In spite of the horrors of war in Norway, it is known



The corner of the canteen

benefit not only the illiterates and uneducated masses, but even University graduates and recognised professors.

Both the Wardha Scheme and the Sargent Scheme speak of the free and compulsory education of children between a certain age. The school-leaving age is fixed at fourteen or sixteen. So far well and good, Sir. Richard Livingstone, in his book entitled The Future.

in Education analyses this idea of fixing the age at fourteen, as it is fashionable in England, and says: "To cease education at 14 is as unnatural as to die at 14." The argument holds good if we admit that what is physical death to our body that, in reality, is lack of education to the mind. Obviously, it is better to have compulsory education terminating at the age of 14 than to have no education at all. But in a more advanced society, as England is supposed to be, that argument holds ground as solidly as ever.



The library

But in a country like India adult education will have to serve many purposes. Its immediate and primary aim can be the uprooting of the curse of illiterary from our land. Mass education of the adults, if undertaken immediately and wisely organised, can prove to be an effective remedy to the menaging cancer of illiteracy. Then, it is through bringing together the common man of all parts of the country that the living communion of minds and hearts takes place. What is fruitfully observed in our social clubs, debating and discussing groups of boys and girls, will prove to be more fruitful in these adult education centres.

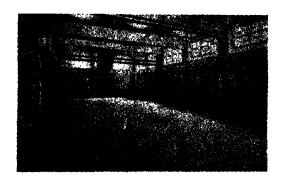
It goes without saying that higher grades of Adult Education classes and courses given in advanced educational settlements, as the City Literary Institute or Mary Ward Settlement in London, can profit also the University graduates. Time will not be wasted and we discover that there is always something new and fresh to learn from these grand, living social and human phenomena, which are slowly being discovered, analysed, classified and interpreted through the co-operative interaction of the members and associates of the adult oducational aettlements.

Another very important aim of such educational residential ectalements is to provide a periodic scalusion and salutary withdrawal for workers and men of action so fully engrossed in the busy turnoil of the world today. Karl Mannheim, the distinguished sociologist, says: "It will become more and more a question whether something corresponding to the monastic

seclusion, some form of complete or temporary withdrawal from the affairs of the world, will not be one of the great remedies for the dehumanizing effects of a civilization of busybodies." These settlements thus meet the profoundly human needs and creative urges for men and women who, unfortunately, fall a victim to the grinding wheels of the machine civilization.

Dr. H. C. Dent, a man whose realistic approach towards modern life is as keen as it is critical and sympathetic, in his book entitled A New Order in English Education, says: "Men and women must have in future the opportunity to apply themselves uninterruptedly for a sufficiently long period of time to exploration of a selected field of knowledge, mastery of a desired skill, or enjoyment of a worthwhile form of recreation. Only thus can they be enabled to meet the ever-more exacting conditions of life in a modern industrialised society.

"The nearer we approach to full democracy the more numerous and more responsible will grow the common obligations of citizenship. The periodic withdrawal of the worker from the daily round and common task, that he may examine thoughtfully and objectively the nature of the society in the governance of which he takes so active a part will become more and more a necessity if muddle and mismanagement are to be avoided."



The gymnasium

Whatever the final form of national educational Plan for Free India and the provisions therein for the furtherance of vocational training is going to be, adult education, through residential or non-residential settlements, peoples' colleges, adult education centres, must form an integral part of our national life. They will become better and more efficient centres for creative education than the approved channels of the university sylllabus system. They are enterprising experiments worth embarking upon, for the future of India will largely depend upon the sort of education we give to her people right now. In the great nation-building task that awaits us creative education through creative channels will be next in importance to the healthy economic development of the nation.

SOLVING HOUSING SHORTAGE IN BRITAIN Factory-made Steel Houses

By PHILIP MURRAY

In Great Britain today plans are fast materialising for a can be terned out as quickly as airplane and tank parts huge co-ordinated building programme. There will first have been during the war. be an emergency period of two years during which the

Although families will live in these houses only until

they can find more permanent homes, no effort has been spared to provide them with all the benefits of modern science while keeping the rent as low as possible, and well within the means of even the poorest workers.

Although the house is small-it covers an area of but 616 square feet-it contains a living room 14 feet 3 inches by 10 feet 14 inches; two bedrooms each 12 feet 51 inches by 10 feet 14 inches; a kitchen 10 feet 24 inches by 7 feet 34 inches; a bathroom, separate W. C., and a. storage shed.

The house has been planned to give maximum areas to the rooms by avoiding corridors. Opening off the entrance hall are the kitchen. bathroom and W. C. One of the bedrooms opens off the kitchen, the other off the living room. living room and kitchen are en suite, separated by a glazed screen

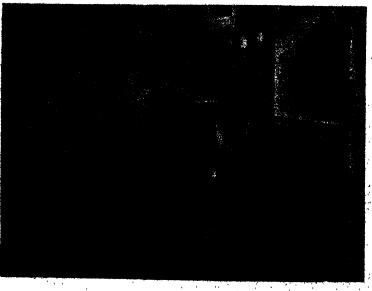


The exterior of a factory-made house fitted with ample windows with steel frames

accumulated and urgent demands will be met, and then a 10-year schedule of rapid building. One million homes must pe built during the first two years of peace in Europe.

The builders that remain will not be able to build more than 300,000 traditional brick houses during this period. A new technique of building was required to bridge the gap. so the British Government has decided that half a million temporary houses must be mass-produced in factories houses that can be put up quickly by trained men without retarding in any way the 12-year plan for 4,000,000 traditional brick houses.

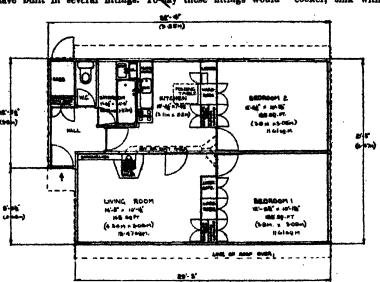
Tens of thousands of men and women have become accustomed during the war to working with steel, of which there will be a



The comfortable interior of the living room

surable as soon as the munitions programme is out. The in the centre of which is a glassed door, giving an impres prototype of the British Covernment's emergency house sion of space and light. iss, therefore, been designed to use steel so that party. Realising that for sometime after the war

difficult to obtain furniture, the designers of this house have built in several fittings. To day these fittings would



This plan shows the sensible use made of the area allotted and the compact arrangement of the domestic offices

be worth nearly 2100 if they could be bought. Young housewives who have seen the prototype have all praised these fittings, which are, perhaps, the outstanding feature of the house. Indeed, it is in the interior of the house, rather than in the shell, that factory production has rendered its greatest service.

The two partitions between the kitchen and the first bedroom, and between the living room and the second bedroom, are arranged as cupboards. On the kitchen side there is a larder with divided horizontal shelves. The lower shelves are for dry goods, and the upper shelves have been ventilated for the storage of perishable foods. There is a second built in cupboard on the kitchen side for brooms and other loose kitchen equipment. Between the two cupboards is a hinged table, which folds vertically against the partition when not in use. All these cupboards are made of pressed steel.

On the bedroom side of this partition there is a full-height hanging wardrobe, with horizontal hanging rail, and a short cupboard, shelved for containing personal lines. The bedroom side of this unit has managing phywood panels to the doors, which are framed in steel. The shelves are steel.

The cuphoard unit between the living room and hedroom is also in steel, with plywood panels to the fronts. On the living room side is a shelved china cuphoard with three drawers underneath, and on the hedroom side are three cuphoards one for soiled lines, one to serve as a wardrobe and the third for clean lines.

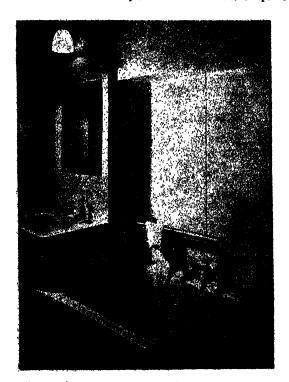
The partition between the bathroom and the kitchen concepts a menhanism which is a miracle of modern science.

On the kitchen side there is a combined assembled cooker, sink with two draining boards, and refrigerator,

with drawers and cupboards below. On the bathroom side, the bath and combined clothes-washing boiler and handwashing bowl are built into the steel unit. The hot and cold water pipes and waste pipes are in the middle of this unit, together with the hot water circulating cistern.

Water is heated by a boiler fixed to the back of the heating stove in the living-room. This stove burns either coal, coke or anthracite. An electric immersion heater, thermostatically controlled, is also fixed in the cistern to heat about seven gallons of water when the living-room fire is not in use. The living-room stove also heats the kitchen and bedrooms by het air ducts between the walls of the various rooms.

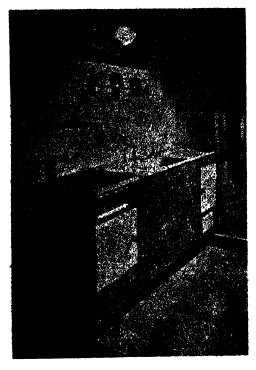
The method of construction of these houses has been planned so that over 90 per cent. of the work is done in the factory. The wooden floors are in sections, screwed direct to sheet steel joists. The walls are in panels



The bathroom side, which has bath, basin and clothes washing boiler built into the steel wall

of equal widths (except at the corners) into which are built the steel-framed windows. The panals are

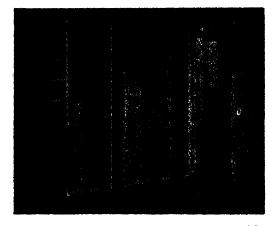
set on a sheet-steel sill at the floor level, and between similar vertical corner and middle posts. Three horizontal steel flats, at the top, centre and bottom, are in the thickness of the wall. The sections are tightened up by means of steel wedges at the ends of these flats. At the joints of the sections special mastic seatings are inserted to ensure perfectly weathertight joints.



The kitchen side, with a combined unit comprising cooker, refrigerator, sink with two draining-boards, drawers and cupboards and saucepan rack

The walls are built on the sandwich principle. The external side is sheet-steel, swaged to provide stiffness, and coated with flocculent anti-drum material on the inside to prevent noise. Internally, the wall is lined with steel in the kitchen, bathroom, W.C. and hall, and elsewhere designed to receive plyboard or any on a light timber frame, and faced on either side with aluminium foil. This gives the wall a resistance to heat equivalent to an 11 inches cavity brick wall.

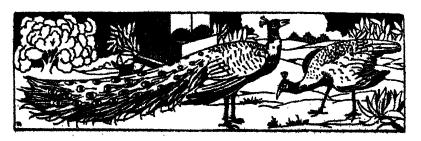
The roof, pitched at 6½ degrees, has pressed metal joists at centres corresponding to the widths of the wall panels. These joists have their bottom members pressed in angle form at the ceiling level and at the top following the rake of the roof, the angles taking the sheet metal ceiling and roof respectively. The steel ceiling is plain, but the steel roof is swaged to obtain rigidity. Capping is placed externally at the joints of each section and adequate longitudinal steel bracings are introduced at the centre of the span. Above the ceiling level is placed aluminium foil mounted on timber frames similar to the wall panels.



The bed-room cup-boards of pressed steel with mahogany plywood panels

The steel is bouderised, primed and painted, except the roof, which is bonderised, primed and tar-sanded externally, which gives adequate protection from rusting.

The site work of erection is reduced to the minimum. Prior to delivery of the emergency factory-made house, a concrete slab is laid and tarred on the top surface, and the necessary services and drains are put in. Afterwards the floor sections are laid and bolted together on top of the concrete, and the end walls and side walls are positioned, wedged and bolted, working from one end of the structure. The partitions, cupboards and kitchen units are placed in position before the walls are erected. The placing of the roof, hearing on the outer walls and the internal central spine wall, is the last constructional operation. The house has been designed to meet an immediate requirement, and its life will be limited by licence.



JAIPUR AND ITS ENVIRONS Their Place in Hindu India

By SATYA PRAKASH, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeology, and Art Museum, Jaipur

The 'rose pink' city of Jaipur, literally known as the City of Victory, owes its existence to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II. In other words, it may be said that the city derives its name from the famous Jai Singh who ruled from 1699-1743. He was the king to stand by the son of Prince Azam-shah in the struggle for the Empire on the death of Aurangzeb and to drive the Moghuls out of Jaipur.

The present city of Jaipur was founded by him in the year 1728. The city, surrounded as it is on the north and east by rugged hills crowned with forts, is enclosed by a crenellated wall with seven gateways in it. This place is the pleasant healthy capital of one of the most prosperous independent States of Rajputana. It is a very big and important commercial centre with all possible amenities of life in it. The crowded streets and markets are lively and picturesque. The city is remarkable for the width and regularity of its main streets. It is laid out in its rectangular blocks and is divided by cross streets into six equal portions.

The grandeur and beauty of the city very well speak of the material improvements in modern civilisation, which mainfest themselves in detail in the elegant style of town-planning found in Jaipur. But the fame of the city does not out-shine the grandeur of the State. The State of Jaipur, needless to say, is the most progressive State of Rajputana and it, just like its city, is magnificent both from within and without. It has a glorious past-the past on which its beautiful present is based and also a promising future it is destined to be. Here an attempt will be made to reconstruct its past on the basis of what has been found in the State. This would enable us to see Jaipur through the various periods of Indian history. Here its place in Hindu India (i.e., up to 1000 A.D.) has been discussed.

The State of Jaipur was known as Amber in modieval times. But its ancient name is Matayadesh. According to Father Heras, a noted historian from Bombay, the place may rightly be called the land of the Meenas or the place of Fish. It is interesting to note that both meena and mataya mean one and the same thing, i.e., fish. This place-name is famous in the Mahabharata, for it was here that the five Pandavas came to reside in disguise after they had completed twelve years of their exile. In epic times Matayadesh had its capital at Bairat—a village in the territory of the State, and commonly known as Viratnagar of the Mahabharata.

Besides the epic evidence in question, the Raiput evidence on the historicity of the place ascribes to it the name of Dhundhar—another name of Jaipur, precisely after a vigorous personality known as Dhundhar. The Kachlwaha clan of Raiputs,

whose head is the present chief His Highness Maharajadhiraj Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, ruled over this State of Jaipur since the time the place was known as Dhundhar.

Archaeological finds at Rairh, Bairat and other places reveal to us that traces of pre-historic civilisation are to be found in this part of the country. We are indebted to Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni for the information that the valley of Bairat was inhabited by man even during pre-historic times and that it is older than the epics. The chert flakes and cores discovered in one of the rough-built stone platforms in this valley and on the lower terrace of the adjoining hill closely resemble these found on the chalcolithic sites in the Indus Valley. The parallel walls found at Rairh by Dr. K. N. Puri appear to be but models of the parallel walls excavated at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. That their purpose must have been to serve as foundations for floors to prevent the possibility their sinking is evident from their use at these places.

Again, the cult of Nature or Mother Goddess, the representations of which are to be found in clay here in quite a good number, has its origin in the hoary past.

This deity played a supreme role in the religion of the Indus Valley people, and also in the chalcolithic civilisation. It is interesting to note that the representations of the Goddess similar to those found at Rairh and other places in Jaipur State have been found in Baluchistan, Iran, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, the Balkans, Syria, Palestine, Crete and Egypt.

It appears that the cult of the Goddess found to have been in existence in the State in the pre-historic times must have been widespread before the advent of the Aryans and also after it. It was so deep-rooted that it got assimilated in Vedic religion and the cult of the earth goddess came to be known as the cult of Shakti later on.

We do not find many traces of Vedic civilisation here and we find little to record of what appertained to those times. The literary evidence of the epics, no doubt, comes to our rescue in the post-Vedic era and we are able to connect certain courses of events with the period of epics in our country's history.

The present Maharaja, an illustrious descendant of the Kachhwaha clan of the Kshatriya as he is, becomes, historically speaking, connected with Kusa—the second son of Rama. The clan Kachhwaha is the corrupted form of the word Kushwaha. Since Kush and his father Rama Chandra were known as Suryayanahi figures, the present ruler and his ancestors belong to the same class of Suryayanahi Kachhwaha line of Kshatriyas.

Now coming to the evidence afforded by the

second part of the epics, the Mahabharata, we find that the first historical event we have knowledge of (from literary sources) is the great war fought between the Kauravas and the Pandavas on the battlefield of Kurukshetra. A scene of this historical dramswas enacted in the vicinity of this city of Jaipur.

In the north of Jaipur is a place known as Bairat. The five famous Pandavas after their wanderings in the land of Rajputana and during the closing period of twelve months of their exile, are described to have concealed themselves in this region in the guise of menial servants. Thus the State afforded shelter to the Pandaya brothers in times of trouble. The place is also associated with the epic period in the sense that the vicious Kichak with his hundred kinsmen was killed by the great warrior Bheem Sen here.

Again, this place better known as Virat in the Epics, was attacked by the illustrious king Duryodhan and his mighty army. The latter was forced to admit defeat. This place not only witnessed concealment of the Pandavas and the bloody war between Duryodhan and Arjun but also the happy union of the Princess Uttara and the famous hero Abhimanyu. In this way the three great events of the Mahabharata are connected with Bairat-a place situated in the Jaipur State.

The State continued to play an important part in the history of the Buddhist period as well.

The terracotta scaling which has been found at Sambhar possesses in it the principal impression of yupa (sacrifical post) surrounded by railings. The well-known Ujjain symbol consisting of a cross with balls attached to each arm with the Prakrit legend Imdasamasa (i.c. of Indra Sarman) inscribed on the opposite side in Brahmi characters, is of the 3rd century B.C. At Nagar in the south of Jaipur near Sambhar and at Bairat have been found traces of the Buddhist mounsteries, which present in them Hinayana symbols.

In the Mauryan times Bairat of the Jaipur State was in a flourishing state, for we find an inscription of Asoka ascribed to this place. The text of the inscription deals with certain principles of Dhamma and it is a matter of great pride that the place was deemed suitable for an edict here by the great King Asoka.

At Babhron too, the present Bhabroo on the Amber-Payta road, another edict has also been found. The existence of two edicts of the great Asoka amply illustrates the importance of the State in the Maurya period. At a distance of twenty-five miles to the south of Jaipur, we find a place called Chatsu or Chaksu. Our history records that the place of Chaksu belongs to a contemporary or infinediate ancestor of Vikramaditya-the founder of the famous Vikrama Era-the era used by the Pandits even new in all astronomical and astrological calculations. We are, thus taken back to B.C. 56-57, the starting point of the Vikrama Sambat as it is called.

The finds of the excavation at Bairat include a

The Greek coins include one of Heliokles (circa 140 B.C.), the last Greek King of Bactria; one of the Indo-Greek King Apollodotos; 16 coins (of various types) of Menander, one of Antialkidas, two of Hermaios and four of the same king alone.

These coins clearly show that Bairat and the country round it formed part of the Greek dominions. Menander was probably the Indo-Greek ruler to come down up to Rajputana and it is due to it that sixteen out of the twenty-eight coins of the class belong to his coinage. These coins also provide authentic evidence of the continuation of the Buddhist establishment on the Bijak ki Pahari until about 50 A.D.

The two Yupa pillars found at Barnala and supposed to be of the 4th century A.D. give us a glimpse of the importance of the State even in those early years of the Christian Era. Several such memorial Yupa pillars were already known, i.e., two from Mathura, two from Nandoa (in the Udaipur State); three from the Badva (in the Kotah State); one from Bijaya Gadh (near Bayana), a fragmentary one at Nagari and some in the island of Borneo.

The portable antiquities found at Sambhar and Bairat reveal to us that the State of Jaipur continued to play an important part in the history of Hindu India. The number of coins of the Indo-Greek kings and the Gupta Emperors found at these places is sufficiently large and very well testifies to the importance of the State in those bygone days. Again, copper and iron objects revealed to us by the excavations at Sambhar, Bairat and Rairh reflect the culture of the State in those ancient times. Some of these towns in those times were well-planned and were great industrial centres and their artisans specialised in the manufacture of ornamental pottery, conch and steatite objects and the cutting and polishing of such hard stones as cornelian, white, crystal etc., the specimens of which have been brought to light by the excavations.

As to religious faith it is almost certain that the inhabitants of the State in the major part of the period of Hindu India remained ardent adherents of the orthodox Brahminical faith and pottery tablets with mythological and other subjects throw welcome light on the subject.

Thus up to the latter half of the 7th century A.D., the State seems to have shared the attitude of toleration in religion and different faiths were allowed due honor and recognition in some form or other. All this is testified to by the famous Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who in the course of his wandering in quest of truth, happened to see personally and also to record them in his memoirs.

In Barnala has also been found, in a small pottery jar, a hoard of ancient coins which include in them 90 Indo-Sassanian coins of the 7th or 8th century A.D. The existence of the Sassanian head on the obyects militier of coins which are both Greek and Hindu, and an inscription in Devanagri on the face of with an attendant on either side of the altar is an interesting thing.

The part played by the State in the 7th and the 8th century is not only testified to by these coins but also by other finds at Sambhar. The Devayani Tank at Sambhar is credited with a temple attached to it belonging to about 10th century A.D. A number of black stone images found in this tank can be seen in the Jaipur museum. Thus it is almost clear that Sambhar was the first capital of the Imperial Chauhan kings of North India and continued to be so up to the year 1198.

The city of Amber, the third capital in succession of Jaipur State, is believed to have been founded in the 10th century A.D.

The inscription below the two armed figures of Ganapati runs in seven lines and is dated, Friday the 11th of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada Sambat 1011. The period of the 10th century A.D. is important in the history of Jaipur. The old place-name of Jaipur, Dhundhar, seems to have changed with the change of dynastics during this century. It was in the year 966 that this place was conquered by Sodh Deoji and his son Dhuleraiji or Dulharaiji Kachhwaha, who ruled over Narwar then. Sodh Deoji conquered Dausa, Khol, Manch, Jamwa Rangarh and occupied the whole of Dhundhar.

Thus the first phase of the history of the State and its environs comes to an end.

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HINDU-MUSLIM AMITY IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA

By Prof. K. B. VYAS, M.A., F.R.A.S.

In the present days of Hindu-Muslim tension it is most refreshing to turn the pages of Indian history and study striking instances of amiable relations between Hindus and Muslims in early times. For this purpose the early mediaeval period before the Muslim conquest (i.e., from C. 1000 to C. 1200 A.D.) is most suitable, when India was a mosaic of many Hindu states and Muslims had settled in several parts as traders and citizens. The Muslim contacts and settlements took place in Gujarat (and Western India) earlier than in most of the other provinces⁴; so we shall confine ourselves mostly to the study of the conditions in Gujarat, Gujarat was, during this period, at the height of its glory under the Solanki and Vaghela kings. We shall base our study solely on the records of Muslim historians and works of Muslim scholars.

India was celebrated for its riches from very early times. An Arab traveller described India to Hadrat Umar (7th century A.D.) thus:

"Its rivers are pearls, its mountains are rubies, and its trees are perfumes."

Mahanagar, the capital of Balhara, the Rastrakuta king of Manyakheta, was called "the city of gold" by Arab travellers. India was famous for its perfumes, musk, sandal, ivory, aguru sticks, camphor, spices, fine muslins, velvet, diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, cocoanuts, and various other things. This

attracted numerous Arab traders to trade with and settle in India.

India had also considerable import trade with the neighbouring countries. It imported wine from Egypt, silk-clothes, chamois-skin, skins for jackets, swords and other things from Rome, rose-water from Persa and dates from Basrah. Hindu traders had settled in large numbers in Sairaf, a port in Iraq, in the 9th century.

There was a brisk trade between Indian ports like Cambay and neighbouring countries like Iran during this period. The Iranian port of Ublah near Basrah on the Persian gulf was the most important port for merchant-ships sailing to and from India. Ublah's seaborne trade with India was so heavy that it was considered by Arabs an out-post of India. Similarly the ports of Basrah and Ormuz derived considerable revenue from custom levies on merchant-ships coming from India.

Indian trade attracted numerous Arabian merchants who came and settled in India as traders. Thus developed several large settlements of Arabian and Iranian traders on the west coast of India, noted by Arab travellers who visited India during the 9th and subsequent centuries. It will be interesting to hear their testimony regarding the treatment of these Muslim traders by Hindu rulers and people.

Sind was, indeed, conquered by Muhammad bin Kasim in 712 A.D. But it was reconquered by the Hindus by about the 9th contury A.D.

^{2.} The first mosque in Ilindu Indis (outside Sind, where there was Muslim rule during this period) was built near Breach in Gujarat by Risham, the Abbaside rular of Sind, in 759 A.D. Vide Arab Aur Bharathe Sambandha (Hindi) by Maulana Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi. Translated by Babu Rauchandra Varma, and published by Hindustani Academy, Prayag, U.P., 1930, p. 15.

Al-Akhbor-ut-tawat of Abu Hanifa Dinwari, p. 326, cited by Nadwi, op. sit., p. 48.

Alab-al-Mind, p. 137; cited by Nadwi, op. cit., p. 73,

S. Nedwi op. cit., p. 85. Masudi (915 A. D.) and Bushari (1819 A.B.) have puriod the footweer of Cambay. Nedwi, ibid, p. 85.

Vido Ibn-i-Haukel, p. 231; cited by Nadwi, op. cit., p. 68; and Abu Zayd Hasan Sayrafi's travels, p. 40; cited by Nadwi, op. cit., p. 71.

^{7.} Al-akhbar-ut-tawal of Dinwari, p. 133; cited by Nadwi, op. cit., p. 43.

^{8.} Nadwi, op. cit., p. 44.

^{9.} Ratnamanirao Jote, Khambhatno Itihasa (Gujarali), 1935, pp. 107-108.

NOTE: Muslim settlements are known to have flourished in Caylon (7th century-9th century A.D.), Malabar (from 9th century A.D.), Satmur in the kingdom of the Balhara (from 9th century A.D.), Thana (12th century A.D.), Dysrasamudra in the present Mysore State, and other phaces. In Sind, Muslim settlements existed even before the songuest of Muhammad bin Kasim, Vide Nadwi, op. cit., pp. 215-247.

They tell us that the treatment of the Muslim settlers in Gujarat and elsewhere by the Hindu rulers and people was always very kind and generous. Bulayman Sawdagar (851 A.D.) the first Arab traveller, whose account has come down to us, writes in his Silsila-tut-Tawarikh that Balhara, the king of Konkan, was exceptionally kind to the Arabs. Al Masudi (915 A.D.), the author of Maruj-uz-Zahab, which is practically a history of Islam, states how the officer ruling over Cambay "was kind to...... strangers, Musalmans and people of other faiths." 10 He further informs us how the Rastrakuta king, whose rule then extended over the western coast from Cambay to Konkan "favours and honours the Musalmans and allows them to have mosques and assembly mosques." Al Istakhri (951 A.D.), the author of Kitab-al-Agalim and Krtab-al-Masalik-wa al-Mamalik, tells us that "in the Konkan were many Musalmans, over whom the Balhara (i.e. the Rastrakuta King) appointed no one but a Musalman to rule," is Thus the Rastrakuta kings treated foreigners and especially the Arabs with consideration and respect and appointed magistrates from among themselves to adjudicate disputes according to Musalman law.

This teleration shown to their religion both by the Hindu kings and peoples in Western India struck Arabs more than anything else. And this was a feature not peculiar to Western Indian kingdom alone; it was a universal characteristic of entire India. Al Biruni (973--1048 A.D.) records that "in the 9th century when the Hindus recovered Sindan (Sanjan in Sind) they spared the assembly mosque where long afterwards the faithful congregated on Fridays praying for their Khalifah without bindcance." 43 This is also attested to by Bilazuri (in Fatuh-al-Buldan) who states that the Hindu kings, after their reconquest of Sind, treated their Muslim subjects well and allowed the mosques to remain in situ.14 Intolerance or religious bigotism seems to have been unknown then, for it is recorded that Muhammad Bin Kasim did not destroy the Buddhist temple in Sind when he conquered Sind, and the famous temple of Multan remained unmolested during the period of Arab occupation, and Arab travellers loved to visit it. 35 Another Arab historian, Al Idrisi 6 (end of the 11th century) says:

10. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 1896, p. 514.

"The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and in their actions never depart from it. Their reputation of good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements brings strangers flocking to their country and aids its prosperity."

This kind treatment of the Muslim community characterised the entire period of Hindu rule in Gujarat and elsewhere. It was a result of the Hindu tradition of hospitality and a keen sense of justice.

An incident has been recorded by a Muslim historian, which will fully bear out the extent of justice meted out to the small, struggling Muslim community by such a great sovereign of Gujarat like Jayasimhadeva Solanki. Muhammad 'U'fi the compiler of Jami-'u-l Hikayat (1211 A.D.), who resided at Delhi in the time of Emperor Altamish, relates the following story, which he had heard in Cambay, about the keen sense of justice of king Jayasimhadeva Solanki of Gujarat.

In Kambayat (i.e. Cambay) resided a number of Sunni Musalmans. There was also a body of fireworshippers there. In the reign of Jayasingh there was a mosque and a minaret from which the summons to prayer were cried. Once the fire-worshippers instiguted the Hindus to attack the Musalmans, and the minaret was destroyed, the mosque burnt, and the Musalmans oppressed.

A certain Muhammadan, a Khatib or reader of the Khutba, by name 'Ali went to Nahrwala (i.e. Anahitvad Patan, the capital of Gujarat in the pre-Muslim period) to complain to the king. As the courtiers did not pay any attention to him, he saw the king, when he was going out for hunting, and placed in his hand a Kasida composed in Hindi (Gujarati?) verse, stating the whole case. The king heard the complaint and placed 'Ali in the charge of a servant, ordering him to take the greatest care of him. The king returned, made over the temporary charge of the government to the minister, on the pretext that he wanted to spend three days in the harem in seclusion, during which period he must not be disturbed.

Then he mounted a dromedary, travelled to Cambay in the space of one night and one day, disguised himself as a tradesman and made enquiries in the market as to the truth of Khatib's complaint. He then learnt that the Muhammadans were unjustly harassed without any ground. He then filled a vessel with sea-water and immediately returned to Naharwala (i.e. Anahilvad), which he entered on the third night from his departure.

The next day he held the court and directed the Khatib to state his grievance. Some of the officers

^{11.} Ibid., p. 526.

^{12.} Ibid., p. 526.

^{13.} Ibid., p. 530.

^{14.} Nadwi, op. cit., p. 16.

^{15.} Nadwi, op. cit., p. 162.

^{16.} Other Arab travellers who visited India during this period are: Abu Zayd Hasao Sairaii (2.77 A.D.). Abu Balf Mussar hin Muhaibit Yambui (942 A.D.), and Umi-Haukai (943-79 A.D.), a merchant of Bagded whom latakhri had met in India. Haukal was, perhaps, the first Arch writer to prepare a map of India, estimating the length and breadth of the country and locating on it cities and the length and breadth of the country and locating on it cities and the length and breadth of the country and locating on it cities and the length and breadth of the country and locating on it cities and the length and traveler of Managaram & Maranjet-al-agaim, follows Haukal in time. He, epo, like Haukal, has discussed the geography and trade of

India. (Cf. Nadwi, up. cit., 34-35). These travellers have nothing substantial to add to the picture of political and social conditions in ludin, depicted by historians like Masudi, Biruni and Idrist.

^{17.} B. G., p. 551; Killiot and Dowson, History of India as sold by its own Historians, Vol. 1, 1867, p. 88.

^{18.} H. M. Ellion. History of India as told by its sum Mistarumes. Vol. 11, 1869, pp. 162-164,

tried to falsify Khatib's statement. Then the king ordered his water-carrier to give the water-pot of sea-water and asked the officers to drink from it. The king then told them that he had travelled to Cambay to make personal enquiries as to the truth of the complaint, and learnt that the Muhammadans were oppressed. It was his duty, he said, to see that all his subjects were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. He then gave orders that two leading men from Brahmins, fire-worshippers and others should be punished. He gave a lac of bulotras to enable the Muslims to rebuild the mosque and minarets. He also granted to Ali four articles of dress.

During the succeeding period of Vaghela rule (13th century A.D.) protection was granted to all traders without distinction of caste or creed.19 Cambay there was a flourishing Muslim community. Ibn Batutah (1377 A.D.), the author of 'Aja'ib-al-Asfar, who visited India later, states that there were many beautiful mosques in Cambay and a majority of its foreign traders were Musalmans. Even in Somnath Patan, one of the holiest places in India, the Muslims were able to build a mosque with the help of eminent local Hindu citizens, and endow land and other property for its maintenance (1264 A.D.). Pilgrims to Meeca were given all facilities, and when they embarked from Cambay a strong fleet guarded them against coastal pirates. This was appreciated by the Muslim community. A story is related about how Vastupala (C. 1186 A.D.-1240 A.D.), the erudite minister of the Vaghela King Viradhaval of Gujarat treated the mother of Mu'iz-ud-din (Qutb-ud-din or Altamish?), the Muslim Emperor of Delhi with kindness and respect, when she was sailing for Mecca on Hajj pilgrimage. He also presented her a beautiful marble torana (arched porch or gateway) for erection at the entrance of the holy place at Mecca. The Emperor touched by this kindness, maintained very friendly relations with both the King and the minister of Gujarat, and even went to the length of granting the Jaina minister excellent marble from the Mammani quarries for making the idols of Jaina tirthankaras.20 Similarly, it is recorded how shortly after the conquest of Gujarat (C. 1297 A.D.), Ulugh Khan, the Suba of the Emperor 'Ala-ud din Khalji, granted out of friendship a special farman to Samarashah, a merchant-prince of Gujarat, for effecting repairs to the celebrated Jaina tirtha Satrunjaya.

Thus, throughout the period of Hindu rule in Gujarat as in the rest of India, Muslims were treated with remarkable toleration and kindness, as the evidence of the Muslim historians cited above will show.

II

Muslims reacted to this kindness very favourably and fraternized with Hindus, taking interest in their life and manners and even contributing to their literature and culture.

It is generally supposed that it was Akbar who was the pioneer of this movement. As Hindu life and culture interested him, he got several of the Hindu epics and scriptures translated from Sanskrit into Persian. It is also assumed that Faizi was the first Muhammadan scholar who mastered Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, however, even in Akbar's time there were, besides Faizi other scholars like 'Abdul Kadir, Nakib Khan, Mulla Shah Muhammad, Mulla Shabri, Sultan Haji, and Haji Ibrahim, who translated Hindu scriptures form Sanskrit into Persian. 'Abdu-1-Kadir translated Ramayana and Simhasana Batrisi. The translation of Mahabharata was done by Nakib Khan or Faizi, while that of Atharva Veda was done by Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi.**

The knowledge of Sanskrit was thus prevalent among Muslim scholars, at this time, but it was not the first occasion when Muslims had become acquainted with the language. It is certain that several Muhammadan scholars had attained a correct knowledge of Sanskrit not long after the establishment of their religion. Several Indian works in Sanskrit on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, etc., were translated into Arabic during the early periods of Khalifat. In India,

geographors, who had not visited India, have written about it from other sources. Among them are line-Rustah (902 A.D.), Qadamah bin Ja'afar (908 A.D.), Bilazuri (909 A.D.), the author of the very valuable and famous work Futuh-al-Buldan, and Nadim Baghdadi (980 A.D.), the suthor of Kitab-al-Fahrist. The later Arab chroniclers include names like Idrai (1156 A.D.), Yaqut (1229 A.D.), the writer of the very voluminous work Ma'atam-al-buldan, Qizwini (1203 A.D.), Damishqi (1326 A.D.), Abu-al-Fida (1331 A.D.), and others (Nadwi, op. cit., pp. 36-37).

22. A corresponding instance of a Hindu ruler interesting himself in Islamic religion and culture is recorded in the earlier chronicles of Arab travellers. Busung bin Shaliryar (912 A.D.), mentions in his record of travels 'Ajalh-al-Rind how a Hindu king named Maharoga of Alara between Kashanir and the Punjah, requested Amir 'Abdullah hia 'Umar of Mansura to send him some one who would expound to him the principles of Islam in the Indian language (i.e., the local dialect of the Prakrit language). The Amir sent him an 'Iraqi-Mualim poet, who knew the Indian languages, having been brought up in India. The latter translated the Quran in the Indian language, to which the king always listened with rapt attention and reverence. (Nadwi, op. cit., pp. 31 and 196).

23. Elliot and Dawson, History of India, Vol. V, 1873, p. 571.

24. The Arab scholars had learnt the Sanskrit language very early in order to become familiar with Indian philosophy and sciences of astronomy and medicine, which attracted them much. India's advanced civilization and elegance of manners also fascinated them. Vida Elliot and Itawson, Vol. V, p. 572; Nadwl, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

25. The Baramakah ministers (753-802 A.D.) of the Abbaside Khilofat of Bagdad attracted Hindu scholars to Bagdad and encouraged them to translate with the help of Arabs, the Hindu works on mathematics, estronomy, medicine, etc. These Baramakah ministers were, seconding to Maniana Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi, of Hindu origits. (Nadwt, op. cir., pp. 83-84, 102-104). Under the patronage of Khalista Mansur and Hasun ar-Rashid and their Baramakah ministers the Risida scholars worked assiduously in the medical and literary departments of the kingdom of Bagdad and translated into Arabic several Eindu

^{19.} Vasanta Villasa Muhakonya of Balachandra Suzi. GOS No. 7, Conto 4.

^{20.} Chairrement Probandha, translated by H. R. Kapadia, p. 207.
21. Above we have cited the authority of a few Arab Materians and travellers who visited ladia. Numerous other Arab Materians and

Al Biruni (973-1048 A.D.) studied Sanskrit diligently and was so proficient in it that he could translate into, as well as from, Sanskrit. He was fascinated by the Indian philosophy, especially as expounded in the Bhagvad Gita. He has composed a wonderful book named Kitab-al-Hind, popularly known as Al Biruni's India, which is unique in Muslim literature. Hindus gave him the title "Vidyasagara" i.e. 'ocean of learning. He translated Sanskrit into Arabic for the benefit of Arabian scholars, who got acquainted with astronomy and other Hindu sciences through him. He also translated Arabic works into Sanskrit in order that the Hindus can have an idea of the new researches of Persian and Arab astronomers. Biruni thus served as a cultural link between the Hindus and the Muslims. He was, in the words of Vincent Smith, one of the most gifted scientific men known to history." Muhammad bin Israil-al-Tanukhi also travelled early in India to learn the Sanskrit system of astronomy. Amir Khusrav mentions that the Arab astronomer Abu Ma'shar came to Benares and studied astronomy there for ten years."

Several Muhammadan emperors before Akbar are known to have got Sanskrit works translated into

works on mathematics, astrology, medicine, literature and statecraft-A Pandit from Sind, who visited Bagdad in 762 A.D. took with him the Sanskrit astronomical work Brihaspatt Siddhanta, which was transslated into Ambic under the name As-Sind-Hind. It was later followed by the translution of Arva Bhutta, under the name Arj band, Araba mastered Hindu astronomy and even supplemented the Hindu system. The names of Arab astronomers like Hasan bin Salibah, Hasan bin Khasib, Hatim Tabrizi Abdullah Marwazi, and Abu Rihyan Buruni or Al Birani (9th to 11th century A.D.) are outstanding in this connection. Numerous terms in Arabic astronomy are derived from Sanskrit : e.g., Arabic Kardjah, Sanskrit Kramujya; Arabiv Jayb, Sanskrit Jya; Arabic Auj, Sanskrit Ucca; Arabic Urayn (the normal position) Sanskrit Uffain; Arabic Bazmasah, Sanekrit Adhikamava. The Arabic method of writing the figures 1 to 9 has been berrowed from the Hindus. (Nadwi, op. cit., pp. 111-112, 115-119). Similarly the Araba borrowed the Hindu system of medicine. It is well-known that when Harun-ar-Rashid fell ill and could not be cured by the Arab physicians, a Hindu physician named Manuka (Sanskrit Manikya?) was sent for from India, and he cured the Khalif, Manikya helped the medical department of the State and translated the treatise of Susrata into Arabic under the name Sanu. He also translated a Hindu treatise on poisons. Chareks was first translated into l'ersian and then into Arebic. Similarly a work named Suldhisthana was translated under the name Sandhestan. Quet-Hindi and Janjabi! or ginger are mentioned in the Quran. Similarly the Arabic Itrifal is to be traced to Sanskrit triphala (Nadwi, Ibid, pp. 119-124). Similarly Hindu works on veterimary science were also translated into Arabic. So also Hindu works on the science of war and statecraft, chemistry, logic, poetics, mesmerism, etc., were translated into Arabic during the first five consturies or so of the Hijra era, Stories from the Mahabharata were translated into Arabic by Abu-al-Hasan Ali Jibilli in 1026 A.D. Numerous Hindu stories too, appear to have travelled to Arabia. Kalila'wa Dimmuh, a favourite work of fables in Arabia, is traced to the Pancho Tantra by Biruni. (Nadwi, op. cit., pp. 130-136). Yangubi (died 900 A.D.) has written a history of peoples, in which he has described those books which were translated from Indian languages into Arabic. Qadi Suad Andulusi (died 1069 A.D.) has written a history of art and literature of civilized nations, which includes a chapter on India. Ihu-e-Abi Usophatah Muwaffaq-al-Din (1270 A.D.) has written biographics of eminent physicians of the world, including ladien. (Nadwi, up. nit., pp. 80-82).

. 26. Smith, Oxford Missory of India, 1919, p. 194.

27. E. C. Majaman, Advanced History of India, p. 275.

Persian. Fires Shah Tughluq, middle of the fourteenth century, ordered a work on philosophy to be translated under the name of Dalail-i-Firus Shahi. There is another translation from Sanskrit into Persian, done in Firus Shahi's reign. A work on veterinary art was translated from Sanskrit by order of Ghyiasu-d-din Muhammad Shah, son of Mahmud Shah. This rare book, called Kurrutu-l Mulk was translated as early as 1381 A.D. These translations clearly indicate that Muslim scholars were well acquainted with Sanskrit language and literature during this period.

Thus a tendency is noticeable among the Muslim emperors and aristocracy of India to appreciate Hindu life and culture, considerably prior to Akbar's time. In Gujarat too, we come across striking instances of this tendency, and, what is more interesting, they are found in the ordinary strata of Muslim society. Though considerable historical material and early literature of Gujarat still remains to be explored, we come across instances of Muslim inscriptions written in Sanskrit in a manner which reveals their profound admiration for Hindu culture. Similarly literary compositions written in Apabhramsa, the language of the people during C. 600 to 1200 A.D. and in early vernaculars, by Muslim writers, have come to light. Some of them were considered so elegant as to induce eminent Jain monks to write on them scholarly commentaries in Sanskrit. We shall review them here in brief.

A Muslim inscription of Somnath Patan was found written in Sanskrit during the reign of the Vaghela King Arjunadeva (V.S. 1320, A.D. 1264), recording the building of a mosque at Somnath Patan, by Muhammadan ship-owners of Ormuz in Iran, and the endowment of land, shops and other property for its upkeep. The surplus income of the property is directed to be utilized in the celebration of Muslim religious festivals and the remainder thereafter is to be sent to Mecca and Medina. The local jamaths (jama'ats) or congregations of Muslims are entrusted with the supervision of the trust. This inscription was first noticed at Veraval by Col. Tod, and was commented on and translated by E. Hultzsch in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, 1882.

It begins with a peculiar benediction:

Om Namah, Sri Visvanathaya Namaste Visvanathaya Visvarupa namostu te Namaste Sunyarupaya laksalaksa namostu te

"Om, Om. Adoration to holy Visvanatha."

Adoration to Thee who art the Lord of the Universe, adoration to Thee whose form is the universe, adoration to Thee whose form is the void, adoration to Thee who art visible and invisible (at the same time)."

This form of mangala or benediction is not met with in other inscriptions of this period. It appears to be an adaptation of some ayats in the opening and other chapters of Al-Quran, like the following:

^{28.} Eiliot, V, 578.

^{29.} Ibid, 574, 572.

^{30.} This is also an epithet of Sive,

Al-Hamdu Lillah-i-Rabbil, 'Alamin: "All praises to God, the Lord of Universes." (Ch. I).

Allahu La Ilaha Illa Huw al-Hayy al-Qayyum: "There is no God but God, the living, the selfsubsisting."—(Ch. III)

Fa innallah Huw al-Ghaniyyul Hamid:

"Verily God is self-sufficient and worthy to be praised."—(Ch. XXXI).

Huw al-Awwal wal-Akhir waz-zahir wal Batin : "He is the first and the last; the manifest and the hidden."—(Ch. LVII).

The date of the inscription is given thus:

Bodhaka-Rasula-Mahammad-Samvat 662 tatha Sri-Nripa-Vikrama-Sum 1320 tatha Srimad-Valabhi-Sam 945.

i.c.-"In the year of the Prophet Muhammad (i.e., Hijra year) 662, in the Vikrama Samvat 1320, and in the Valabhi Samvat...."

The inscription mentions the ruling king of Gujarat, during whose reign the grant is made, with all the usual titles, and it refers to the chief priest of the temple of Somnath with marked respect:

. . Sri-Somanathadeva-Pattane Paramu-Pasupatacharua-Mahayandita-Mahattara-Dharmmamurtti-Ganda Sri-Paravirabhadra.

i.e.-"In the town of Sri Somanathadeva Mahattara Ganda Sri Paravirabhadra, the great teacher of the Pasupatas, the great scholar, an incarnation of the god of Justice.'

The name of the purchaser, the seller and the details regarding the land purchased are mentioned thus:

Hurmuja-vela-kule Amira-Sri Rukanadina-rajye paripanthayati sati Karyavasat Sri Somanathadeva-nagaram samayata-Harmuja-desiya-Khoja Nau. Abubrahima-suta Nakhu. Naradina Pirojena raja. Sri-Nanasiha-suta Vrha raja Sri-Chada prabhritinam parsvat Sri Somanathadeva-nagarabahye Santisthamanabhukhandam Samupattam.

i.e.- "While on the shore of the Hurmuz coast the reign was conducted by the Amir Sri Ruknuddin, the ship-owner Nuruddin Piroz, son of shipowner Khoja Abu Ibrahim, a native of Hurmuz, who had come for some business to the town of Sri-Somanathadeva bought a piece of land situated outside the town of Sri-Somanathadeva, from the great man Raja (Kula) Sri-Chada, son of Raja (Kula) Sri-Nanasiba.

On this piece of land Piroz erected a masjid in accordance with the code of his religion with the help of Sri-Chada:

Tatah Nakhu-Pirojena Svadharmasastrabhi-prayena mijigiti dharmasthanam Sri-chyda-Sakhayatvenad dharmabandhavena karitam.

For the maintenance of this mosque the following property is assigned:

Asya mijigiti dharmasthanasya varttapanartham pratidinam puja-dipa-taila-paniya" tatha Malima" Modina Masapathaka tatha nauvittakanam samacarena Baratirabikhatamarati visesa puja-

\$1. (To provide for the expenses of) prayers, oil for lamps, and water for ablution.

mahotsava Karapanar tham tatha prativarsam chohacuna bhagnavisirnna samaracanartham . Bri-Baulesvaradeviya samagra palladika . . . tatha phani . . . tatha hattadvayam . . . Udakena pradattam.

i.e.—"For the maintenance of this place of worship (called) Masjid, for the lamps, oil, and water (required for) the daily worship, and for (the appointment of) a preceptor, a crier to prayers, and a monthly reader (of the Quran), and for the payment of the expenses of the particular religious festivals of Baratira-bikhatamarati according to the custom of the sailors, and for the annual whitewashing and repairs of rents and defects, (confirming the gift) by (a liberation of water) were giventhe whole hamlet (palladika) belonging to (the temple of) Sri Baulesvara, and an oil-mill and two shops."

All the surplus that remains is to be sent to the holy places of Mecca and Medina:

Yat-kincit sestdravyam udgarati tat sarvam dravyam Makha-Madina dharmmasthane prasthapaniyam. The jamaths or congregations of the local Musalmans were entrusted with the management of the trust:

Nakhuyanorika-jamatha" tatha khatibasahitasamasta sahadasakta Thattikanam jamatha tatha cunakarajamatha" tatha pathapatinam" madhye Musalmana-jamatha prabhrtibhih samastairani militua ayapadamidam palapaniyam dharmasthanamidam varttapaniyam ca.

The inscription concludes with a curse on the future plunderers of the place:

Ya kopi dharmasthanamidam tatha ayanidam ca lopayati lopapayati ca sa papatma pancamahapataka dosena lipyate narakayami bhavati.

This inscription reveals some interesting facts. There were several Mussiman congregations in one of the holiest places of the Hindus, Somanath Patan. They received warm support from the local Hindu celebrities in building a mosque and endowing property for its proper maintenance. Somanath, as Muslim historians tell us, was sacked more than once by Muslim conquerors. But this did not affect the Hindu spirit of toleration and generosity towards people of other faiths. The Muslims of this period did not live in isolation, but had imbibed several important elements of the sister-culture, and had fitted themselves into Indian life to a remarkable extent. They did not hesitate to use Sanskrit for their important inscrip-

^{58.} Meline-Mutalim: bet one who leads the prayers. he calls the fulthful to grayers.

^{34.} Masapathaka-Hafiz, our who remembers the Quran by hourt. It is the usual practice for the Hafiz to recite Al-Quran during the particular names prayers offered at night in the month of Ramson, and complete the Holy Buck at least once during the month, Hence the Sanskrit translailon Masapathaka.

^{35.} Beratirabikhatamerati-Certain festivals colobrated by the Muslims on the 14th of Shaban, the mouth preceding Ramsson. They are called Shab-s-barat (i.e., the night of share or lots), the giver of fruits (rabihah-thamarat).

^{36.} Jama'aja, congregations of Muslims.

^{37.} Congregation of ship-owners.

^{38.} Sahadasakta ghattikanam jamatha—the congregation of all the wherf-people who are devoted to the mertyr ('All).

B9. The congregation of the (Persian) artisans.

^{40.} The congregation of the Massimane among the landholders.

tions, nor did they stint in paying a reversit tribute to the chief Hindu priest of Somanath.

Another outstanding example of Muslim admiration for contribution to the Hindu culture is the Sandesa Rasaka of Abdul Rahaman, written after the style of Sandesa poems like the Meghaduta, probably during the latter half of the 12th or the first half of the 13th century. The language of the poem is Apabhramsa, then the current popular speech of western India, from which have arisen the modern Gujarati, Rajasthaui and western Hindi. The Rasaka won such celebrity that two Jaina monk-scholars were attracted to write avacuris or commentaries on it in Sanskrit. Abdul Rahaman, who very probably belonged to western India, was the son of a weaver, Mirasena by name, a good scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa, in which latter he had many poetical compositions to his credit.

The present composition is a remarkable specimen of Apabhramsa poetry. Its depiction of moods and bentiments is very powerful and its description of the seasons is quite attractive. The most striking aspect of the Rasaka in the present reference is the Muslim poet's profound sympathy and respect for Hindu life and culture. Describing Mulasthana (modern Multan) he says:

"There everyone is learned. Charming Prakrit verses in melodious tunes are heard while moving about in the city. At some places (Brahmins) well-versed in the four Vedas expound the Vedas. At other places a Rasaka (a dramatic composition) is played by actors. At some places is heard the Sadayavatsakatha, at other places Nalacharitra, at still other places the Mahabharata. At some places eminent Brahmin ascetics are uttering benedictions; (while) in other places (episodes from) the Ramayana are acted."

This charming poem has been recently edited by that great savant, Muni Sri Jinavijayaji in the Singhi Jaina Series. It is a remarkable instance of the Muslim contribution to Indian culture. In later times too we come across Muslim poets contributing to Indian literature. Amir Khusrau's (1325 A.D.) poetical works in

41. Sandeta Rusaka of Abdul Rahaman, Ed. Jinhevijayaji Muni. Singhi Jain Series, 1945, vss. 42-44.

This description reminds us of a lovely poem by an Arab post, Abu Dala Sindhi, in praise of India, which was his motherland it appears to have been composed sometime between the 9th or 10th sentury A.D. and 1287 A.D. The Arab poet's love for his motherland, and his estimation of her weath and charms, is indeed moteworthy. He describes his motherland thus:

"By my life, this is the land which when rain falls on it, grows siffk, and pearls and rubies for people devoid of advenments.

"It preduces much, camphor, ambergris and other imamorable perfumes for those who are unclean.

"It produces attars of verious kinds, joyaphale, hyacinth, ivory, teak wood, parfume sticks and sandal.

"Among the weapons it produces are swords, which never need patishing, and speam which, when they are hurled, would push back armies."

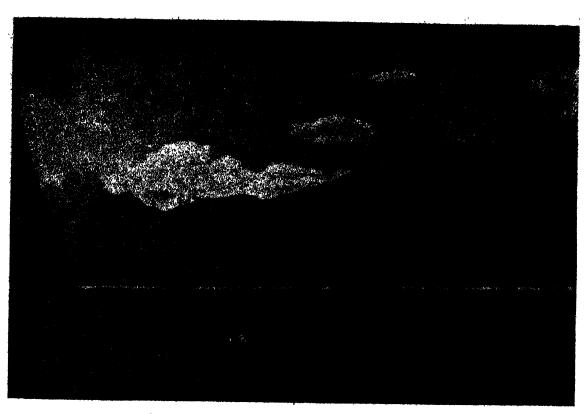
"Then, well there he may one but a feel, who would refuse to ecknowledge these maintain of fadle?" (Qiertal, 'Accr-at-Biled, p. 25; alter by Raffet, go. 285; pp. 78-79).

early Hindustani, and Malik Mohammad Layer's Padamavata (1540 A.D.) in the early Avadhi language, are instances in point. Writings of Muslim poets like Kabir and Rahim have become an immortal cultural heritage of India. Contribution to Indian culture by Muslim writers is in evidence upto about the 19th century in Gujarat and in other parts of India.

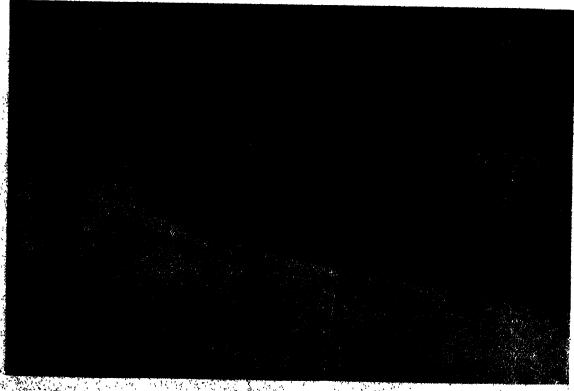
Correspondingly Hindus, particularly their upper castes like Nagars and Kayasthas took keen interest in Persian language and literature. Some of them could even vie with Muslim scholars in their mastery over Persian. They must have started studying it out of necessity, perhaps to qualify themselves for state-service. But later they developed keen interest in Persian language and literature. In Surat, for instance, the Nagars and Kayasthas held Musha'iras where they recited their gasidas. To some the study of Persian literature became such an obsession that they adopted for themselves names like 'Sahebrai' and 'Mijlasrai,' and even performed the sacred Hindu ceremonies like the Sandhya in Persian.

Some of the Hindu scholars have composed notable works in Persian. Thakordas Daru, a Kayastha of Surat, sent a quada to the Mughal emperor every year. Nandalal Munshi of Broach (C. 1700) attracted the attention of Emporor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) by his poems. Kavi Bhagavandas (1681-1746) a divan of the Nawab of Surat, composed poetry in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, besides Sanskrit, Gujarati and Marathi. Sridasa, a Nagar Brahmin, composed Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri (1731 A.D.), a history of the reign of Aurangzeb. While Mithalal Kayastha (C. 1750 A.D.) is known to have furnished to Muhammad Ali Khan a considerable part of the material for the celebrated history Mirat-i-Ahmadi.42 The celebrated Kathiawari Nagar Minister Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji (1768-1841 A.D.) wrote in Persian an account of Kathiawar named Waqa'i-i-Sorath (C. 1825 A.D.), and epistles entitled Ruqaat-i-Gunagun. The Gujarati poets Samal (C. 1700-C. 1752 A.D.), Mancharaswami (1788-1845 A.D.) were well-acquainted with Persian. Numerous other Persian works of Hindu writers have been lost on account of the ignorance of their descendants. This tradition of Persian scholarship among Hindu writers continued almost up to recent times. The late Prof. N. B. Divatia's father and grand-father, R. B. Bholanath and Sarabhai were good scholars and writers of Persian, and so too was the late Mosto Kavi Balashankar Ullasaram Kantharia. Today D. B. K. M. Jhaveri is acknowledged in Gujarat as an erudite scholar of Persian Similarly it is well-known that several eminent Hindu citizens of U. P. including men like the late Pandit Motilal Nehru have been good scholars of Persian. Sir T. B. Sapru's proficiency in and affection for both the Persian and Arabic languages is acknowledged on all hands. Several Hindu

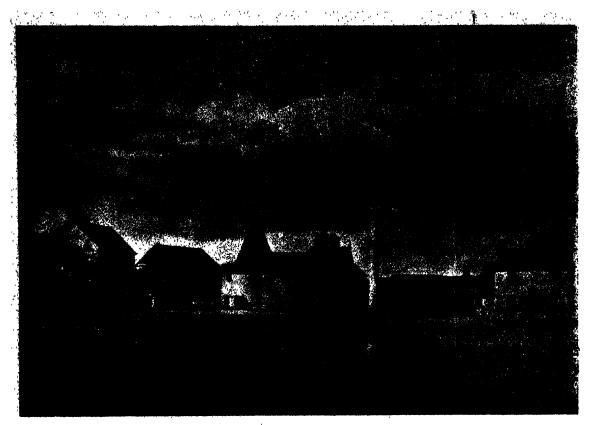
42. Gajatati Literature and Muslim Culture; D. B. K. M. Hervid, Mullipulaine Scilipsprouds, 1989, pp. 205-208,



Crossing the Shyok near Khaplu, north of Kashmir



The Shyok valley, steeply endicaed, is more open and sandy than that of the Indus



A typical village of Kent, undisturbed through the ages



Hope hard mainly the brewing of beer, we important among the many orbit grown is Kent

writers of the present day, like "Sudarshan", "Prem-- ohandji", Ramnath Sarshar, Brijnarayan Chakbast, Pandit Brijmohan Dattatreya Kayafi. Lala Shri Ram, Manoharlal Zutshi, Dayanarayan Nigam, Jwalaprasad Barq, are acknowledged masters of Urdu literature.

It is only during the last fifty years or so that the mutual culture contacts between the two communities have dwindled and almost ceased.

The isolationist tendency among the present-day Muslims seems to have been responsible for this result. The recent revivalist tendency among the Hindus may have also to a certain extent contributed to it.

From the foregoing survey emerge the following points:

In the heyday of Hindu rule, the rulers and the people treated Muslims with remarkable toleration and kindness. The greatest of the Rajput kings of Gujarat considered it their duty to see that all their

subjects whatever their creed or community were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. Muslims reciprocated by fraternizing with the Hindus and taking interest in and contributing to their culture. This served as a golden link between them and their Hindu brethren. Hindus in later times studied Persian language and assimilated Persian culture to a remarkable degree.

Let us hope that Muslim scholars today will emulate the example of poets like Abdul Rahaman, who drank deep at the fountain of Hindu culture, and inspired by its noble sentiments made an invaluable contribution to contemporary Indian literature, and that Hindu scholars will study Persian language and appreciate Muslim culture. That will bring the two communities close to each other as nothing else can, and bind them together in ties of love and mutual respect.

HINDI AND HINDUSTANI

Speaker, C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly By G. S. GUPTA,

THE language controversy is coming to the forefront. This is but natural. After the British have retired from India the political reason for the dominance of the English language has ceased to exist and there is a quest as to what language or languages should take its place (except where the need of English may still be felt for reasons other than political). No responsible person holds that English can go in the twinkling of an eye. It would have already gone if it were so simple.

English had the monopoly in certain vital spheres of our activities, e.g., in administration, in law and as a medium of higher education. These fields were the close preserve of English and our languages simply could not touch them. In the other fields that were open to our languages, they showed their potentiality in no mean manner. The works of Bankim and Tagore can stand comparison to any in the world. So it was not the lack of capacity in our languages for growth but their forced disuse that has stunted their progress. Nor did we lack genius. The present Civil Procedure Code owes much to the acumen and ability of Dr. Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. We could produce such giants in sciences & Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Dr. Sir C. V. Raman even in such adverse conditions. There is no wonder, therefore, that there is a genuine and universal feeling that we must not remain tied downto English for all time or in all those spheres where English predomizated. But we must not shut our eyes to the obvious difficulties and the complexity of the problem If we fail to appreciate them or if our sp- in what language shall our laws be framed by the

proach is not on sound lines, then justead of solving our problem we may just complicate matters. This may even lead to provincial jealousies and mutual suspicion which we must avoid. There are many problems like medium of University education in different provinces which are coming to the forefront. But my purpose in this short article is not to deal with all or many of them. I want to confine this article to one specific question; and that is, what should be the language of the Centre, which, in the Draft Constitution, is to be called Union of India. Mere repetition of sound slogans like Rashtra Bhasha or national language won't serve. We must examine the question somewhat closely. What do we want to achieve? From where do we want to dethrone English so far as this particular question is concerned? Is it from the market places, the bazzars and our houses? Was the common man's parlance in our own language in any way banned to us by any enactment or ordinance of the British Government? No, certainly not. We could speak whatever language or dialect which suited us in our homes, in bazaars and in public meetings. The same person sometimes has to speak somewhat differently in different places if he wants to be understood by the local audionce in a meeting. So the problem is really different. It is not the common man's parlance. If we remember this while discusting this question, much of the misunderstanding will be removed. The question is, in what language shall the administration of the Union be conducted:

Union? When we consider these things one inevitable factor presents itself to us, and it is that in the fields of law and administration looseness of thought and expression won't do. We will have to express our thoughts and ideas accurately and without leaving them open to doubt. We will have to provide for fine shades of distinction like consent and assent, trade, profession, calling and employment; sentence, punishment and penalty; and a thousand others. The vocabulary of common parlance will not do; at any rate it will not suffice. We have to search for suitable words to express those ideas. We may have to coin " lot of them. So, to my mind, it is not so much the question of language-Hindi or Hindustani-but one of vocabulary. What should be our source for these new words? Should it be Sanskrit or should it be Arabic and Persian is the real question. If Sanskrit, the language would be called Hindi although the vocabulary would be equally Bengali, Marathi and any other language of the Dominion of India. If it would be Arabic or Persian, then the language would be Urdu or Hindustani. Some people think that we can draw our new words from both the sources, that is Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian. I am one of those who seriously doubt this proposition. We can have either but not both. If we have both, shall we call arrest dhritkaran' and re-arrest giraftariaye-mukurrar : law as vidhi and lawless as kanoon shikan. This will be preposterous We must remember that we are not planning for ourselves but for generations to come. Any attempt to draw new words from both the sources will put a heavy weight on our boys. Not only will they have to learn two different sets of words-Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic-but they will also have to learn two different sets of grammar. I will illustrate my point. From vidya and arth we have vidyarthi, but from ilm' and talab' it won't be ilmtalih", it would be talibe ilm." Our arthvidyan after the fashion of talibe ilm" will mean quite a different thing. So it won't suffice for the future student of our country to know the words ilm" and talib" but he must also master the grammar of it before he can make use of those words. Then again, my fear is that even if we

> १ इतकरण २ विरफ्तारि-ए-मुकरेर ३ विधि
> ४ कानून शिकन
> ५ विद्या ६ कर्ष ७ विद्यार्थी ८ इतम ९ तस्त्रव १० इतम तास्त्रिय ११ तास्त्रिवे इत्स १२ क्षर्य विद्या १३ तास्त्रिवे इत्स १४ इस्म १५ तास्त्रिव

put on the boys the heavy burden of mastering Arabic and Persian words, which are more foreign to us than Sanskrit words, and of learning two different sets of grammar, we are likely to fumble at the first real test. To give an example, the preamble to the Draft Constitution of India says:

"We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to its citizens, justice—social, economic and political . ""

N.B.—Now, let us take the words "justice—social, conomic and political."

This has been translated in Urdu, which we may Hindustani as follows: Insaf mile—samaji; maashi, our siyasi." Now suppose the word samaji" came before a court of law. The question will arise, is it like dhandi, hasti and kari" or it is like maasi and siyasi." These would convey two different meanings. In Hindi and Bengali samajito will mean one having a sumaj." In Arabic and Persian it will mean appertaining to samajas and the two in a court of law are quite distinct things. It may do well in a bazaar but it won't do when we write constitutions and laws to have a word, which according to our own standard and canon, can mean two different things. What I am trying to impress is that by resorting to Hindustani, a mixture of Hindi and Urdu, we are likely to land ourselves in difficulties even after we have cut ourselves away from languages of Sanskritic origin like Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati. To my mind, therefore, the language, or in other words the vocabulary, of the Centre has to be from Sanskrit which will, therefore, be called Hindi. Our nationalism requires it more than anything else because if we have dhritkaranes for arrest, our terms will be uniform throughout the Dominion of India. But if we have giraftariaye-mukarrara for re-arrest we shall be making ourselves understood to a very limited part of the Dominion.

There is another very important point. Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Civil Procedure Code, Evidence Act, etc., are in the Concurrent List. The Centre as well as the Provinces, to be called States, can legislate on them. It is therefore absolutely essential that our vocabulary should be the same throughout the Dominion of India. Otherwise there is bound to be chaos ultimately leading to disintegration.

१६ इन्साफ मिळे—समाजी मधासी और सियासी १७ समाजी १८ दंडी, इस्ती करी १९ मधासी सियासी २० समाजी २१ समाजी २२ समाज १ २३ इतकरण २४ गिरफ्तारि-ए-मकर्रेड



THE MOTHER AND THE SON

By SANTA DEVI

[Translated from the original Bengali by Miss Shyamasree Nag. B.A.]

THE elder daughter-in-law was busy with her toilet. On the bed, beside the dressing-table, lay three goldembroidered Benaresi saris-one purple, the other mayurkanthi, and the third a dazzling flame colour. Mukul ran her comb briskly through the mass of her hair, while she tried to decide whether the sleeveless brocade blouse or the vellow jacket decorated with the wide Surati gold border would be more suitable for her sari. A lacquer casket stood on her dressing-table and over its lid a string of pearls and a diamond necklace lay sparkling. Mukul was not satisfied with her coiffure; it came too low down on the nape of her neck. She undid it and then with a large comb pushed the thick strands of her hair up, nearly on the middle of her head. Tying the base of her long tresses with a ribbon, she stood with her back to the dressing-table mirror and looked into the full-length mirror in front of her. Twisting her hair up into a loose bun, she held it in both hands and surveyed the effect. Ah, was it not becoming! Tiny ringlets, beneath the high coiffure, hung at the smooth white nape of her neck (like a picture from Ajanta). Was it not a shame to cover up such a coiffure with the veil? But anyway, a plain bun under the veil, would have looked stunning either!

Her husband's younger sister entered the room and stared at her, surprised.

"Heavens! bowdi," she said, "is it dado's wedding today, or chorda's? The new bowdi falls far below you. so far as beauty is concerned—and now, if you dazzle each and every person by dressing up in that manner, then nobody would even notice the poor thing."

"What must I do, may I know?" Mukul retorted.
"Would it please you all if I smear some ink on my face and throw away my sars and ornaments into a dust-bin? Well, then, say so—and it might be done!"

Poor Maya, being a good-natured soul, hastily softened down and said, "Of course not dear! Who else should dress up but you, with no children to torture you all day long, as in our case?"

"Well, that is the problem," said Mukul, pouting her lips, "you cannot help being jealous of my child-lessness and yet you weep your heart off until a noisy little friend comes and settles on your lap. I never cared for such stuff. A Bengali child is a nuisance—having dysentery and liver troubles every other day! I would have had to go without food and sleep, and so, it is better as it is."

"But even then," Maya replied, "I have never heard of anyone liking a lonely childless home !"

Mukul did not answer. She draped the purple Benaves around herself and walked out of her reom, fains the veil over her head. Maya's aunt entered the room, parting breathlessly, "Bowma," she said, "the partry door is wide open—all the sweets will be stolen, dear!"

"Bowdi is frightfully busy with her saris and jewels," replied Maya, "has she any spare time to take charge of the pantry? It is only a few seconds that she has faished her toilet and gone out of here. We mere women must bear the burden of the whole world—even when our children are constantly at our heels—while ladies like her are so busy cating, dressing and sleeping that they have no time for work!"

"Bless the little dears!" said her aunt, "God grant them long life! It is just because you have come that I see some fresh little faces and so forget my misery. Otherwise, this house is nothing but a hospital! Dada groans with his gout in his room, while I gasp with asthma in mine. The boys are untraceable the whole day—they do not turn up till ten at night. And our daughter-in-law is, of course, unique! Her sole concerns are the shops, the market, the tailor and the jeweller; and as she has a motor car tied to her heels, she does just that all day long. If she had a little imp in her lap, she would have wanted to stay at home, just to fondle it for a while."

Maya said, "Seven years have passed since her marriage, when will she ever have a child? She is as old as I and my Panu was a six-months' baby at the time of her wedding. She ought to see a doctor now. If I try to tell her, she will eat me up, of course!"

"She will rush to eat you up, indeed!" replied her aunt. "She can't escape such a fate if she has such a nature. Does any one in this modern age realise that motherhood is the result of the strictest penance? The past age could have taught her a lesson! Eight years after my aunt's wedding, my grandmother pushed a second wife into my uncle's home. The virtuous lady bore everything patiently all her life but never blamed anyone but her fate. She never touched a luxury throughout her life, she used to say—what right have I to use those things, my only wish is to have the sindoor-mark always on my forehead."

"What is the use of telling such old tales?" Maya said, "we will be glad enough, if the new bride makes our family grow! But she also is a grown-up girl of nineteen, who knows of what sort she is?"

Aunt answered, "Her mother has five sons and three daughters, I have heard. That had made us bring her, hoping she would have two or three, at least. Otherwise, we do not bring a bride just to spend some money!"

Mukul heard her words as she was entering the room to keep in her almirah the son the new bride had worn in the reception feast. Her face darkened for a moment, but she entered the room with a forced smile on her lips. Even then, she heard Maya saying, "Father built this huge house and mother made it the home of her heart's desire. It is also full of memories of my grandmother. The heavy cupboards and bed-steads, the household utensils, silver and gold, are even now clothed with years of their loving touch. What is the use of all this, if bowdi has no children?"

"Why sister dear!" said Mukul, as she stepped across the threshold, "Is there any cause for such anxiety? Everybody is not like me, and even then your children are there and they might take care of the household."

"Bownd!" said the irritated aunt, "you are their own aunt. Don't hint so unkindly at the little dears!"

(2)

Mukul led a contented life with youth, beauty, ornaments and mode of toilet. Being one of five children in a middle-class family, she never was much acquainted with wealth or luxury. When seeing her wealthy friends and relations she wished to wear a Benaresi sari she had to be satisfied with a Santipuri striped one. When she wanted jewels to sparkle all over her, with each movement of her young body, she had to spend her days adorning herself only with two shellbracelets around each of her wrists. Her heart shed silent tears when she inspected in her mirror the thousand defects in her mode of toilet. But she could not protest as she knew she was one of five children of poor parents! All of a sudden, because of her pretty complexion, she was married away to a rich family! Now, all the unfulfilled desires and untasted pleasures -- of whose existence she had feared to admit even to herself-crowded towards her, each with its individual claims. She did not forget to satisfy any of her desires, such as enjoying the luxury of saris, ornaments, a car and furniture, together with social pleasures and merriments. Even now, one desire was giving rise to another. Seven years of pleasant experience has made Mukul realise that there was no end to human desire. If each new desire could be fulfilled in life what would remain to be yet desired for? This is life. But even into this bower of complete happiness, the fresh little face of a child never peeped. Mukul used to think that the vast future would attend to that. Now was the time to ignore such problems and enjoy the pleasures of life I

But Mukul woke up from her dreams after her brother-in-law's wedding and realised that seven years have slipped by while there was a stir of anxiety in the whole family.

It was eight months or so, since the arrival of the younger daughter-in-law. She was not keeping well. Her mother wanted her to be sent to her immediately. Mukut has come to her husband's study, to make arrangements.

In the suffry summer afternoon Jayant Babu lay

tried to discover the special features of Mussolini's character. But the soft enticement of sleep had nearly made him forsake Mussolini when Mukul came and, running her fingers through his hair, said, "Listen darling! the day after tomorrow is an auspicious one and so, if you can inform them today at your convenience, they can take choto-bow away early that day."

Jayant put his legs down from the arm of the chair and sat up. "Why will they take bawma away now?" he asked in a hoarse inaudible voice.

Mukul shook her husband by his shoulder and said, "Rather! now, stop being a fool? As if you know nothing. It is her first time and we should send her to her father's. Who would be able to take care of her like her mother?"

Jayant looked at Mukul's face and said, "Even Sukant is to be a father before long? I feel so tickled when I remember him with his books tucked under his ann, scheming to miss his college classes, just a few days ago!"

Jayant laughed out but it did not sound like sheer laughter. It rang discordant even in Mukul's ear. She could not give a reply in her customary taunting way, swinging her arms and jingling her carrings. Jayant himself raised the topic, "Well, dear?" he said playing with the many bangles around her wrists, "Now Sukant will be the master of this house and when we grow old we would have to live on his children's charity. Let us rather leave this sham house and lead a hermit's life in the woods! What do you think of the idea?"

Mukul's heart gave a great leap. How could she being a woman, remain oblivious of this fact so long? To the society her excessive adherence to self-decoration and household care would seem meaningless and momentary efforts to appeare the heart. Who would believe her if she declared that she truly felt the greatest happiness through these acts? Mukul had at last realised that this gorgeous life was like a bouquet of spring blossoms abundant in its colour and fragrance but yielding no fruit to Nature's creative mystery. A pain wrenched at her heart when she thought that her husband had realised this fact even before her. Yet she went and sat very close to Jayant and twisting around her finger the border of her red Daccai sari, murmured in an injured tone, "Why? Are we two not enough for each other? Is our own present happiness absolutely worthless? Should everything depend on future?"

Jayant patted her cheek and replied, "Of course, this has a value, Mukul. But how long is the present lesser than a moment, do you not think? Surely, life means a tiny past and a vast future. We live our lives just for that future."

"Great heavens! Now, please stop your metaphysical lectures!" exclaimed Mukul, "Such things will not get into my brain. If you are so very impatient of the present then why not go and marry once again like the gentlemen of old!" "Step it, Mukul," Jayant said, "I do not want such words from your lips. Plenty of old gossips are still living to say them."

Suddenly, some one seemed to brand Mukul's heart with a red-hot iron. So this topic has been discussed already! Her seven-year-old home, her very own husband—could these people think easily and with one accord of snatching all this away from her, even in this twentieth century? Her eyes filled with tears. Drawing away from her husband, she pouted her lips and said, "So you all had discussions about this and still you kept it a secret from me? Excellent!" She could not think of any more words.

Jayant said, "Must I come and whisper into your ears every word that others say to hurt you?"

Mukul replied in an injured voice, "Why should you ever tell me, if you like to hear them yourself?"

Jayant did not answer.

He again lay back on the easy chair and began turning the leaves of a book. After a few moments' sitence Mukul said, "Will you not tell me who those old gossips were? After living with me for seven years you just listened to their words patiently—could you not give a proper answer?"

"Goodness!" exclaimed Jayant, "Why should I answer? They were not talking to me! I just heard them talking among themselves. People always do tell such things in these cases—there is nothing to be so sore about it!"

"So you too?" said Mukul and stalked out of the room stamping her feet.

(3)

Mukul had never stayed at her father's house after her marriage. Even on an invitation she would return home on the evening of the very day. Jayant's family was well-known for its arrogance as the daughters-inlaw were never much sent to visit their parents. Moreover, Mukul did not like to display before her relatives the wealth and splendour of this house. She was the daughter of poor parents; why would she humiliste her father by showing off her present wealth? Yet she never did wish to stay away from the princely grandeur.

But after so many years she quarrelled with her husband for nothing and went away to her parents. Mukul was terribly hurt as Jayant had refused to name the "old gossips" who had wanted to bring him another wife.

Her parents had a simple household. Both the brothers were married and their wives have had belies. The joys, the anxiety and the pleasures of the family were all because of the two little children. The elder daughter-in-law Sudha's daughter was a tiny tot, only two and a half years old and the younger daughter-in-law Beens had a year old son. Sudha's little girl Tuku would sither lisp stray lines from the nursery rhymes all day lang, or twisting and turning her childby little aims and less would start dancing. Sometimes, she

would offer her tiny little lap for her dear cousin and stretching her little arms would chirp pleadingly at her aunt for the baby.

The wise, precocious ways of Tuku were always making the two mothers laugh. When Tuku, in her anger, would puff up her fat cheeks and hiding her face would say, "I shan't talk wif you," Sudha, forgetting all her house-work would run to pick her up in her arms and kiss her till she forgot her anger.

The whole house, of course, was mad about the boy-baby. In addition to his being a wee little thing, he was the first son born in the family. His grandmother would collect coloured threads from the borders of old saris and embroider on his little patchwork quilts nursery rhymes that said, "Ah, my heart's treasure, my lotus-eyed one!" His mother, when she finished cooking, would take her baby on her lap and after dressing him up for the evening would put a kajal mark on his forehead, while she sang a nursery song that would drive the evil eye away from her child. The baby would gurgle merrily. His father and his uncle would inquire after the baby-hoy the moment they returned from the office. A grimy little bundle of humanity would crawl over to his uncle and sit down on his beslippered feet. That was his way of wanting to sit on his lap as he could not climb up himself! As usual, the family had gathered round the two little kids that evening. Tuku's aunt was asking her, "Whom do you love most, Tuku dear?"

"Mummy, daddy, you, baby and granny!" replied Tuku.

"Do you leve all of us at top level, you silly little thing?" taunted her mother.

"How much do you love me?" asked her aunt.

Tuku spread her little arms as much as she could and said, "So much."

"And me?" asked her mother.

"More and more, up to the sky!" Tuku answered excitedly.

"Oh, you little imp!" said her aunt, "Did you not my you had the greatest love for all?"

The baby crawled over to his mother and hung over her shoulders, "Imb!" he muttered incoherently.

All attention was turned to him at once. They stared at him, amazed, and exclaimed in chorus, "My, what a naughty little thing."

Tuku shook her forefinger at the baby and shrieked, "My, what a naughty little thing?"

Sudha and Beena had no other interests in life. They did not seem to care whether there were any other living creatures or objects of interest in the world or not. Mukul's suris and ornaments would grow stale in a few days, she would lose all interest in them until she thought of newer ones. But to Sudha and Beena their treasures were perpetually new. The words that the human child had spoken innumerable times, the wanton sprightliness that had rippled over the child's tary body ower and again, seemed to them to appear in this world, for the first time, in the words and

actions of their own babies. Now Mukul realised it for the first time in her twenty-five years.

The baby's eyes were heavy with sleep. His mother gathered him close into her arms and rocking him gently sang a lullaby that said, "My treasure, oh, my treasure, uscless is the life of one who has not such a treasure!" The baby-boy clapsed his mother's necklace in his tiny fist and cuddled closer to her bosom.

The growing agony in Mukul's heart made her realise that these rhymes were not mere empty verses. The most intimate feelings of innumerable mothers have been gathered up throughout the ages into this little song. This led her to believe that her childlessness might really make her husband take a second wife. Suddenly, she got up and ran into the Thakur-ghar. Prostrating herself before the idol, Mukul joined her palms together and cried, "Oh God, I have never prayed to you before! I am driven to beg of you today. Give me a child in my arms, be it blind or lame, but never, dear God, let my husband have another wife !"

Downstairs, Beena was still rocking her baby to sleep, singing that lullaby, Mukul thought that Beena was deliberately mocking her and her wealth, through those words.

(4)

Mukul had come back to her husband's home. She had not known that God had fulfilled her urgent desire. She did not know that she was already bearing that child whose absence had made her leave her beloved home in shame and misery.

When she discovered the fact, she could no longer stay away from her husband. She could not and should not give this good news to any one before she did to her husband.

The moment she returned home, Mukul brought out all her silk suris and started cutting them into small pieces. What was the use of stuffing her almirah with all these? It is better to thrill the heart by using them to prepare for the advent of the desired child.

"What is all this?" exclaimed Jayant as he entered the room, "Are you mad? Do not mothers wear good saris! There are enough silk-houses in the market. Your child will not be in want of clothes."

"No, no, it is not so," said Mukul shyly. "I am cutting them because I don't like to wear them anymore. They might be useful if I cut them myself, otherwise, worm-eaten saris are absolutely of no use !" Her face saddened and she said, "I do not know whether I will live or die after having a child at this age. Then you will regret seeing an almirah-full of saris, or the second wife might come and wear them. You were getting married after all! I served as barrier just for a few months."

"There is no need to talk such rubbish," Jayant said. "All the women of Europe and America are having children at this age and death opens its jaw only in your case !"

out of the borders of this world, she thought. Could a He would not have understood his misfortune than 180

person enjoy all the pleasures of life, at the same time? Yet she tried to check this fear by giving sound lectures to her troubled self. Death would come to a person one day, so it was better to die now than stagger through the whole length of a long, useless life. In her short lease of life she had known all the pleasures that a Hindu woman wished for. If, now, at the time of her death, she could die in the glory and hope of making her husband's lineage ever-flowing, then what does it matter if she did not see the same sun-rise and sun-set and have the same food and drink for another twentyfive years! She would bid farewell to this world, happily, if she could once see the face of her own child whom she had never seen before.

The day drew nearer and nearer together with the preparations for the reception of Mukul's child. Everything from suits, hats, and stockings to a cradle, a little bedstead and a play-car, were stored by the father and mother, in anticipation.

The loud blowing of conches in Jayant's house mingled with the Durga-puja music. Everyone, from the old aunt to Maya, was busy. Mukul has had a son. Aunt shouted, "I say, you people, go and call Dada! Tell him to bring two guineas with him. The glory of our family has at last come to glorify our home!"

"Let that be," Maya replied, "Bowdi had nearly collapsed.—first go and see whether she is still living! First attend to the mother and then do whatever you wish to do with the child."

"No, dear, Bowdi has revived now," said the midwife. "There is nothing to fear. Show her the beautiful baby and she will forget all her pain and misery."

The nurse brought the baby near Mukul, What a helpless, pathetic little face! Mukul's heart filled with love, seeing the baby. Will this child of here live?

The grandfather, the grandaunt, the uncles, the aunts and all the others came and saw the baby blessing him with mohurs, guineas and rupees. But Mukul's heart trembled with anxiety. Will she be able to stand such happiness? God, let this child live long to bless her!

(5)

Mukul's son was a year old now, brought up by the deep love and caressing attentions of his mother. But Mukul's happy smile has disappeared from her face. Her son has not yet learned to turn round or sit up or speak. She had tried every doctor in the city of Calcutta, but all had said that this was an incurable ailment. The child's spinal column was malformed from his birth. It will remain so throughout his life.

The child has learnt to recognise his mother, he laughed when he saw her and cried when she went away. The doctor says that his brain would develop normally and he would understand everything, but he would have to depend on others, throughout his life.

Mukul says, "If God had taken everything away But Makel was truly afraid. She might now pass from him, he could have also deprived him of his brain, Every time the boy smiled at his mother, her eyes would fill with tears. Mukul's eyes were red with weeping. She attended to the baby, day and night, forgetting her toilet and amusements. It seemed as if this Mukul was another person altogether from the Mukul of the past. Jayant realised that it would be hard to save her life if she behaved in this manner. Calling Mukul to him, one day, he tried to make her understand. "Listen dear!" he said, "All the fingers of a hand are not identical. Must you kill yourself just

because of one such child? You can live to have five healthy children. All will not be like this."

"I do not wish to live to have five more children," replied Mukul, "I had selfishly asked God to give me any child, whether blind or lame. God has punished me rightly! It would have been better if you had another wife. I would then have been the sole sufferer! My baby whom I love more than life would not then have to suffer throughout life just to redeem me from childlessness."

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM Malayan Indian Congress

I have been a reader of your Review for many years. Our family is well-known in this country. I was once the Secretary of the Malayan Congress in this town. I have been a committee member of the Indian Association, and organiser of the Indian Independence League in this State. I have personally known most of the Indian leaders and almost all our Agents to the Government of India in Malaya. I had the chance of meeting Pandit Nehru on two occasions when he visited this country (1927 and 1946), and also the members of the Congress Medical Mission.

The writer does not think that any man who has been in Malaya for only six months can speak with authority about the Indian problem in this country, and as such I disagree with the article written by Dr. C. Siva Rama Sastry (August Number, page 144) though I agree with the following statement of his:

"The Malayan Indian Congress, whose founderpresident is today the Indian Representative in Malaya, is the *de facto* organisation of the commercial elements of Malaya."

And

"The Indian Government must appoint a liberally minded man as its Representative in Malaya, one who can win the confidence of labour and lead them in the right path."

The writer had the fortune to work under this gentleman in Rangoon when he was the Minister of the Asad Hind Government. I can say without any hesitation that only the rich, the favoured few, and his paid stooges can expect any consideration from him, and it was due to his high-handedness (he was then the President of the M. I. C.) which caused me to resign from the Secretaryship of the local branch of the M.I.C. There were two other occasions when I had to go against him as he behaved like "Hitler."

It is more than a mystery to me why Pandit Nehru appointed him or Mr. Raghavan to be our Representative in Malaya or Java though I had predicted about this more than a year before these gentlemen got their present posts. As professional men there are at least a dosen Indians who have built up greater reputation they have at the local Bar, and as "patriots" there

are some who have worked and sacrificed far more than what they have done. My former friend, the late lawyer S. C. Goho of Singapore, is one of them. It is a great pity that Pandit Nehru should do things without consulting the Indian masses in this country.

Mr. J. Thivy's public utterances have proved (if proof is necessary) that he has not the qualities to entitle him to hold such a high office. Even the leading English paper (The Straits Times) had something to say against him. Surely, no statesman will utter anything that may hurt the feelings of the Muslims of this country who hail from Pakistan. This has given an impetus to the formation of the Overseas Pakistan League. A former colleague of his (Mr. Mallal) in the Azad Hind Government is now holding a high post in this O. P. L. They have now made representations to the Pakistan Government to send someone to look after their interests.

The President of the Negri Seremban Labourers Union have also denounced him (Mr. Thivy) as siding with the British capitalists, just as Mr. Abdulla (until recently the President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Kuala Lumpur) has denounced him for siding with the Chettiars re the representation he (Mr. Thivy) made to Pandit Nehru regarding the Malayan Government's Debtor-Creditor Ordinance.

Mr. J. Thivy has miserably failed the Indian labourers, and hundreds of them have been jailed under the Emergency Regulations. There is no use of 'locking the stable door when the steed is stolen.' It was his duty to have seen that the Indian labourers did not fall a prey to Communism. Speech-making, giving Press interviews, attending dinners and tea parties—these are not for what he was given this position of honour. I request you, Mr. Editor, that you will make a very strong protest to see that he is immediately relieved of his post, and a more efficient man from the Foreign Department is sent to this country. It would be a folly to appoint any local Indian, for there is not a single person who is fit to hold this high position.

Bentong, Pahang, B. C. Gheag Federation of Malaya.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquires relating thefeto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

-EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

AN INDIAN PILGRIM: Autobiography of Subhas Chandra Bose. Published for Netaji Publishing Society by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., P.O. 54, Calcutta. Pp. 144. Price Rs. 5.

THE INDIAN STRUGGLE: By Subhas Chandra Bose. Published for Netan Publishing Society by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., P.O. 54, Culcutta. Pp. 440. Price Rs. 10.

These two books should be read together as the first is the complement of the second. The first covers the period (1897-1920) the years between Subhas Chandra Basu's birth and the year in which he passed the Indian Civil Service examination with distinction. The second volume covers the period (1930-1934) the years during which Subhas Chandra Bose had played his part in India's fight for freedom first as a lieutenaut of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and then, after the latter's death in his own right as an exponent and leader of the radical and "Leftist" feelings and forces in the country. The British Government in India put a ban on this book on its publication in Britain in 1935. When the Congress Ministries were formed in 1937, the United Provinces Ministry took the initiative in having the ban removed. The years since then have been years of turmoil and conflict, and the book faded out of view. Now we have to thank the Netaji Publishing Society for "the first Indian edition" of the book.

The first volume of this series has been very properly given the title-An Indian Pilgrim, for, those who know anything of Subhas Chandra Bose even from a distance felt that here was a man who had the mind and manner of one who regarded his life as a pilgrimage. ever on the move towards the Eternal City of the True, the Good and the Beautiful, enthroned in the Himalayas of human aspirations and who was fully conscious that the goal could only be reached after one had traversed through the dust of the earth and made his way up over the rarified atmosphere of the everreceding altitudes of human experience. And in this book we are taken through the secrets of "an introvert" who (Subhas's own words) struggled through the inhibitions of his own make-up, and that of a society in India trying to come out of a collective split-personality, conditioned by the alien domination, physical and mental, over State and its attempt to recover its natural and national manhood. During this period Subhas Changra represented in himself the whole period since the middle of the 19th century when society in India people. And in the book we get one of the cleanest of descriptions of the struggle of a nation, unit by unit, to recover balance and self-respect. It depicts a tranquil nature that could maintain its dignity and integrity

through all the experiences of angry political strifes and controversies.

The second book under review takes us through the first 15 years of the Gandhi Era which gave a new meaning and significance to India's struggle for political freedom. It shows us that from the first day of Subbas Chandra's contact with Gandhiji, the younger man had developed a scepticism of the principles and policies that the Indian National Congress had been trying to implement under the leadership of a man of religiou forced into politics. The enigma of this conflict cyades our analysis. In the first volume we have seen the instinctive bent of the writer for the life of the sannyasi, in the second volume we come face to face with his reaction against a plan and a programme that were framed in the language of the religious life, and built on the principle of a spiritual quest after the Truth. As we read through it, we understand the significance of the events that disfigured India's political life during the opening months of 1939 when Subhas Chandra Bose had to come out of the Congress as its "Rebel President." The "lack of understanding" on his part and the "lack of clarity" on Gandhiji's that came out on the 16th of July, 1921, persisted all through the years, and we have been witnesses of the consequences of this mutual distrust between two builders of modern India.

Now that both of them have left the fields of their mundane activities, we can try to reconstruct the evolution of Indian politics with the help of these two volumes that describe the philosophy of conduct of the man, who lived to frame a state's decrees and lead its army for the redemption of his country's freedom, from the clutches of the greatest Imperial Order of modern times. This "man of action" (Romain Rolland's words) has left us "an indispensable work" for understanding the "Indian Movement" free from "party spirit," in language that is eloquent with simplicity.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF BENGAL: By Shri Bony Bihari Mukharji. Published by Jugabani Sahilya Chakra, 28 Kahir Road, Calcutta 29. Price Rs. 4.

The prevalence of corruption in the public administration has been a subject of strong and persistent criticism in the press and by officials and non-officials of the highest positions. There have recently been several instances in which ineptitude in the conduct of departmental proceedings and the resulting inadequacy of the findings reached and punishments awarded have been unfavourably commented upon. It is fully realised that ways and means must be devised for effecting an improvement in the procedure and results of departmental proceedings. Corruption in public administration is like a vancer. It must be badily removed of it injects every tissue. Thefficiency is a creeping paralysis. At each

point it adds to the people's misery. At crucial points it is a great steriliser. The co-efficient of efficiency in India has not been high. It is probable that foreign rule childed enthusiasm and made the growth of an incorruptible and efficient administration impossible. But free India must now be galvanised into action to cover up by forced marches the lost ground and come abresst with the most advanced countries. India can no longer suffer efficiency or integrity of public administration to be compromised in any way. If India has to develop into a real and genuine modern State, the highest efficiency and an incorruptible character should be the only tests for filling in public positions of trust and responsibility.

The author of the book, Shri Bijay Bihari Mukharli, is eminently suited to write a handbook for administrator and suggest remedies for the existing lacunae. The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the ways and means for effecting The an improvement in the procedure and in the results of departmental proceedings, the second part deals with changes in law for the trial of cases of corruption and the procedure for the successful detection and prosecution when criminal proceedings are decided upon, and the third part deals with the improvements in the methods of work and in the attitude of the public servants to stamp out inefficiency and corruption in the administration and to improve the quality and morale of the public servants. This invaluable book should be on the table of every administrator of Free India today. K. N. C.

HISTORY OF BENGAL, Vol. II, (Muslim period): Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Dacca University. 1948. One map. Pp. 546. Price Rs. 16.

This publication stands as a landmark in the development of historical studies in Bengal. It proves how our knowledge of our provinces past has been revolutionised by the work of her own sons in the course of ninety years since Rajendra Lal Mitra showed us the path of modern research. The first volume, covering the Hindu Period, edited by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, was published in 1943. With the second volume we reach the foundation of British rule in 1757. Nearly half the volume is the work of Sir Jadunath. A band of other noted Indian scholars have contributed chapters on their special periods, so as to complete the work.

It fills a longfelt want; and the high level of its pages will long make it standard authority on the most interesting formative period of Bengal's past life.

AIN-I-AKBARI, Vol. III (2nd Ed.): English translation by Jarrett, revised and further annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bound in boards. Pp. x + 528. Price Rs. 10.

This particular volume of Abul Fazi's masterpiece, is an encyclopaedia of Hindu philosophy, science, literature, arts and customs compiled by the learned author with the help of a syndicate of Sanskrit pandits. Abul Fazi tells the reader in his preface, that his intention in writing it was to "establish peace and promote concord" between the Hindus and other sects by demonstrating that the Hindus were not really superstitious idolators, but very liberal and highly intellectual philosophers, who regarded their own mythology as merely symbolic. He gives long and learned accounts of different schools of Hindu philosophy, dress, manners, beliefs; and customs; and adds (in this volume) a long collection of Akbar's wise savings which are quite librarinating, and also a charming account of his own family and edication. There is a long and helpful index.

greatly improved edition will have a large sale. The 2nd volume (also long out of print) is now in course of reprinting.

B. N. B.

INDIA ANTIQUA: A volume of Oriental Studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E., on the occasion of the fiftieth auniversary of his doctorate. Kern Institute. Leyden. 1947. Pp. 329.

This excellently printed volume, consisting of contributions from the pen of a number of well-known scholars both of the East and of the West, is a fitting tribute to the high literary services and achievements of one who may justly be regarded at the present time as the doyen of European orientalists. It is not possible to notice in the present place all the papers of outstanding importance contained in this precious work. But we may mention a few which are of special interest to students of Indian history and culture. Sanskrit philology is well represented by the papers of F. Edgerton (The Sanskrit suffix—titha), J. Gonda (Sanskrit Utsava—festival), F. B. J. Kuiper (Traces of Laryngeals in Vedic Sanskrit), E. J. Thomas (Nirvana and Parinirvana), and K. de Vreese (Sanskrit Kutagara). Important for Indian history and archaeology are F. W. Thomas' interpretation of a Mathura inscription of the so-called Kaniska Year 14, S. Konow's note on Indian eras, B. Bhattacharya's identification of a few Nepalesc Buddhist bronzes, and R. B. Whitehead's discussion of the identity of the so-called Sun God of Multan on some Indo-Sassanian coins. Of interest for Indian literature is the comparative study of Mricchakatika and King Lear by B. Faddegon. For the interpretation of the rules of the Buddhist sampha, E. Lamotte's paper is of special interest. In another paper the present writer has sought to bring out the full significance of the mandala doctrine and the theory of six gunas (with their sub-divisions) with reference to the problem of inter-State relations, as laid down in the Arthusastra of pre-Kautilyan times. Of local interest, but still of much importance, are the discussion of an incident in South Indian history by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and B. C. Law's collection of references to ancient Mithila. As for Greater Indian and connected studies, A Foucher in a learned article proves two ivories selected from those discovered by J. Hackin on the site of ancient Kapisi to illustrate Jataka stories. While E. E. Herzfeld authoritatively discusses the identity of a few placenames found in the old Persian literature and inscriptions as well as Greek classical writings. In another scholarly paper, G. Tucci discusses the authenticity of the extant Lamaistic historical works in the light of the newly discovered documents from Tun Huang. For the study of Indo-Javanese literature, F. D. K. Bosch's explanation of the *Bhimastava* and Th. P. Galestin's illustrations from the Javanese Pausyaparvan on Balinese painting are of particular interest. A riddle in the early annals of Siam is explained by Georg Coedes with his usual thoroughness, while F. H. van Naerssen throws new light on the Sailendra interregnum in ancient Javanese history. In another paper B. Ch. Chhabra brings together all known references to Yupas in ancient Indian inscriptions for comparison with the well-known Yupa inscription of King Mulavarman in East Borneo. Mention may be made lastly of the interesting paper in which S. Paranavitana infers from the joint evidence of general architectural design and a Mahavamsa verse that the figures portrayed in the well-known Sigir paintings are not those of Queens and their attendants, but those of celestial beings of the types called Lightning-Princesses and Cloud-Damsels. U. N. GEOREAL

BENGALI

BIPLABER PATHE BANGALAR NARI (Bengali Women on the Path of Revolution): Haridas Mukhopadhyaya. Published from 40-A Sikdarbagan Street, Calcutta. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.

BANGALAR NARI ANDOLAN (Women's Movement in Bengal): By Chhabi Roy. Published by National Book Agency, 12 Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2-4.

Both these books cover almost the same ground. The first is interpretative of the many impersonal forces that launched the renaissance movement in Bengal by Ram Mohun Roy and his generation There were reformers and conservatives amongst them who led this movement of enlightenment among their womanhood. In the eyes of the present writer they appear to be antediluvian without any consciousness of the transformation in thought and life that their activities, often halting, would precipitate. He reflects the modern mind that relates woman's education to many of the expressions of woman's emancipation from book-knowledge to "unmarried motherhood." But one difficulty in the way he has not been able to negotiate—the difficulty of "sex antagonism" he has posited at the root of the problem. His programme of reform does not help to remove this conflict planted there by God or Nature.

The second book is descriptive of the reform started by Ram Mohun Roy and the Brahmo Sama; passing through the Hindu revival and the same awakening in Muslim Society. Both the writers build up the background of their story in the disruptive part played by British capitalist-imperialism in India. But the second writer is fuller in her description of the havock in Indian society that has brought the women of the "sheltered classes" along-side the peasant women fighting for the crops raised by their men-folk in the fields of Bengal. This gives a touch of reality to what has been happening before our eyes seeking to establish a new pattern of conduct through a new appraisement of human values. As everything appears to be in a flux no one can yet prove its validity or its worth.

D.

HINDI

GANDHIJI SERIES Vol 1 (Homages) Published by Kashi Vidyapith, Benares Cantt. Printed at Bhargava Bhushan Press, Trilochan, Benares, Pp. 160 plus 16 illustrations, Royal actavo size Price Re. 1-8.

Kashi Vidyapith, the well-known National University of Benares started by Mahatma Gaudhi in 1920 during the non-co-operation days i bringing out a series of 25 volumes in Hindi entitled Gaudhiji Series. The first few volume of the series will contain homages paid by eminent personalities, newspapers and periodicals, poets and institutions, from all over the globe to Mahatmaji ou his death. Other volumes will consist of Mahatmaji's life-sketch, his letters (with facsimiles of the important ones), speeches, writing, prayers, addresses and other details of his varied activities. The present volume is the first of the series containing homages paid by eminent personalities of the country and by leaders of U. P., Bombay and West Bengal. The volume is beautifully illustrated with more than a dozen pictures of the various scenes of the last rites, and of the mournings in the country.

DAYANANDOPANISHAD: By Bhimsen Vidyalankar. Raipid and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Pp. 139. Price Re. 1-8.

The author is an ardent and industrious student of the works of Swami Dayanand, the illustrious founder of the Asya: Samaj. In the present volume, which is only

the first part of his project, he has skilfully brought together under several heads, Vedic thoughts on God, soul, etc., in the light of the great Swamiji's scholarly interpretation and exposition with an indication how these could be applied in the life of the individual as well as of the community. He has thus brought the wisdom of the ancients to the very door of every Hindi-knowing adult.

ORIYA

ODISA ITHAS (History of Orissa): By Sci Harekrishna Mahatab, Promier of Orissa. Published by the Students' Store, Cuttack. Royal octavo. Pp. 478. Price Rs. 12-8.

This work is the first authentic history of Orissa in the Oriva language inasmuch as references are quoted; art and architecture, throwing light on the ancient culture, are amply illustrated with plates, and an index is appended. The history of pre-Mauryan period of Orissa is shrouded in obscurity. So far as this period is concerned the author has done this that he has collected all the information supplied by the puranas and by the Jain and Buddhist literatures. He offers no hypothesis and thus exhibits his scientific bent of mind for truth. After Asoka and Kharavel there is again a dark period in the history of Orissa, that covers about six centuries. From the sixth century A.D. onwards the epigraplue records, ancient art and architecture furnish the data for the reconstruction of the history of Orissa. Different scholars have discussed these data and expressed different opinions at different times, Sit. Mahatab has now collated the different views and offered his own conclusions on the points of disagreement among the scholars. But unfortunately the most accurate view of Dr. Fleet, regarding the dates of Somavams, kings. has escaped his notice and in consequence he has made unavoidably some palpable errors. The author has spared no pains to give as far as practicable the brief historical sketches of growth and development of Oriya language, literature and political consciousness. On the whole, the work has been informative and we congratulate the author for the zeal and enthusiasm he has displayed in attempting to unravel the past glory of his motherland, in spite of his being preoccupied with politics. We regret that the get-up is below the standard. B. MISRA

GUJARATI

SAHITYANO TAPASWI: By Devibhai Shambhuprasud Kharod, B.A. Printed at the Doshi Press, Junagudh. 1946. Paper-cover. Pp. 23.

In Nanalal Kavi's death Gujarati literature has lost a notable figure. Immediately on hearing of his death in January, 1946, his friends and followers vied with one another in expressing their feelings of sorrow, by speech and in writing. Many of them paid their respect in verse. Mr. Kharod is one of them. His touching verses are modelled on Nanalal's special style of writing verse, and summarise the feelings of a fellow poet in a small but admirable compass.

JHANSIKI RANI LAKSHMIBAI: By Govindreo Bhagwat. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1945. Paper-cover. Pp. 182. Price Re. 1.

All that is known about the young Rani of Jhansi in respect of the courageous stand she made against the E. I. Co's armies in 1857, is set out here in language befitting her heroic deeds. Every Indian should study her life and be proud of the fact that in spite of the drawbacks of her sex in such matters. India can produce such women, when the need arises. It is a valuable and able work.

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Is Freedom Necessary for Civilization?

In bringing out the importance of Malinowski's great work on political science M. Ruthnaswami, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, observes in *The Indum Review*:

Is Freedom a political luxury or a political necessity? Is it the fruit of civilization or the root of civilization? Is it the end of progress or the means of progress? These are the important questions that the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski attempts to answer in his book, Freedom and Civilization (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London).

The several chapters of the book were written in America during the course of the last war and were written in support of the cause of Freedom which was in jeopardy at that critical time in the history of the world. It is the anthropological argument for freedom. Starting from the description of Culture as "the organized exploitation by human intelligence of environmental opportunities and in the disciplining of drives, skills and nervous reactions in the service of collective and implemented action," he shows how, from the dawn of history, human groups and the individuals that form them achieve a much greater freedom of mobility and environmental adaptation, freedom of security and prosperity "by the use of tools, by following the principles and by loyalty to a system of activities started with a purpose and carried out concertedly." He shows how through the discovery and use of fire the sphere of primitive man's action is extended and his many bodily needs are satisfied. The use of stone as hammer, as cutting blades, as spear, as arrowhead or as axe, as adze makes him the master of beast, or forest or flood, and also wood, stone, clothing make him the master of nature. He shows how primitive man far from being the slave of tradition or precedent was a realist and a free actor-he could not have survived otherwise. In fact, tradition and precedent were only a set of devices once discovered by the reason and freedom of primitive man to be useful and continued to be observed because it was thought they would continue to be useful. It was only when tradition and precedent continued to bind man after they had ceased to be useful that primitive man got stuck in the swamps of stagnation or died out because he was no longer able to adjust himself to his environment. Not merely individual freedom but individual freedom related to the claims and help of society was necessary for progres in primitive society. "Earliest man" says our guide was unable to produce a single artifice by his own devices." For example, the use of fire as well as its production had to be learnt in society. Stone implements may be produced by one man but the quarrying of stone, the knowledge where to find and how to use the materials and the techniques and the principles of private property in tools and goods produced were due to customary law, co-operation and tradition. But all the restraints and constraints im-posed by Bodety and Tradition are useful to man-usely as long as they are necessary, that is as long as

the environment requires it. Once they cease to be required, they act as a millstone round his neck.

That man and that society is progressive whose freedom gives the lead and guidance to the rules and laws of his civilization and culture.

And Ereedem serves the cause of progress by giving man the mainsprings of progress in inspiration and initiative, the power "to anticipate and to establish values by the guidance of which man can engage in co-operative activities and does reach new goals and enjoy them under the guarantee of tribal and national citizenship." If there are institutions whether this be slavery or serfdom or military regiment, the crew of a galley, or he might have added, Caste-which stands in the way of free planning and anticipation or initiative such institutions stand in the way of progress. Among the institutions that this great anthropologist speaking from his vast anthropological studies recommends as a factor in progress is Religion. In Religion he says we find promise, planning, a principle of life and a code of rules. The Communist opinion that Religion is the opiate of the masses, says Malinowski, is not true. In reality and historically it is Faith which brings about the brotherhood of man and gives celestial freedom. Of course, religions differ in their sociological value. The effectiveness of any religion says our guide 'lies in the extent to which it is a solace to the believer and to the extent to which it affects the mighty and the rich, the ambitious, the geedy, the lustful and their behaviour.

The Family is another great institution that has served the cause of freedom and progress.

He calls it the fundamental institution of primitive mankind and of mankind in general. Of all forms of early organization, the family contributes the greatest quota of freedom in survival since it is the organization which protects the long infancy of the young, equips them for life and nourishes young and adult alike.

This freedom is such a precious thing that men in primitive times, in anciest times, in the Middle ages as well as in modern times have gone to war in defence of it. The battles for the emancipation of slaves, seris and manual labourers have all aimed at the "threefold freedom of purpose, action and benefits." Not only individual freedom but social freedom, what Malinowski calls the freedom of comhination, is necessary for the progress of civilization. It is a freedom enjoyed in (true) democracies but denied in societies either where the State (as in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy or Soviet Russin) takes over all initiative or else where Slavery, Serfdom or the Caste system debar certain groups from any initiative and supply others with an excess of power. But although some forms of social organization have been hostile to progress, some kind of social organizatios is necessary for the protection and promotion of man's freedom, let it be a clan, a tribe, or guild, or craft. The strength of the individual against his enemies,

the beasts of prey, or forest fire or human enemies is the strength of the group which he forms. But every such social organization if it is to serve the cause of progress must be enforced by the principle of freedom. Primitive groups are never despotically governed and do not lend themselves easily to the accumulation of power. But mere natural and social aids are not enough. A sense of Values must be acquired by man. Value, according to the author, 18 the driving force, which determines purpose, and freedom lies in choice of purpose, its translation into effective action and full enjoyment of the results. This sense of values whether initiated by tradition or cultivated by religion or sublimated by mysticism is on the one hand a source of new strength and new effecency for mankind while on the other hand it can also be misused by groups and individuals within a community to impose upon others. But the education of man in values and his chances of spiritual freedom depend first and formost, says our guide, upon the existence of a number of mutually dependent institutions which though related enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy. He points out that in several educa-tional devices of the primitives, joining a new institution or passing through mitiation ceremonies entails a definite attempt to break down the loyalties and interests acquired in earlier life and to introduce new values.

Institutions thus exercise an autonomous spiritual influence on the growing mind.

He would thus allow the autonomy of the Church against the sovereignty of the State In fact the work of culture, according to Malinowski, is not done by any community as a whole nor yet by individuals but smaller organized groups, that is institutions which are organized and integrated to form the community. Institutional freedom is therefore necessary for judividual freedom. But on the nature of the institution depends the freedom it makes possible. The criterion he suggests for testing institutions is whether the purpose of the institution is chosen by individual or group, whether implementation of the purpose is through autonomous responsibility and whether the results are shared by all the members of the institution. The legitimate use of authority is necessary for freedom while a denial of freedom occurs through an abuse of force for the benefit of the few in control. Tradition, Hierarchy, Obedience are necessary for social life but they serve the purpose of society only when they are made compatible with freedom. An undue excess or abuse of tradition, hierarchy or obedience leads to servitude which has always stood in the way of progress. Discipline, even stern discipline, was found necessary in primitive society as among the Zulus, the Hamitte and Nilotic tribes, the North American Indians and some of the head-hunting tribes of New Guinea and Indonesia.

Even democracy is supported by arguments from anthropology. Decentralization makes democracy real and Malinowski assures us that among primitive tribes centralization of any control hardly occurs, for political power is distributed and institutions are autonomous. Personal tyranny is limited and mitigated by customary law and traditional morality. It is not fair to savagery to call totalitarianism a return to savagery.

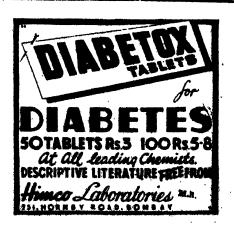
War, another of the anxious problems of modern times, is not a biological necessity according to the teaching of anthropology. War, we are assured, is not a permanent state of affairs in any type of tribal culture. The final conclusion of this great anthropologist is that freedom is an indispensable ingrtdient of civilization for it guarantees the flowering of those spiritual qualities of man, primitive and civilized, which give birth to inspiration, to creative ideas, to the criticism of the old so that new knowledge, new art, a finer morality may emerge.

Religious Education in India

The future of Religious Education in India is one of the most contested and complicated of the educational issues in the country. K. G. Saiyidain, long Director of Public Instruction in Jammu and Kashmir State and now Educational Advisor to the Government of Bombay, writes in The Aryan Path:

The Central Advisory Board of Education has appointed, during the last few years, at least two comdistinguished public men and mittees consisting of educationists who deliberated on this issue over and over again but could not come to any agreed conclusions, with the result that they could formulate no scheme or recommendations and the matter was shelved -- a proof more of discretion than of courage! Recently, our Education Minister in the Central Government, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, himself a great Muslim divine and a scholar of comparative religion has re-started the controversy by expressing the opinion that religious education, in the proper sense of the word, should find a place in our educational system. Of course, that phrase "proper sense of the word" raises many difficult issues but before one can face them one has to deal with the position of those who are entirely opposed to religious education in un) sense-proper or improper!— being imparted in schools. I can here refer Briefly only to my own views in this behalf, more with the object of initiating discussion and elucidating the issues than of laying down any dicta that all may accept or working out the details of a practical scheme,

People object to religious education for a variety of reasons. There are those who are not prepared to accept Beligion at all as one of the great values of life and to whom Religion is but an exploded myth, an old superstition that has outlived its day. With such people there is no common around for argument so far as religious education is concerned. Then there are those who are not satisfied that, in a multi-religious country like India, it is possible or desirable—to provide religious education in schools. They would rather leave it to the



parents to look after this aspect of the chiles education. Theirs is not an objection of principle but one of practical expediency. A third class sees no place for religious education in a secular state and is obessed with what has been happening in India in recent years when communalism ran amuck and almost cost the country its freedom. A recent article by Dr. Paranjpe partly takes this attitude.

Is there no place for religious education in a secular state? Perhaps it may be useful to try to clear away one or two of the misunder-standings implicit in this point of view.

When we speak of a State as a "Secular State." what is really meant is that, in all public and political matters, the State will not ally itself to any particular religion and will not give preference to any group or individual on religious grounds. It does not mean that it is anti-religious or that it frowns upon the religious afhliations of its citizens. There is an obvious difference between a secular State as the Indian Constitution envisages it, and the anti-religious complexion, say, of the Soviet State in its early stages. So there is nothing. intrinsically wrong or illogical in a secular State's making arrangements for the religious education of its children. Whether it is possible or desirable is a question that I shall examine a little later. So far as the argument based on the recent communal frenzy is concerned, it is a significant fact, worth remembering, that the political leaders and others who fauned this flame were not predominantly persons who had received religious education in their schools but those who were often quite indifferent to the religion that they formally professed. In the case of Muslims in particular, it may be said that some of the most influential organizations which always stood for communal power and harmony were religious organizations like the Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind! Nor is it a matter of accident that Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest apostle of commonal harmony, was a deeply religious man who derived the inspiration for all his great and manifold work from his deepest religious impulses and heliefs. So it is a superficial view which would dismiss religious education on the apprehension that it would necessarily accentuate communal bitterness.

It is true that great crimes have been committed in the name of ecligions throughout human history—that in their name there have been intolerance, fanaticism, persecution, denial of intellectual and spiritual freedom, even destruction and death. But so have there been in the name of Patriotism and Culture and Science and it would be wrong to suggest that men and women should eschew them on this account. What is



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reasonable is to demand that the distortions and misinterpretations which have come to cluster round these
concepts should be swept away and that they should
become valuable agencies for the eurichment, rather
than the impoverishment, of human life. Just as education in history or geography or literature can be a
repressive as well as a liberalizing influence (depending
on how these subjects are tackled and it is the business of the teacher and the Education Department to
improve and reform the methods of teaching so as to
get the most out of them), so it depends on how
religious education is imparted whether it is to be a
force for good or for evil. It would be unwise to suggest
that these subjects should be dropped because they
are often taught poorly. Similarly we cannot refuse to
countenance religious education on the ground that
there are special difficulties in tackling it satisfactorily
or that it has been badly taught in the past.

Is it necessary, however, to insist that Religion be given a place of importance in this age of Science and the domination of Intelligence, when the common attitude is one of doubt and questioning rather than of faith?

Will it not be enough sif we concentrate all our efforts on the releasing and cultivation of the human intelligence which might provide the requisite guidance to man in his everyday life? Is it not true that the attitude of modern youth is one of scepticism rather than of faith? To take up the last question first, it is true that modern youth is predominantly sceptical in its attitude. But we should go below the surface and try to find out the causes of this phenomenou, I can see two factors operating in the creation of this mentality. Our world has become much more complex and its urgent new problems of democracy, capitalism, communism, slums and social injustices—confront our youth at every step. In this situation the simple dogmas of an earlier age offer no solution. Thus the sheet-anchors of the past, as presented to the youth formally, have ceased to convey any meaning to him. Again, he is consciously or unconsciously repelled by the dualism and the hypocrisy that he finds rampant amongst both the religious and the secular-minded people. While they profess to believe in 'Thou shalt not kill" they organize mass slaughter on a world scale and men of religion are found supporting and justifying this criminal madness! They pay lip service to the creed of "treating our neighbours as ourselves" and profess to believe that "all human beings are members of the family of God." But they have entirely different codes of conduct in personal.

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business, political and international life! Honesty, fairness, compassion, lauded in private life (at least in theory) are often regarded as foolish in business and politics and criminally dangerous in international relations! I have no doubt that if great religious teachers like Buddha. Christ or Mohammad, with their message of love and peace, happened to visit this world, they would be regarded as dangerous anachronisms in this ag! Little wonder then that the inexperienced youth bewildered and loses his faith in the basic values of life—which all uphold in theory but flout in practice.

Will it then be right to banish Religion, either from life or from education, altogether? Or must it be recognized as one of the supreme values in life?

Now, it is obviously impossible to give to this question an answer which can be proved logically or scientifically. But, speaking tor myself, I am convinced that Religion is something which responds to certain fundamental urge- of human nature. Man seeks for a firm anchorage of faith in this world of doubts and dangers and confusion of loyalties; he needs the conviction that life has a meaning and a purpose and is not the result of more chance or 'idle sport," that the pursuit of wealth and pleasure are not its highest objectives. Some people may not, of course, hear the call—many do not actually do so—but the best minds have done so throughout the ages and spirit has gone questing for the "Eternal Values." I am also prepared to

concede that some people have been able to find their life inspiration in sources which are not normally regarded as religious. But such cases are rare and not typical. If we are thinking of human beings in general, we must come to terms with Religion as a valuable part of the permanent and enuobling experience of the individual and the race and we must do what we can to make it work in harmony with our general life objectives.

If we fail to exploit the educative possibilities of religion, we shall be ignoring a very powerful force for good. The advice to abjure religion because it has been misused is, as I have already hinted, a counsel of despair. We cannot and should not reject any great treasure of the human heritage because ignorant or unscrupulous people have used it for unworthy purposes; we cannot reject Religion as such because it has often allied itself with reactionary forces or produced discord. No one has seriously made a domand for the rejection of Science because it has been used as a weapon of destruction! Again the modern problem is not, to my mind, a search for an entirely new set of values and principles for life, for the world is not richer today in wisdom or charity or goodness than it was in the days of Buddha or Plato or Christ or Mohammad: It demands a reinterpretation and the presentation of values, including religious values, in modern terms and in relationship to modern problems so that they may help to solve the difficulties with which youth is faced, here and now.



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Dwight M. Donaldson observes in The National Christian Council Review:

In the partition of India a vast community of about ninety million Muslims is being divided between the two dominions. If both Hyderabad and Kaslimir decide to join the India Union, there will then be more than half as many Muslims still remaining in the India Union as there are in all of Pakistan.

In Pakistan there is a determined struggle on the part of the mullulis (the religious authorities) to pattern the new Muslim state according to the Sharia which is the law of the Qur'an and the Traditions. For those who are promoting a peculiarly Islamic emphasis in Pakistan, freedom means not only an opportunity to work out their own form of government, without restrictions from any foreign power, but also two other momentous circumstances. They can now live in separation from the Hindus with their hated idolatry; they are in a position to protect the youth of Islam from those aspects of western civilization that they consider to be immical to the interests of a typical Muslim state. The opposition of this group of Muslims to the influence of Christian missionary undertakings in general may be taken for granted, though toleration and a degree of appreciation may be shown for medical and educational service.

There is a second group of Muslims in Pakistan, however, that is made up of men and women of education and authority, who are by no means enthusiastic for a state that will be dominated by the mullahs, with a resuscitation of zeal for old laws and customs. Many of them realize the truth of what Sir William Muir wrote a generation ago, i.e., 'As regards the spiritual, social and dogmatic aspect of Islam, there has been neither progress nor material change since the third century of the Hegira. They know that the changes that have taken place in Turkey have been in spite of Islam rather than because of it. Accordingly, they are ready to argue that while the creation of Pakistan as a separate state was considered to have been necessary for the protection of Islam, nevertheless the character of the new state should be suited to modern life. . To this end they are seeking first of all to be well-informed as to the requirements and responsibilities that go with self-government in the twentieth century. These men and women, we believe, will be inclined to encourage the maintenance of mission hospitals, schools and colleges because they will regard them as agencies that will strengthen a liberal and progressive spirit throughout the country.

Whether there can be a strong association of leaders in the India Union who will be able to pursue a secular policy without becoming irreligious and atheistic is still to be determined. Those who look forward to the development of a secular state—with a comprehensive educational system, with free expression of opinion in the press, with unhampered economic and industrial development, and with religious freedom—have to overcome a tremendous handican.

It is if the India Union in particular that the Muslims have become unusually receptive to Christian friendship, and we believe that this situation should be met by planning much more definite work for Muslims. There will be individual missionaries, from among the aplendid group of reinforcements that has come to India, who will feel that they are positively called of God to seek to prepare to give the major amount of this time to their particular work. Indian Christian ministers and teachers also will be discuss the challenge to make their sermons effective problemations of laope and faith for their Muslim friends.



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On the Art of Reviewing

Prof. B. S. Mathur writes in The Colcutta Review:

I recommend the synthetic view of literary criticism. The reviewer will have to cut down his prejudices to arrive at a balanced view, charged with sovereign sanity and brilliance, to help the reader to an appreciation of a literary work.

The emphasis is on sanity in a reviewer Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's motto for his "Literary Supplement" in the *Hundustan Review* is very significant. That is taken from the Rt. Hon'ble Augustan Barrel

from his Critical Fuculty. It reads thus:

"A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody clsc. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand-in-hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can he complete, the perfect criticism is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems to be the very essence of good criticism, and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armehair."

Here you have a very strict view of a critic or a reviewer. If one follows the whole of the passage critically, one will have to agree with Augustine Birrel that real criticism is an impossibility. Nevertheless, we have to aim at what we can achieve. Let us have sympathy and knowledge under the inspiring leadership of sanity. We can have ample measure of sanity if we follow the above synthetic method of reviewing by placing extracts from the original alongside our own reactions. Thus criticism to be comprehensive and comparative is possible if there is also some comparison with other writers in the line. Then the place of the

writer also can be established.

While reviewing we have to think in terms of the contribution made by the writer. He must have some justification for his venture. Let us see to his justification. So above all we must have sanity: without it nothing is possible, what will be possible will be wholly prejudiced and perverse. That is not the func-

tion of criticism, which has to recollect emotion in tranquility; the emotion is of the writer and has to be recollected by the reviewer.

Before I conclude let me explain how I refer to emotion recollected in tranquillity by the reviewer. All art or literature is the production of emotion. Even critical books, not excluding philosophical books, are written in the fervour of emotion. Philosophers might shun emotion and say it is a return to the beginning, the animal and the brute in us. But they have it when they come to production, although it takes the garb of reason. No action, even mental, is possible in the absence of emotion.

All creative composition begins in a rare atmosphere of emotion. Man has a fund of energy: a part of it is required by the body and the rest goes to the work of creation in the form of emotion. If the artist is asked what he is going to create he cannot say anything definite. Reason might be guiding him from some unconscious level but it is not in the open field. And so the writer is carried away by his emotions. After having written he takes the role of a critic and carries out corrections and alterations, here and there, helped by his knowledge and experience, now under the direct control of reason humanly possible while judging one's own work. Ultimately even after this carrying out of some alterations his composition remains an emotion. This emotion the reviewer has to recollect. He is in a better position to recollect it because he is not the writer and he can, to some extent, humanly possible, be impartial because of his culture in sanity, sympathy and knowledge.

The reviewer, therefore, has this important task of recollecting emotion in tranquillity. But so he must possess taste, delicacy and discrimination, which he can possess if he has done a lot of reading and writing. I emphasise "writing" because without having done it the reviewer will not be able to project himself into the mind of the writer which he must do if he wants to make a near approach to him in his book. The reviewer has the double task of knowing the mind of the writer and after having known it he has to help his readers to this knowledge. He has to understand; he has to interpret. The reviewer is like Gautama Buddha's disciple, Pourna, who was admonished by the Master thus: "Go then, O Pourna, having been delivered, deliver: having been consoled, console: being arrived thyself at the farther bank, enable others to arrive there also."



Revolution in Astrology & Astronomy

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yogi vastly learned in the Astrology and astronomy of the East and the West, gifted with supernatural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.



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as the Premier made on the 3rd Sept., 1946, and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Mejesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1928 and "Jyotishamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.—a signal honour that her not been and and and a signal and the consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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Spineza's Influence on Philosophy, Religion, and Daily Life

We reproduce the following article by Leonard B. Gray on Spinoza, one of the greatest philosophers of Europe, from *Unity*, March-April, 1948:

Surely Emerson was right when he said that time does strange things with the reputations of men. Indeed, time often withholds fame from those who seek it most and gives it to those who seek it least. She immerses into oblivion many people sensationally popular and widely praised in their own days and clothes with immortality some of the little known or despised contemporaries of these popular persons. You just cannot tell what time will do, what values and names she will forget or belittle, and what she will love and

praise and preserve.

If they could know, many of the contemporaries of Spinoza would be greatly surprised at the judgment time has passed on him. They knew that this philosopher was one of the most despised and hated men of his day, and some of them knew that quite early in his life fame was one of the three values he thought unworthy of his seeking and that along with the other two he deliberately chose not to seek it. Not only would most of his contemporaries that knew him be amazed at his fame that now fills the world, but also his enemies would be angrily humiliated and shamed either by their own oblivion or by the fact that they are known today only because they were his enemies.

With the possible exception of Thoreau's few pages on "What I Lived For" in Walden, literature contains no finer description of a man's sincere effort to find the simple fundamentals of life and happiness than Spinoza's few pages about his own search for the essential values. Indeed, the young Spinoza strove just as earnestly to get at the root of the matter as Thoreau, about two centuries later, sought to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to skin life to the bone, and to drive life into a corner so he could get his two hands on it. Early in life this Jewish philosopher carefully weighed the values of riches, isme, and pleasures of the senses, the three surroundings of life, according to his observation, most highly esteemed by most men. He soon found these surroundings, he tells us, to be vain and futile. With what passionate thirsts and with what disastrous consequences men seek these three value. Men let their minds become so absorbed by these goals of their desires that their minds have little power to reflect on any different good. When the heat of sensual delight has passed, it not introductly leaves one in extreme melancholy. The best intellectual powers, never entirelled by such delights, are only disturbed and duffed. The more fame neights, are only disturbed and duffed. The more fame and riches are get, the more they increase our delight and the more they intensity our desire to acquire still more and man. Should we fail to gain them we are placed into feelings of frustration and stillness. The placed into feelings of frustration and stillness. The man has the horsestly of ordering our lives seconding to the lives of our felicity men, of shunning what they still has a lives of our felicity men, of shunning what they still has a live of such and they seek Such values are making but hindreness to essential living and real

happiness. Men have been known to suffer persecution. at times even unto death, in search for riches and fame. Others hasten their death through over-indulgence in sensual pleasures. To possess these values, and especially to be possessed by them, means death, often physical, always spiritual. The more this cornest young Jew weighed these values, the more he became con-vinced that they were unworthy of his seeking and that only love toward a thing eternal and infinite could feed the mind wholly with joy and give genuine happiness. And so he set his goal before him and directed his aim. During his short life he did not get the three values he did not want, but through the carnest and continual seeking of the one value he wanted and decided upon, he attained a large measure of happiness despite the persecutions heaped upon him. And posterity with her strange wave and judgments, gave him fame, one of the three values he had deliberately chosen not to seek.

Not only through his reading of history but also through his own bitter, personal experience Baruch de Spinoza was to learn that both organized religion and society whip their dissenters. On November 24, 1632, he was born into the Jewish community of Amsterdam to which his Jewish parents had fled from the vicious intolerance of the inquisition. There was more freedom of thought and worship in Holland at the time than elsewhere, but even there, while allowed to build their synagogue, the Jews had to exercise their freedom with considerable circumspection. Partly because the minority group greatly feared the political authorities who punished the whole group for the offense of any individual member and partly because the religious leaders of this Jewish community would not give to those under them the same freedom that they wanted for themselves, young Spinoza was excommunicated for his independent thinking. At fifteen the boy was the most brilliant student of Rabbi Saul Levi Mortiera. He was the pride and white hope of the little community of Jews. He would be, his elders predicted, a great rabbi, perhaps a great commentator on the Bible. But at an early age this acute rabbinical student began to damnen the hopes and to incite the fears of the orthodox. His conventional teachers could not clip the wings of his soaring mind. Their learning was insufficient and unsatisfactory to him. He acquired an appetite for science and secular philosophy. Freely he inhaled the free Latin

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culture around him increasingly his thinking beauties critical and independent Stronger grew his dislike for the narrow and rigid rules of the synagogue, stronger his revolt against all forms of dualism and idolatry. In vain the alarmed and disappointed leaders sought to keep the new wine in the old bottles. Matters were gradually coming to a head and did come to a head when some of Spinoza's fellow students angrily left a heated argument and reported to their teachers that Spinoza sharply differed with them about the existence of augels, the incorporeality of God, and the immortality of the soul. The authorities wanted to keep their most promising student, but they would keep him only on their conditions. And they had only two more methods in mind to induce him to return to established opinions and customs. First, a bribe of an annuity of 1,000 florins. But truth was the greatest wealth to the youth. Then the threat of excommunication if the student did not yield after thirty days. Spinoza did not yield.

The chief way that Spinoza chose to make a living did much to bring about his early death at the age of forty-five. He loved to teach children and he loved to write, but he could not expect to make much money in these ways. He could get only a few pupils and his. writing was too thoughtful to make popular appeal. Besides, the hands of conventional religion and public opinion were too much against him. Why not make a livelihood at polishing lenses? Was not this quite the fashion of learned men of his day? And did not the young student find in "Ethics of the Fathers" the advice that every man should do some manual labor? He did his lenses exceptionally well and thereby earned enough to supply his few and simple needs. Wisdom was the goal of his supreme efforts. Concentrated on severe study he would often stay in his room two or three days at a stretch and have his meals brought to him. But what price wisdom? The many hours of confined study in his lonely garret and the dust from the grinding greatly aggravated his inherited tubercu-losis and so did much to cut him off prematurely.

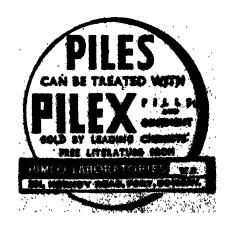
In his obscure lodgings he was a powerful magnet that drew visits and letters, honors and gifts from the great. The philosopher Leibuitz came to talk with him in 1676. There is much friendship and learning in the letters that he and Henry Oldenburg, the first secretary of the Royal Society of England, wrote each other. University students sought him out at Rhijinsburg and went back to tell their fellows that they had found a man who understood Descartes better than their professors. Heidelberg tried its best to get him into its chair of philosophy. We are sorry he refused, but appreciate his reason, namely, his honest wish to be free to think and write in his own way.

You only have to bear in mind orthodoxy's habitual opposition to everything opposed to its entrenched views and consider how sharply Spinosa differed with the dominant religious views of his day to understand the bitter persecution that fell upon this Jewish philosopher. Here was a thinker challenging the anthropomorphic views of God around him. Why, asked Spinosa, will men identify God with a magnified man? Why will they insist in making God in their own image? Why abould God be like man at all? God is nature, the questioner went on to daim, and by nature he meant not only infinite matter and infinite thought but also many other infinite attributes. God is not less translates can be granted or conceived outside of him. Whatever is, is in God, Only by the laws of Him.

Wante is an absolute in the divine nature all things are conditioned to exist and operate in a particular manner. Therefore all things are necessarily determined by nature. There is no absolute or free will, not even in the mind, for the mind is determined to wish this or that by a cause which has also been determined by another cause and this last by still another cause and so on to infinity. Man's fate is not absolutely in his own hands, for he must follow the common order of nature and obey it and accommodate himself to it. Wrote Spinosa in his Ethics, "Men think themselves free because they are conscious of their volitions and desires, but they are ignorant of the causes by which they are led to wish and desire."

In a flawlessly operating universe, this believer in the immutable order of things claimed, there can be no such things as miracles. The masses and the theologians of his day thought that miracles exhibit the power of God. In all ages, including the present, many people with this same belief can have no adequate religion as far as they are concerned without miracles. But really. Spinoza said, miracles, if they occurred, would exhibit not the power but rather the impotence of God. Not by temperamental interruptions in the course of events but rather by immutable and necessary laws is the omnipotence of the one absolutely infinite Being manifested. By making organized knowledge and rational control impossible, miracles would make rational life impossible. Science and a commensurate power of scientific control are possible because all things are determined neither by miracle nor chance but by necessity.

Think of man, this philosopher urged, not as an imperium in imperio, not as a little complete world within the larger universe, but only as a part of the whole universe. Man is caught up and carried along by the whole eternal order of nature, of which he is only a small part, even as a little worm in the blood may be swept along by the sweeping currents of life of which it can itself have only an imperfect conception. We are thinking now of people who have lost their religious faith in calamity because such faith as they had was mistakenly built on the premise that God and the universe exist for their welfare. And likely most of you can recall that during the last war not a few people, even though they knew that many of their fellow men were being drowned and shot in other places, claimed that they themselves or some other sailors and soldiers were delivered from death by God directing clouds and shoals of fish to the rafts upon



which they were drifting far out at sea. Such people need to realise Spinosa's claim that the universal laws by which the comos as a whole is controlled have wider compass than the welfare or misery of an indi-

vidual life or even of mankind.

Wisdom comes from this realization, our philosopher mid, wisdom and a tolerant acceptance of and a compassion toward human perversity. Vices as well as virtues are the necessary cutcome of nature's power. And there is support and help for man in living according to reason, in the understanding of and the adaptation to the necessary and immutable order of nature, This is what it means to know and to obey God. The summum bonum of the mind is to know God. And blessedness, a favorite word with Spinoza, is simply that very peace of soul which springs from an intuitive knowledge of God. Peace of mind and true greatness come from ruling one's self, from standing above the partialities and futilities of uniformed desire rather than from ruling others and raising one's self above humanity. This sort of living is a nobler freedom than that which men call free will.

With Hegel we are inclined to feel that Spinoza's system is too lifeless and rigid. His system is so rigorously ironclad that it seems to remove individual and group initiatives, creative thought and action, and spontaneous fertility. It seems to refute the Christian teaching of human dignity and worth and the Christian claim that men can rise on their dead or degenerate selves to greater beings. The best within us revolts against this. We stubbornly cling to the doctrine of the divine worth of man. We dislike to think that the twenty-third paslm, the Sermon on the Mount, Wordsworth's "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," and Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" came into existence from the necessities of the eternal order and not from the altogether original and fresh geniuses and creative powers of their authors. We dislike to think that Spinoza's own decision to seek eternal truth instead of the three values he rejected and his decision to grind lenses for a living, a decision that probably meant his early death, cause not from his own free power of choice but unaware and which he could not control. We prefer to think, as Walt Whitman surely thought, that within the areas of our limitations there is a "spontaneous you" in you and a "spontaneous me" in me. We prefer to agree with Will Durant in his claim that man is a creature composed of heredity and environment plus a strange, progressive, remolding force which we call life and that this life-force can take the initiative for a new and better character. Against Spinom's rejection of any cosmic purpose we prefer to side with Piato and Aristotle and with Lecounte du Nouy in his Human Destiny in their claims that throughout history the evolution of the universe and the evolution of man, biologically and spiritually, move with perfect purpose. Of nourse our philosopher would say that the immuntable order of the universe is altogether indifferent to our personal preferences, and we suppose that this is so. And yet the Christian doctrine of the worth of man and the Christian claim that there are spiritual powers that man can call upon and use for much stides our support those philosophers who dising that when life is agative it gives a measure of fragion to

The real through we remain to all the way with passent still be cannot they that he in right to a little star which there cannot make a second value is the second second to the second second

it is obvious that the universe does not exist for the sake of any one of us or for the sake of the race as a whole, and that often she destroys our most chemished hopes and best laid plans. Not only are we all limited and restricted by political and economic and social conditions, by our associates, by our physical health and strength, and by weather and climate, but also by our innate abilities and by our inexplainable dis-positions and tendencies. Through the very nature of things we all fail to get many things we wish and seek. Do not all of us know people who are held in certain, ordinary occupations and stations in life and other people who climb into better occupations and stations. in life, more by the abilities and personality-traits given to them than by anything else? Do not all of us know people who have certain tastes and interests, hold certain views, follow certain courses of action, become missionaries or ministers or reformers or writers or scientists, because, it seems, they can hardly help themselves against certain inexplainable drives and compulsions within them? It does seem that to a large degree, if not to the same degree that Spinoza claimed, men have certain necessities laid upon them by the nature of the universe of which man is a part, and that their lives are determined by causes unknown to them and uncontrolled by them.

And surely we are helped to acquire sensible and healthy attitudes towards "the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world" by our philosopher's claim that belief in determinism serves to fortify us to expect and to bear both faces of fortune with an equal mind and a contented heart. Such a belief does help us to accept the laws of nature and our limitations without complaint, and at the same time moves us to make the best of our lives within the areas of the limitations placed upon us. Such a belief teaches us that God is no capricious personality absorbed in the private affairs of His devotees, but rather the invariable sustaining order of the universe. To know God as such an eternal order of nature helps us to adapt ourselves to what is unchangeable, and to find through this adaptation support and confidence, and contentment and happiness of spirit which is true blessedness,

Spinoza said.

Increasingly since his day, Spinoza's teachings have become an intimate part of philosophy, of religion, and of the daily thinking and living of men. This Jewish philosopher has made his strongest appeal to the great philosophical poets such as Coleridge, Wordsworth, and

From Spinoza, Goethe learned that we must bear the limitations that nature places upon us. From breathing the calm air of this serene and happy philosopher, Germany's greatest poet was influenced to

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no small degree to rid himself of the wild romanticism of his early poems such as "Gotz" and "Weither" and to acquire the classic poise of his later life and writing.

There is still another encouragement to be found in Spinoza's determinism, an encouragement to live with the positive virtues of love, justice, and active usefulness. Our philosopher was positive when he claimed that everything in the universe that calarges and curiches life as well as that which limits and confines us, is God, George Flot who was greatly influenced by Spinoza, made Adam B de express this belief in these words, "For what have we got either inside or outside of us, but what comes from God? If we've got a resolution to do right, He gave it us, I reckon, first or last."

Such a positive philosophy then, such a healthy belief in a determinism supplies us as it supplied Spinoza and Goothe, with positive virtues, and motvates positive hving on our part by prompting us to believe that our best impulses are God-given and authentic.

One Injection of "Flo-Cillin" Will Cure Pneumonia

U. S scientists have developed a new penicillin product, "flo-cillin," which increases manyfold the staying ability of penicillin in the blood, Flo-cillin remains in the blood of the patient for three or four day; where is non-reinferred penicillin is expelled within a matter of hours, necessitating several injections daily. From a practical point, scientists declare flo-cillin to be the most outstanding achievement in penicillin research since the original discovery, in that a single injection is expected to cure pneumonia and as few as five micetions to destroy the causative agents of syphilis.

The powerful gere-killer penicillin will not stay out of the news. Lady this year, this antibiotic was made still more powerful by the admixture of paincalming procain which forces penicillin to stay longer

within a patient's body, thus vastly increasing its germ-killing activity. A few weeks later success was reported in making penicillin radio-active, more recently in using it as a spray for clearing up smassis.

Now, scientists have announced a new penicillin product which may make it possible to reduce the frequency of injections from one or more daily to one every three or four days. From a practical point, scientists declared "flo-cillin" to be the grost outstanding achievement in penicillin research since the original discovery. For example, it is seen as possible that a single injection would care pneumonia, or that five injections would destroy the causative agents of syphilis without resort to heavy-metal medicinals which used to be indispensable. Current penicillin treatment for syphilis calls for 16 daily injections.

In essence, flo-cillin is an improvement of the procain-reinforced form of penicillin, announced earlier this year II was developed in the Bristol Laboratories Inc., and already has undergone telling clinical tests.

Flo-cillin is the procain salt of penicillin suspended in penuit old and a water repellant known as aluminium monostearate. This compound remains detectable in the blood for three days after an injection—an unheard of staying ability. Dosage is the same as with previous penicillin types, namely, 300,000 units per shot. In some instances, flo-cillin remained in the blood for as long as four days, the longer retention in all instances being due to the slow-absorbing aluminum-aucdium. Procain penicillin remains one to two days; non-reinforced penicillin is expelled within a matter of hours.

What happens is that the addition of the aluminium-medium slows the absorption of flo-cillin by the blood; also, flocillin enters the blood at a more uniform sate. The curative dose is maintained up to four days—a marked improvement over previous methods. Maintaining so-called penicillin blood levels for extended periods has been the key problem of penicillin research since its discovery—USIS.



Mahatma Gaadhi

FOVE-LORN RADBA By Susid Kenger Western

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NOTES

India and World Affairs

The eyes of the world are focussed on the tragic drama that is being enacted in Central Europe, Amidst the storm of charges and counter-charges, accusations and denials, it is a wise man indeed who can determine the truth about the situation. The real victims are voiceless pawns in this grim game of Power-politics But the basic fact is clearly discernible, and that is that the Soviets are initiating all the moves, the democratic powers being busily engaged in devising counter-moves which are mostly late and inadequate. The Soviets are playing for high stakes—as are the Democracies-and are willing, at least to all outer appearances to risk all they possess in every throw. The English-speaking democracies have always been exceedingly cautious about costs until very late in the day and at the present day their reactions have been correct to pattern. Further their plans in the sphere of real-politics have become exceedingly complex, being vitiated at every step by racial bias and motives for economic domination. Any country asking for aid from them has to settle the price and provide the "securities" to the satisfaction of the diplomatic Shylocks. It is true that neither side has ever been actuated, either at the present or in the past, by altruistic motives. But the Democracies bargain at the start and prefer to deal with whoever that promises to pay the higher price. The Soviets deal with all takers and rely on their own strength and ability to disrupt and liquidate opposition for the exaction of the full price when the time is opportune. It was so with the Axis and it is thus with their successors in Totalitarianism. The cold-war in Europe, therefore, will remain a cold-war until such time as the Democracies find all the stakes being drawn into the Soviets orbit. In the meanwhile, the Soviets have initiated major

China of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has met with catastrophe. For some time past the English-speaking world has been busy in besmirching the Kuomintang Government of Nationalist China. At the beginning there was a campaign of innuendos and covert references. Of late there has been a spate of open accusation inclusive of charges of large-scale corruption and maladministration. The latest is the theory that most of the Chinese Communists are not all tinted with the Soviets brush. Both might be true for all we know, though to our mind it seems strange that the Chinese Communists are receiving large-scale aid from the Soviets if the latter statement be true. For the astute Russian is not likely to aid so lavishly anyone who is not of his own deep red colour, and without largescale aid from the Soviets the Chinese Communists could not have possibly defeated the Americanequipped Chinese Nationalist forces and stormed one great fortified city after another. As regards the Kuomintang we must not forget that it has never had a fair deal and therefore the accusers of Marshall Chiang Kai-shek have to admit the possibility of his being a victim of circumstances to a large extent. In the beginning of the Japanese aggression, America. offered the Chinese lip-sympathy and sold to Japan the sinews of war on a large scale. The British in China openly advocated the Japanese cause and supplied the Japanese with hundreds of thousands of tons of chartered shipping for transport purposes besides selling whatever the Japanese wanted. Even after they had been disillusioned by the strong-arm methods and gross insults of the Japanese, they closed the Burma Road at a time when China was at its last gasp. The heroism displayed by China of Marshal Chiang Kaishek in that critical period of appalling reverses might now be lightly dismissed by the time-servers of the West but history will record it in letters of gold

when the true history of the World War II is written.

In any case the whole of Asia will be in turmoil if Nationalist China collapses. With the collapse of China severe repercussions will follow in Indo-China. Siam, Burma, Malay and Indonesia. Mere wishful thinking will not prevent major action of the Communists in those areas, and whatever be the shade of colour of those Communists, stable governments will not function in those areas until World Communism has either conquered or been defeated.

Spain was on the outer marches of Europe and therefore the democracies of that period attached little importance to the "direct action" of the Axis in that part of the world. China was at the end of the world and therefore Japanese aggression in that far-off area resulted in mere academic interest. Britain only began to think about the possibility of extension of trade and industry into the hitherto inaccessible hinterland of China after the Japanese had "stabilized" conditions. America, the traditional friend of China. became vociferous in lip-sympathy-and trebled her sales of war materials to Japan. And thus came World War II, and thus will come World War III unless the Democracies of the West and the East can get together in time.

The Westernmost tip of Asia is smouldering too. despite the attempts of the United Nations to mediate in the Arab-Israil Conflict. It does not seem likely at the moment that a major war may develop in that area, but one never knows when a world power might start fishing in the troubled water there.

We, in India, have not yet found our bearings, or a truth, in world-politics. Having lost it centuries back, we have barely started looking for it, when the skies have darkened all round and dangers appear at every quarter. Nearer home we have aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir on our north-west frontier and attrition on a vast scale on our eastern frontier, through the systematic driving out of the East Bengal Hindus by the million under cover of a smoke-screen of malafide denials and loud protestations of "genocide". "unfriendly action," etc., in true Goebelesian style. This last move is assuming a serious aspect and unless the Indian Union intends sinking under the load in tame fashion, it will have to tell Pakistan in most unambiguous terms that retaliation will follow, either by a demand of space to settle the refugees or by the more repugnant moves for a total exchange of population. At home we have disruptionists who are attempting to bring chaos in the state in sympathy with their prototypes further east. The harassed government does not seem to have made up its mind regarding them as yet.

We witnessed the memorial celebrations of the Father of the Nation this past month. Never was the want of his counsel felt so poignantly as today, with emergency crowding on emergency from all sides.

The New Congress President

We cannot say that we understand the reasons that led to the election contest between Babu Purushottamdas Tandon and Dr. Pattabhi Sectaramiyya. All the same, we congratulate the latter on his election as President of the 55th Session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Jaipur, the capital of the State of that name, sometime in December next. This is the first time the Congress holds a session in an Indian State—an event that symbolizes the removal of the artificial division of the country into British India and "Indian India" maintained by Britsh policy. We will continue to hope that the new unity forged by the States' Ministry under the dynamic drive of Sardai Vallabhbhai Patel will consolidate into a heart unity all the units of the Indian Union.

The position of the Congress has undergone a vast change since August 15, 1947. The rulers of the Indian Union-the vast majority of them-have been recruited from the ranks of Congress leaders. But this has not stood in the way of their differing and differing violently from the leadership of the organization as has been proved by the untimely resignation of Acharya Kripalani of his position as Congress President. The regime of Babu Rajendra Prasad, who resigned from the Central Ministry to fill up the gap has not shown that the differences have been bridged over. Though belonging to the clitc of the organization, Babu Rajendra Prasad has samply marked time. And he leaves to Dr. Pattabhi, his successor in office and honour, the difficult task of adjustment between the exigencies of the State and the demands of the sore-pressed people. Though we may not envy him this position, we hope that Dr. Pattabhi will be able to throw a bridge over these apparently incompatible problems. In his Madras speech, delivered in a meeting held to congratulate him on his success, he recognized this conflict. And we will watch with no little anxiety the progress of his efforts in this direction.

Dr. Pattabhi hopes to restore the Congress "High Command" to its status as the "Brain Trust" of the Union. While wishing him all success, we doubt whether the objective conditions of the country will make this thing easy. Since August 15, 1947, increasing numbers of politically-minded people in India have ceased to regard the Congress as the National Organization par excellence competent by its authority and prestige to dominate life in the country. This come-down has been caused by the failure of Congress leadership, represented in the Central Government, to enlist the people to the support of their measures; by the mutual impatience of the rulers and the ruled over what is and what should have been in the light of Congress intentions and declarations. And the former, subjected to ever-increasing criticism, have developed a super-sensitiveness that is unhealthy for all concerned. Dr. Pattabhi has it laid upon him to reconcile the two-"the idealistic and extravagant

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public on the one hand and the practical Ministry on the other." And in doing so, he should not forget that nationalist India is not identical today with Congress India. In the presence of the "Third Party" both of these two did combine their forces. But with their removal, the natural forces of political and social development will throw up competing ideologies and parties to challenge the pre-eminence of the organization to the leadership of which Dr. Pattabhi has been called by the bare majority-vote of its members.

Dr. Pattabhi has won this honour by service to his province and to India for a period extending over forty-two years. Starting public life under inspiration of the anti-Partition and Swadeshi movement symbolized by three personalities—Lal-Bal-Pal (Lala Lajpat Rai, Balwant Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal—this medical man developed into a publicist and public man of outstanding gifts that have carried him to the forefront of the country's all-round activities for reform and reconstruction.

The Home League Movement, organized by Mrs. Annie Besant and Lokamanya Tilak, found Dr. Pattabhi ready to respond to the challenge of the new times. And since the Non-co-operation days he has been steadfast in loyalty to the way of life and thought that gave a new meaning and significance to our struggle for Swaraj. He has been an interpreter of Gandhism and a follower of it bringing a facile pen to the propagation of the new truth as old as the hills. As an organizer and leader of the States' peoples movement his habit of steady work has been of inestimable value; and it has been said that his success in the Congress election contest he owed to his devoted service to their emancipation from feudal exploitation Today when the States have found their fitting place in the economy of the Indian Union, we should hope that Dr. Pattabhi will be able to make the transformation easy by his knowledge of their particular problems added to what he has gained as a leader of the Congress during the last 30 years. He inherits a task that is more difficult than the single-pointed fight against British imperialism.

Indo-Pakistan, Relations

"Apart from Kashmir there is no obstacle to the establishment of the friendliest relations between India and her younger sister," declared on October last Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General of the Indian Union. His opposite number in Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, later echoed the same sentiments in course of a speech. The Defence Minister of the Indian Union, Sardar Baldev Singh has, however, struck a different note in replying to the Pakistani plea that they could not live without Kashmir; he said, "If Pakistan collapses because it cannot get Kashmir, we cannot help it either." We do not know how our Governor-General proposes to help resolve the Kashmir deadlock; the reference to the United Nations Organisation and the way in which the

Pakistani delegates conducted their pleas before it, have demonstrated that without a military decision, peace in Kashmir cannot return and the drain on Indian exchequer cannot stop. We are not concerned with the devices by which the Jinnah realm has been financing its Kashmir adventure. But we are concerned with ours; and we would like to be assured that a period would be put to the ding-dong tactics adopted to fight the Pakistani hordes let loose by the Pakistan Government on Kashmir. There is no suggestion of criticism on the military chiefs of the Kashmir expedition; we know that they are limited by the policy of defensive war pursued by the Indian Government for reasons that have yet to be explained to the tax-payers of India.

We are not of those who believe that the tension between India and Pakistan is being prolonged by the Kashmir imbroglio alone. The malignant spirit that has given birth to Pakistan has other sources of nourishment, and the leadership of the Indian Union should day and night keep watch over its various manifestations. It may be a philosophic temper or pose that forgets so soon or reconciles itself to the meaning and significance of the uprooting of unllions of Hindus and Sikhs from Western Pakistan. The resilience of human nature may enable them to create new values of life richer than those left behind in the fertile lands of West Punjab and Sind. But memory of that original injustice encouraged by the Muslim League crescentadors, the creators of the Pakistan State, will rankle in Indian hearts and poison relations between the two States. This is an element in the general picture of Indo-Pakistan relations that the rulers of the Indian State can forget only at peril to themselves and to the integrity of their Satte.

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari has been able to show himself so philosophic because he has refused to recognize the portents of the happenings that have been taking place in East Bengal forming part of the Pakistan State. Though he was Governor of Bengal just before he was clevated to his present position, his recent remarks show that he has not cared to apply his mind to understand the causes and consequences of the mass exodus of Hindus from their centuries-old homes in East Bengal, as tragic an experience as suffered by Hindus and Sikhs in Western Pakistan. One cause of this insensitiveness may be that the savage gangsterism that characterized the latter's conduct is not so prominent in Eastern India. But the sufferings and demoralization are the same, and it would be a folly to turn the blind eye on these.

It must have been some such short-sightedness that led India's Governor-General to forget East Bengal. We hope the recent flight to Delhi of the West Bengal Premier, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, to try to secure the help of the Central Government to meet the problem created by the exodus from East Bengal will be able to drive some sense of reality and

proportion into the minds of the rulers, Chakravarty Rajagopalachari not excepting. The short-range view that it has been endangering the economy of West Bengal is no longer valid today. The Indian Union is being confronted with a bigger problem than what August -Dec., 1947, precipitated-bigger owing to the number of people involved in the tragedy. Six millions of Sikhs and Hindus were driven out of their homes in panic flight; double this number will be leaving their homes in East Bengal as a result of the cold, calculated policy of a State dominated over by the spirit that invented the "two-nations" theory and was helped to its fruition by British policy. The inspiration at the back of this spirit was reminiscent of the days when the sword had been plied to prove the superiority of a creed. This spirit of intolerance is in the ascendant in Pakistan, and there cannot be any compromise with it as there could not be with the Government of Hyderabad dominated by Kasim Razvi, his dupes and patrons.

This is the situation that East Bengal has been creating for us. And it is time that we woke up to its real nature and proportion. The one and a half million Hindus that have already been forced out of their homes sanctified by centuries of life's manifestations are the fore-runners of eight times that number. They cannot be kept back by exhortations inspired by the best of motives. The sorrowful eyes of these processions of men, women and children are a torture to look into, a memory that robs one of peace of mind for days on end till he grows callous by repetition of this harrowing experience. The rulers of the Indian Union will feel the same if they took care to be present at the Sealdah Station at Calcutta any of these days. They will be unable to continue with that philosophic mood that peeps through the words that have been quoted in the opening lines of this article. And we are being driven to ask them-what do you propose to do to halt this exodus or to give shelter to these millions? Is there any place for negotiations with the Pakistan Government in this matter? A Minister in the East Bengal Government, Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, has simply denied that there has been any exodus of "non-Muslims" from East Bengal. If his fellow-ministers suffer from the same myopia, then farewell to a solution of the problem by sitting round a table I

But the question still remains. Is the Indian Union to be allowed to betray millions into the tender mercies of intolerance characteristic of a dark age, of the re-barbarisation of the human spirit as has presided over the birth of Pakistan? We hope and trust not. The inspiration that has moved us to struggle for freedom and win through will stand in the way of such a betrayal. A State which has been reared on false pretences cannot expect to receive consideration unless it behaves properly, unless it maintains traditions of civilized life. Pakistan does not fulfil any of these conditions. Her treatment of minorities creates

a precedent that is a danger to her neighbours who cannot follow her example of discrimination. This has created a situation that is fraught with danger—danger of clash between the two neighbour States. There has already been a year-old conflict on the western frontier of the Indian Union. Is it destined that there should be another on the eastern frontier?

How Pakistan was Born

Dr. Sachhidananda Sinha of Patna has written an article under the above heading on the circumstances which hastened the arrival of Pakistan as a separate State carved out of India. This he has been enabled to do by the help of a speech made by Lord Ismay at a "lunch-time" meeting of the Royal Empire Society of London. As Chief of Staff of Lord Mounttatten Lord Ismay was in a position to know all the facts that forced on the leadership of the Congress to weaken in its determination to maintain India's unity and integrity. But the speech, as quoted in Dr. Sinha's article, does not tell us anything new. India's publicists knew that under Lord Wavell's distinguished patronage the Muslim League nominees in the Interim Government made administration almost impossible, and this soldier Governor-General, either deliberately through incapacity, failed to pull these saboteurs up. Lord Ismay said nothing about this betrayal.

When the statement of February 20, 1947, announcing the decision of the British Government to hand over State power to "responsible" Indian administrators by June, 1948, was made, Lord Ismay felt that it was "far too early a date." But on arrival at New Delhi he changed his opinion; he felt it to be "too late," for the following amongst other reasons: "I found that communal bitterness was far more intense both at headquarters in Delhi and in the provinces than anything I could have imagined." The administrative machine "was labouring under an mmense and almost intolerable strain." The Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethic Lawrence, had said as much in his House of Lords speech made during the last week of February, 1947; he had talked of it being impossible to maintain "British Raj" under the then arrangements; the choice lay between quitting or restoring "British Raj" and continuing it for 15 to 20 years more.

But the most important of the reasons was the following:

"When we got to India there was in bower an Interim Government, and it was difficult to see how that Government could continue in office for very long. It was a Coalition Government consisting of fourteen Executive Councillors, of whom nine were Congressmen and five were Muslim Leaguers; and I do not suppose that in the history of the world there has ever been a Coalition so determined not to co-operate with each other. They were all unanimous, that this system could not continue for much longer, without the greatest injury to the country, as a whole."

The Muslim League leader had promised cooperation with the Interim Government. But his nominees started mischief as soon as they were let in during the last week of October, 1947, and they found in Lord Wavell a benevolent and pliant patron, though he had been tricked by the Muslim Leaguers with a promise that they would withdraw their Council resolution of non-co-operation with the Cabinet Delegation's plans of May 16 and June 16, 1946. Why Lord Wavell had allowed them to break their promise we have not been told, and, today this curiosity has no significance to us.

We know it as a fact that the entrance of the Muslim League nominees into the Interim Government prepared the ground for the announcement of June 3, 1947, dividing India into two separate States. Mohammad Ali Jinnah came to realize that "a motheaten Pakistan was better than no Pakistan" (Jinnah's own words), and Congress leadership accepted the logic of its fatal concession of 1942, when on the occasion of the Cripps' Mission they had elaborated the thesis that the Congress had no desire to keep in the Indian State any area that desired to secede from it. Dr. Sinha appeared to feel that Congress leadership should have been as bold as Abraham Lincoln when he preferred a civil war to accepting the demands of the Slave States. Here we think he has missed the significance of Indian conditions under "British Raj." Congress leadership was not the master of the Indian State under Lord Wavell; the arson, loot, and murder that had prevailed during his regime might have had certain characteristics of wars, but there was nothing heroic in these. Congress leadership since August 15, 1947, has demonstrated that its idealistic declaration of 1942, does not wear well in the conduct of a free State. "Civil War" under "British Raj" would have prolonged its life. The leadership of the Congress preferred a cruel operation to the continuance of the regime that had encouraged conditions of enmity between Hindu, Muslim and Sikh in India. Any price was better than the Wavell regime.

New Kashmir

Since the beginning of October, 1947, Pakistan had been helping the organization of marauders Kashmir's western borders. In the confusion of those days it is not possible to fix on a particular day during the days succeeding when the Pakistani-organized tribals were within the State territory. But we know it for a fact that on the 24th of October, the Dusscrah day, they had penetrated within 45 miles from Srinagar and wrecked the Power-Station at Mahora bringing darkness into the celebrations being held at Chandmari in the outskirts of the capital. On the 27th of October, Indian troops landed from the air to render help to Kashmir as she had sought accession to the Indian Union which had been granted. This bloody episode need not have happened if Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir had acceded to the Indian Union

before the Mountbatten plan had been formulated as his brother Princes had done in an overwhelming number. Another victim of procrastination, the Nizam of Hyderabad, has met with a fate that he, his advisers and dupes had not imagined possible. Maharaja Hari Singh would have shared the fate if he had followed the advice of his Dewan Ram Chandra Kak and succumbed to the wiles of Pakistan.

Since October 27, 1917, Indian troops and air force have been battling for the freedom and integrity of Kashmir, aided by the fervent good will of the people led by the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi, his Deputy and his other colleagues, who soon organised the people of Kashmir disillusioned by Pakistani unirder, loot, arson and rape. All this story is recalled to us in a small booklet wherein the author, Prof. N. S. Phadke of Kholapur, gives a clear picture within 34 pages of this miracle of recovery and new morale of a people who had been voted "non-martial during the centuries" The gallantry of Maqbool Sherwani of Baramulla high-lights it. We will allow the writer to tell it. Magbool had been a staunch worker of the All Jammu-Kashmir National Conference He had dared to challenge the Muslim League's Qaid-c-Azam when in 1944 he had called Sheikh Abdulla a goonda and his followers a "band of gangsters"; he had contronted Mr. Jinnah with this insult to his leader and his national organization, and the latter had to be escorted out of the meeting under military protection. True to the traditions of his own life Maybool Ahmed organized resistance when the raiders marched into his native town. Unfortunately he was captured, and the captors took their characteristic revenge. He was asked to cry, "Long Live Pakistan"; he threw at them the cry, "Long Live National Conference," "Long Leave Sheikh Abdullah."

"He was then tied to a cross; nails were driven into his arms and legs. He was repeatedly asked to say "Long Live Pakistan." and Maqbool kept on saying "Long Live the National Conference." And with each shout a fresh nail was driven into his body. At last thirteen rounds were fired at him, and he died on the cross."

The character of the manhood symbolised by M. qbool Ahmed's blood that has developed in Kashmir confirms our faith that a bright future is ahead of her as an equal partner with all other units in the Indian Union. This cannot come unless we can defeat the Pakistani conspirators and their international backers. The nature of this conspiracy we can realize from what the Leader (Allahabad) quotes from the Geneva correspondent of the New York Times who reported that

"All the members of the United Nations Commission say that they can see almost no case for India's retaining Kashmir, and that the personal stubbornness of Pandit Nehru is 'the only obstacle to a settlement'."

We hope that Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla knew

of these Geneva developments when he pledged afresh the All-Jummu-Kashmir National Conference to the cause of composite nationalism recovering from the blow struck by the "two-nations" theory of the Muslim League The vow will require of Kashmirismore sagrifice and suffering so that the New Kashmir of his disams may emerge into reality.

Commonwealth Conference

The most important Session of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference was held on October 20 where defence and maintenance of the world peace was discussed. A statement issued afterwards said that there was agreement that the danger of was must be met by build ing up armed forces in order to deter any would-be aggressor and that irredom must be sateguarded not only by military defensive measures but also by advancing social and economic welfare. The Times, London, 21ve- a comprchensive summary of the proceedings of the Conference. Mr. Attlee opened the discussion at this tall Session and all the Defence Ministers and the Chiefs of Staff were mesent, including Lord Tedder who spoke as Chairman of the Chiefs of Stall Committee and Lord Montgomery. who attended as C. I. G. S. a post which he will give up at the end of October in order to devote himself to the Western Union Commanders in Cluet Committee

After the meeting, the following official communique was issued from 10, Downing Street:

'Defence and the sugmentance of world peace were the subjects of discussion at Prime Ministers' meetings this morning and sitemion

"The discussion was opened with Surveys by the Priac Mouster of the United Kingdom the Minaster of Defence, and the Chief of Air Staff as Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee.

"In the discussion there was agreement that the danger of war must be met by building up armed forces in order to deter any would be aggressor, and that freedom must be safeguarded not only by military defensive measures but also by advancing social and economic welfare."

The deliberate association of social and economic advancement with defensive measures in the statement says Times, is in keeping with the emphasis placed during the discussions on forcian affairs on the need for the constructive account in combating Communism. Improved conditions development of Trade Unions, and the granting of preater responsibilities of creater no-silde were mentioned as example of this approach. They are considered in British as of paramount importance in Asia and the Fact and have their counterpart in the furtherance of Unions in recovery in relation to Western Union.

Although the subsect of the Conference mad ecoreer necessary reports the Times the main developments of Commonwealth defence policy during and as a result of the list was one clear. Briefly they amount to the growth of "regionalism" that is increased responsibility of each Dominion in its own sector of the globe. Co-operation among all of them, particularly in matters of administration,

supply and research, is as strong as, if not stronger than ever. But strategically Commonwealth and Imperial defence can no longer be thought of in terms of a "thin red line." Each Commonwealth member now takes the lead for regional defence, taking as allies other peace-loving neighbours in the same region. The neighbours principally involved are, in the opinion of Times, the United States and the Western European democracies.

Thus in 1940 Canada led the way by undertaking regional commitments in the Western hemisphere through adherence to the North American Defence Pact. By the renewal and extension of it in 1947 she made this a permanent feature of her policy. Mr. Mackenzie King explained this at the time by saying that with the coming of Polar warfare Canada had to look not only, as hitherto, to the east and the west but also to the north; and there her interests and those of the United States coincided. Yet the essential and flexible co-operation within the Commonwealth remained, and was instanced by the fact that 50 per cent of the motor transport used by the United Kingdom Australian, and Indian troops at Alamin was manufactured in Canada.

To Australia and New Zealand the need for planning on a reasonal basis was brought home when Japan entered the war and threatened to sever Australia altogether from the test of the Commonwealth, and that at a time when name of her troops were away fighting in other theatres. Since then, Australia is being developed as the main Commonwealth support area in the Pacific. This is being done partly through a five-year plan, new in its second year, for the expansion of the aimed forces at a cost of £250 million, partly by strengthering the Australian economy and increasing the population. To these ends the Australian Government has been concentrating on immigration and the attraction of oversea capital to develop the country's expanding secondary industries.

Yet cooperation with other Commonwealth members has never been closer. Through the joint service machinery, Great Britain and New Zealand have service representative end staffs accredited to the Australian Defence Department while they in turn have reciprocal arrangements. In addition, through the provision of the huge guided projectile range in her desert areas. Australia plays a leading part in the scientific defence research of the whole Commonwealth.

In the case of the United Kingdom, this tendency towards regional organisation is of course clearly seen in the military linking of the five signatories to the Brussels Pact. Already Cauada, apart from her Commonwealth defence ties with the United Kingdom, is associated with this pact together with the United States, by means of the liaison officers on the Western Union Military Committee and through the ambassadors defence meetings in Washington. When and if the United States decides to enter into more direct commitments with the Western Union Powers, Canada will be in full partnership. Indeed, in many ways she has given the lead.

In Africa and Asia similar regional problems exist. In the former it is a problem of cooperation between NOTES 343

Pritish colonial territories and the Union of South Africa; in Asia, of co-operation between the three new Dominions who have until recently formed a single defense unit and will now have the task of readjusting so as to produce an equally effective regional strength through mutual co-operation as equals.

Observer on Commonwealth Conference

In the above context, the following editorial comment of Observer, London is significant:

"The fundamental question before the Imperial Conference is how far the real links of common interest are recognised by the various partners and whether the visible link of the Crown can be made to cover and symbolese all these different relationshops. With Canada, Australia and New Zealand the real links are sufficiently strong to make it certain that so long as London and Washington are in harmony these Dominions will stand by our side in economic crises or in war. We should not forget, howwer, that these ties would weaken and might break under the strain of Anglo-American disagreement.

"South Africa under its new Government, seems to be pairsuing an isolationist course, but is not, like Enedemanding nominal independence.

The crucial problem is India, which seems likely to express a desire to sever her link with the Crown, but to establish special relations, perhaps by treaty, with the United Kingdom, . . . In matters of defence India might say that Britain cannot afford to remain indifferent to India's late and is therefore bound to defend her whether there is any formal obligation of not. But such defence impossible it there is no co-ordination of services, and no previous preparations for the use of bases.

The the present very disturbed state of South-East Asia it seems clearly to India's advantage to have firm military arrengements with Great Britain; and through Great Britain, with Britain's powerful partners. The Commonwealth today is defensible only if the linear States has an unwritten alliance with it; and if India is to enjoy the great benefits of this arrangement, she must maintain a link with the Commonwealth

"India has the possibility of a great future as the leading country of Asia. It is to India's and Britain's noutual advantage that this should happen, but it is unlikely to happen unless there are the most friendly relations between us, whether they are covered by the symbol of the Crown or by some more formal arrangements. In aiming at Asian leadership, India has great need of close relations with nou-Asian countries, particularly Britain, for her rival in this ambition is Soviet Russia, with all the weight of the European half of her far-flung territories.

"The unique advantage of the Commonwealth connection is that it enables the Commonwealth countries to enter into close relations with other regions of the world. Through Canada, the Commonwealth is firmly anchored to the great North American region; through the United Kingdom, other members of the Commonwealth are now being linked to the evolving entity of Western Europe. The Pacific region is represented by Australia and New

Zeatand: and it must be hoped that Asia will be linked to this world community through the adherence of India."

Daily Herald on the Conference

The Dady Herald, London, writes editorially:

"The Prime Ministers have agreed that there must be the fullest possible co-operation between the nations of Western Europe and the Commonwealth in general; and with Britain in particular.

"Such a relationship is essential to world economic recovery and to world peace. A withdrawal of Britain and the Commonwealth from active participation in European affairs would greatly assist those forces which are working for the destruction of democracy. It is madness to believe that our scattered Commonwealth could pursue its ideals happily and prosperously in isolation, or even in association with America, if European democratic civilisation collapsed.

'The decision of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conterence confirms the view expressed in the Labour Party's pamphler, Feet on the Grouna.

"Britain's strength as a World Power, says the pamphlet, and consequently her value to the Western Union, depend above all on the close link between herself and other members of the Commonwealth. It is vital that her role in a Western Union should not conflict with her Commonwealth relations. On the other hand, it is also clear that all the Transmins could benefit greatly from the economic recovery of Europe.

The demands of Western Union can be reconciled with those of the Commonwealby. 'Bur', the pamphlet emphasizes such a reconcination is by no means automatic, and the countries of Europe must recognize the supreme importance of building a friendly association between the Commonwealth and Western Union.' The attitude of the Commonwealth representatives now in London shows that they are eager to play their part in me great task.'

Indians in South Africa

Dr. Yusut Dadoo, Presiden, of the Transvail Indian Congress, told a press conference in London that South Africa was "in the grip of a violent race hysteria and was likely to experience the most terrible race convulsions in the near future if the present drift to totalitarianism continues." He was replying to a speech by Mr. Eric Louw, the South African delegate to U. N. O. at a foreign press association in London in which he gave a false picture of what was actually going on in his country. In Britain without his passport, which was denied by the South African Government, Dr. Dadoo said he was still trying to reach Paris where he was to have acted as adviser to the Indian delegation on the South African Indian question. Dr. Dadoo, who had several interviews with Pandit Nehru during his stay in London, said that representations to secure a French visa was still being made on his behalf.

Commenting on Mr. Louw's statement that larce

tracts of the most fertile parts of South Africa had been set aside as native reserves, Dr. Dadoo said that only 13 per cent of the land was reserved for four-fifths of the population. If a search were made throughout South Africa, it would hardly discover an African engineer or technician of any kind, he added.

"I ask Mr. Louw, is it not a fact that there are actual laws on the Statute Bock which prevent a vast majority of its black folk from doing skilled work. hike the Colour Bar Act of 1925.

"Mr. Louw says that the Union of South Africa is an outpost of European civilisation and solicits support for its racial policies on this ground.

"I say that if it is European civilisation or western democracy to deny elementary rights and opportunities on the basis of the colour of a person's skin, to disregard a man's worth and his ability, to stop him from acquiring skill, to spurn him and treat him as a chattel and pariah in the land of his birth, then that civilisation is a menace to mankind and we will have no truck with it.

"Politics, commerce, industry, labour, culture and education are all steeped with the most cruel manifestation of colour despositism," Dr. Dadoo said

"Segregation has made South Africa a vast prison house for its non-white population. The country now enjoys a reputation of having the largest jail-going population in the world in relation to its African population.

"It is difficult in South Africa to field an African who has reached the age of 25, who has not seen the masery of a prison wall.

"Expenditure on the police force and prisons was £3,000,000 a year while £2,500,000 was spent for the education of four-fifths of the population which represents the non-Europeans," he continued.

"Every African at the age of 18 must hav 12 different passes to control his movements. One was for leaving and going to school, another for paying taxes and still another for visiting a friend between the curfew hours of 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. 100,000 Africans a year were convicted and sent to jud for not having a specified pass in their possession.

"We are not asking for privileges in South Africa, but we are fighting for our rights to live as decent human beings in the land of our birth," Dr. Dadoo anid

"We claim citizenship rights for every human being regardless of his race or colour and there is no power on earth to stop us from attaining our birthright.

"Let me warn Mr. Louw and those who think like him that they are building up a vast reservoir of hate for the white man if they continue their present mad career of violations of human rights.

"Is not racial discrimination a fundamental and gross violation of the United Nations Charter, western democracy and European civilisation?"

India has prepared for the debate on South Africa

by circulating booklets outlining the events in the Union to all delegations, including the South African. So far three documents have been issued. Two are printed booklets called Spotlight on South Africa and Treatment of Indians in South Africa. The third is a eyclostyled supplement. The first booklet recalls the early history of the Indian problem and publishes photographs comparing a "segregated area reserved for Indians" with a "municipal flat reserved for white . workers" The duplicated statement brings the "position regarding the treatment of Indians in South Mrica and denial of fundamental human rights to non-European people" up-to-date. The second booklet, Treatment of Indians in South Africa is the most important of the three. Regarding recent developments it savs :

"The policy of the Nationalist Party, which is now the party in power in South Africa, is better understood by a reference to a secret organisation called Broederbond, of which the Prime Minister of South Africa and several Ministers of his Cabinet are members

"This organisation, members of which were debarred from entry into the Civil Services by the Government of Smuts, has a supreme council who are 'the twelve apostles.' Sixty out of 993 candidates of the Nationalist Party in the general election of 1948 were drawn from this secret organisation, which provides the inspiration to the present Government of the party led by Dr. Malan."

The document, then, quotes a report, published in the Cape Times of May 22, 1948, of extracts from a "secret circular of this organisation."

It says: "The Nationalist Party was carried to victory in the general election on a wave of hatred against non-Europeans.

"It has roused the passions and emotions of which people by statements made by Dr. Donges and Dr. Malan."

Minister of the Interior Dr. Donges is quoted afollows: "If South Africa accepted the United Party policy, the white South African would eventually have to quit as the British had done in India, or else suffer the fate of South American Republics and become a country of mixed breeds."

The report adds, "The changeover of Government on South Africa marked a further triumph of racialism and led to further deterioration of the condition of non-European peoples in South Africa."

The document, then deals with 'apartheld' in its relation to Indians, coloured people and natives

"It is reported in the Press that the South African Government is working on a scheme to repatriate all. Indians from South Africa," added the document.

"The only fitting reply to this can be one given by Dr. V. M. Dadoo. President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, 'We are born and bred here and we are sons of the soil as much as Malans, Afrikanders, or African people.' NOTES 345

"No one dare get us out We, South Africans, will stay here to play our part in making South Africa a democratic State."

Summing up, the booklet says, "The treatment of Indians in South Africa thus continues to be a serious violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter on which the United Nations is founded. Continuation by the South African Government of a policy of racial discrimination against Asians and other non-whites is clearly the result of an assumption by that Government that the failure of the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt an effective resolution on this subject last year constitutes tacit approval by the United Nations of that policy.

"The Government of the Union of South Arreshas made no change whatever either in its discriminatory laws of in the practice of racial discrimination against its nationals of Indian origin. The present Government in South Africa stands committed to a policy of 'apartheld' or racial segregation and domination of all non-white peoples by Europeans.

"It has proclaimed its intention of taking away whatever restricted political rights are at present enjoyed by Indians and other Asians and of extending the policy of residential and commercial segregation to Cape Province, the only part of the Union of South Africa, which has been comparatively free from racial segregation and political discrimination."

Dr. Malan has opened the offensive in full strength against Indians in that Dominion by introducing the Bill to amend the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act providing for the representation of Indians in the South African Assembly and Senate and the Natal Provincial Council Indians protested against the original Bill on two grounds, namely, that the voting was on communal basis, and that they could be represented only by Europeans. Dr. Malan's amendment takes away even these two limited rights. The Hindustan Times pointed out that "the intention of the Union Government is to deny Indians even the limited franchise which the Act conceded while retaining the segregation olarses' This is the Union Government's reply to the appeal of the United Nations Assembly to the two Governments to get together to settle the dispute. Asia, specially India, is anxious to see in what light the present session of the U. N. Assembly views the conduct of the South African Government which clearly amounts to an insult to the United Nations of the world and what steps it takes to remedy this gross affront.

Government Measures on Inflation

The Government of India, in a press communique, has announced the measures it has decided to adopt for the purpose of combating inflation. It has been decided that (i) the budgetary gap between revenue and expenditure this year should be reduced as far as possible, both by the Provinces and by the Centre,

next year every effort should be provide surplus budgets; (ii) that all avoidable expenditure especially all unproductive expenditure, should be postponed forthwith, while, at the same time, effecting all economies consistent with efficient administration (a Cabinet Committee has been set up to carry out an urgent review of all development plans, both Gentral and Provincial, with a view to determining the relative priority of accepted schemes); (ni) that the Centre should not extend any financial assistance to the provinces, in particular to implement such programmes as prohibition and zamindari abolition, nor allow the provinces to try and finance these schemes in a way that would adversely offect the Centre's borrowing programme; and (10) that the progress of the Estate Duty Bill should be expedited. It has also been decided to curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the community and to prevent any addition thereto. It accordingly proposes (i) to intensify the small savings campaign. (n) to afford wider facilities for investments by the small investor in Post Offices, as, for instance, by raising the maximum possible limit for investments in National Savings Certificates from Rs. 15,000 to Rs 25,000; (iii) to issue Treasure Deposit Receipts. as in U.K., on tayourable terms (what these are have not been indicated) for 6, 9 and 12 months to cater for institutional investors in search of short-term investments; and (iv) to limit dividends of public companies to the average of the amount distributed as dividend during the two years ended March 31 1948, or to 6 per cent on paid-up capital, whichever is higher. In regard to the question of bringing down prices, a reimposition of control on foodgrains and textiles has been decided and the Government have under consideration the question of securing a reduction in the prices of sugar and a scheme for better distribution of other essential commodities like kerosene, iron, steel and cement, which would be announced shortly. The following is the full text of the communique:

"The Government of India have had under active consideration for some time the measures to be taken to combat the threat of growing inflation, the most significant indication of which has been the continuous rise in prices during recent months. They have had the benefit of consultation with Provincial and States Ministers, economists and representatives of industry and labour. After a careful consideration of the problem in all its aspects, they have decided to take certain immediate steps to improve the position.

"The Government's policy in dealing with this problem is dictated by certain broad considerations. The first is to take all possible steps to keep the Government expenditure as low as possible consistent with efficiency, and to increase revenue by all available means. The second is to make a concerted effort mimediately to ensure that there is no further rise in prices and the cost of living. The third is to order

future policy as to secure, in the shortest possible time, progressive reduction in prices to reasonable ieveis and the supply of an increasing volume of goods and services. Lastly, wherever possible, every endeavour should be made to curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the community and to prevent any addition thereto.

"In the field of Government expenditure it has been decided that the budgetary gap between revenue and expenditure goings this year should be reduced as far as possible both by the Provinces and the Centre and that for the next year every effort should be made to provide surplus budgets. All avoidable expenditure will forthwith be postponed and all economies consistent with the maintenance of efficient administration will be enforced. It is not the Government's intention to hold up development but in the present crisis it is absolutely vital to avoid all unproductive expenditure. A Committee of the Cabinet has been set up to carry out an urgent review of all development plans both Central and Provincial with a view to determining the relative priority of accepted schemes as that expenditure on such of them as are not productive or could be postponed or slowed down, without detriment to the national welfare, might be deferred or curtailed.

"Provincial Governments have also been warned that in present cheanstances they can expect no tonancial assistance from the Centre in the implementation of their plans for the abolition of zemindari or for prohibition, and that in trying to finance the rost of these schemes they should see that the Centre's horrowing programme is not affected.

"Provincial Governments are also being advised to strengthen their finances by the levy of an agricultural ancometax where it is not now levied

"The progress of the bill for boying an Estate Duty, the entire proceeds of which will go to the Provinces and which is now before the Central Legistature, will also be expedited.

"As regards prices, the public are aware that the place of decontrol adopted last December has recently been reviewed, and the revised policy regarding control of foodgrains and textiles has been announced. Government hope to secure by the revised policy an equitable distribution of foodgrains and cloth at reasonable prices well below the existing levels. When the revised policy comes into full operation there should be a marked decline in the present level of prices. Government have also under consideration the question of securing a reduction in the price of sugar and a better distribution of other essential commodities like kerosene, iron, steel and cement and they hope to be in a position shortly to announce their policy.

"One of the main causes of the present crisis is the existence in the hands of large sections of the community of purchasing power far in excess of the available supply of goods resulting in a progressive increase in prices. The position will naturally improve if the public invest more in Government loans and in savings schemes. In order to stimulate investments Government propose, in co-operation with the Provincial Governments and States, to intensify the campaign for small savings. They have also decided to afford wider facilities for investments by the small investor in Post Offices. The maximum permissible limit for investments in Postal Savings Banks will be raised from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and in National Savings Certificates from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000. Government have also decided to issue treasury deposit receipts on favourable terms for 6, 9 and 12 months to cater for institutional investors seeking short-term investments and details will be announced shortly by the Reserve Bank.

"In the field of industrial production Government have come to the conclusion that in the present circumstances some special steps should be taken to stimulate production, and they have therefore decided to grant the following concession:

"Firstly, the present rules regulating allowance of depreciation on plant and machinery for income-tax purposes will be liberalised. Secondly, new industrial undertakings will be exempted from income-tax for a specified period. Thirdly, raw materials and plant at dimachinery imported into the country for industrial purposes will be granted a relief in respect of customs duty, to the extent that this may be practicable without injury to Indian manufacturers of similar goods. Details of the concessions will be published shortly

"Government attach the utmost importance to mereasing the financial resources available for industrial development and at the same time preventing any addition to existing purchasing power, as an essential preliminary to further measures to check inflation. As a first step in this direction some form of limitation of dividends is necessary, and it has been decided that for public companies the amount distributed as dividend should not exceed the average of the two years ending with the 31st March, 1948, or 6 per cent on paid-up capital whichever is higher. It has also been decided to postpone the repayment of the Excess Profits Tax deposits and of refundable E. P. T. for a further period of three years. Refunds will however be allowed for financing purchases of capital equipment.

"Government also propose to take action to secure in consultation with the Reserve Bank that the power recently conferred on the Reserve Bank to regulate the grant of advances by banks should be utilised to prevent speculation in commodities.

"The Central Government are convinced of the imperative need for uniformity in legislation regarding industrial disputes and its application. Divergent policy and unco-ordinated action in this matter can result in embarrassing repercussions on the economy of the country at the present juncture. Alongside, therefore, of Government's declared policy in this matter, they intend to take measure by legislation and otherwise to cusure that uniform principles will be adopted, under the overall control of the Central Government, in the

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reference of disputes to adjudication, and the provision for the review of awards by a statutory authority.

"The Government of India trust that the measures now announced will reassure the public and restore a spirit of confidence in all sections of the community. They have under consideration certain other measures on which they hope to arrive at an early decision and which it is expected will go far toward conserving this spirit."

The Government's anti-inflation policy has been well received by the richer section of the communication but it has produced no enthusiasm in the minds of the common man. The official approach to the problem seems to have been wrong. It has started from the idea that money has flown into the hands of the common man and this is the factor which lies at the root of the problem. There might have been an cleu cut of truth in this notion but it does not deserve the emphasis that it has received. The real danger has elsewhere. During the past few years, some money has no doubt percolated into the villages but the bulk of it has found its way in the hands of war-contractors and black-marketeers. This powerful section of the community have enough liquid cash in their hands to take advantage of the scarcity of goods and to raise their prices through cornering. Controls, although good in principle, have worked most disastrously in this country because its administration has been entrusted to persons whose efficiency and integrity have never been above suspicion. Distribution of permits and wagons have both been worked in such a way as to foster black-market and push up prices still higher Controls in this country have meant unlimited distress and great hardship for the common man with a free score for blackmarketing. A reimposition of controls. therefore, specially under the same set of corrupt and inefficient officials who are hand in glove with the blackmarketeers, has failed to produce enthusiasm in the hearts of the common man while it has immediately won the blessings of the millionaires The Government of India would have struck at the root of high prices if they had announced the policy of immediate liquidation of the Managing Agency system. On several previous occasions we have shown that this system of industrial finance, devised by the British merchants, constitutes the most perfect machinery for the earning of illicit and undue profits and is tolerated in no civilised country of the world. Instead of breaking it, the Government have further strengthened it by the lax imposition of controls and limitation o' dividends. The grant of open general licenses for the import of consumer goods is however, a silver lining on the dark horizon; if it succeeds in securing more goods in the market, the prices are bound to come down. In the interest of the nation, the Swadeshi sentiment should be held in abeyance for some time. In the present set-up, purchase of Indian manufactured goods does not necessarily mean the retention of money within the country; in fact most of it is

sent out in the form of purchase of luxury goods and luxury travels abroad by the millionaires.

The present anti-inflation policy will not solve the problem; it may only add to the existing complexities The whole economic structure and the entire administrative machinery, specially that part of it which deals with economic matters, should be thoroughly studied from the purely Indian viewpoint of decentralised economy which ensures full employment and prevents concentration of money in fewer hands. Production, credit, commerce, transport, and administration all form parts of one integrated structure and should be studied together if a lasting solution is to be desired. The Anglo-Saxon political and economic institutions have solved none of our national problems; rather they have added to our complexities. It is time that we approcahed the problem from the Indian standpoint, strengthened by a study of Manu, Kautilya. Parasara, Sukra and a host of other Indian seers who gave us an economic structure that lasted in fact through millenniums and ensured happiness to the masses. It is high time now that knowledge of Indian economy was knocked into the heads of our administrators and economists charged with Keynesian theories of political economy, "Inflation" for us is a catchword, our real problem is to rebuild our devastated economic structure. This cannot be done under the leadership of Anglo-Saxon political and economic institutions

Provincial Finance Ministers Conference

The Conference of Provincial Finance Ministerscalled by the Finance Minister of the Government of India, has concluded its session after discussing questions relating to co-ordination of the financial policies of the Central and Provincial Governments. Among the items discussed were the distribution of Income Tax, the financing of post-war development schemes, co-ordination of Central and Provincial borrowing, the need for a uniform policy in the matter of provincial excise, specially with regard to medicinal and toilet preparations containing spirit, the need for popularising the small savings movement, co-ordination of provincial sales tax, and the need for organising an efficient machinery. Central and Provincial, for collecting up-to-date statistics.

The major part of the discussion centred round the subjects of the financing of the provincial postwar development schemes and the distribution of Income Tax. Regarding post-war development schemes, the provincial ministers explained their special difficulties, but there was a general realisation on the part of the provinces that in implementing their development schemes they should co-operate with the Centre in seeing that the inflationary position was not worsened.

We do not know how far Bengal's claim for a just share of the Income Tax has been pressed in the Conference. The Fress report of the Conference only says that the Finance Minister of the Government of India has given an assurance that the whole question would be re-examined. About a year ago we had pointed out in these columns the degree of injustice done to West Bengal in respect of her share of Income Tax. After partition, the drop in the collection of Income Tax from this province had been negligible but share of the tax for West Bengal was drastically cut down practically in proportion to her loss of territory without taking into account the actual reduction in the collections due to partition. This legitimate grievance of West Bengal ought to be remedied at the earliest possible moment.

An official committee was appointed on the first day of the Conference to consider the extent to which uniformity could be secured in the Sales Tax levied by the provinces. The Committee submitted its report to the Conference on the second day. The main points in the report which, it is believed, have been approved by the Conference, are:

- (1) No Sales duty should be levied on the export from one province to another of grains, pulses and certain other similar commodities.
- (2) A ceiling of three pies in the rupee should be fixed for Sales Tax on industrial raw materials exported from one province to another. The materials included are: coal, cement, steel, cotton, cotton vara. hides and skins, oil-seeds, rubber, minerals and jute.
- (3) A coiling of three pies in the rupee should be fixed on the export of textiles plant machinery, vegetable oil products and sugar. It will be open to a province, however, to levy further tax on internal consumption of these goods.
- (4) A uniform tax of one anna in the rupec on the export of luxury goods including refrigerators, jewellery, radios, gramophones and motor vehicles.
- (5) No province should charge any Sales Tax on a commodity exported by it, if on that commodity it does not levy tax in the case of internal consumption.
- (6) No Sales Tax should be levied on agricultural implements used by hand.

It is regrettable to find that this Conference has not thought it fit to take into consideration the very basis of Sales Tax in this country where most of the retailers are exceedingly small units and do not keep accounts on any scientific method. The last item in the foregoing list may be an indication that the provinces will be free to levy Sales Tax on the other articles of consumption needed by the cultivator. How does the Government propose to bring to the Exchequer the huge amount of Sales Tax that will be paid by the masses to retail traders? In Bengal, we know, a very large proportion of the tax actually paid by the buyers do not find their way to the Government Treasury but inflates the bank balances of the traders. The Sales Tax has meant an additional income for the dishonest trader.

The Government of India in its Finance Department would do well to tell the provinces that commodities for the levy of Sales Tax should be selected in such a manner that they fall, within the field of organized business so that it would not be necessary to harass the petty illiterate retailers for the collection of the tax. The Madras method may serve as a model in this respect where the quantum of tax is the lowest while the yield is more than four times the similar tax in other provinces.

West Bengal can easily afford to confine its Sales Tax to a very small number of items sufficient to yield a very large revenue. These are the items that have enjoyed immunity under the past governments; for example, hessian and other jute products, shipping purchases, stocks and shares, and the disposal goods sold here by the Government of India. These items, together with the luxury goods, are likely to yield several times the present revenue collected under Sales Tax, even by de-scheduling the daily necessities. The omnibus inclusion of every conceivable item in the schedule will further push up prices, and mean greater hardship for the masses.

Another vital omission has been made in the list. Education must be made tax free and this should have been included in the exemptions included in the foregoing list. Pakistan has taken care to exclude education from its Sales Tax while in India we are paying thrice upon it; firstly, to paper dealers while buying paper, secondly, to the press while taking delivery of the printed forms and thirdly, on printed books. This is the most pernicious feature of the Sales Tax which should be eliminated at the earliest possible moment.

Foreign Assets in India

A Census of foreign assets and liabilities of individuals and institutions in the Dominion of India and States which have accoded to the Indian Union has at last been undertaken by the Reserve Bank of India. This has long been overdue and should have been undertaken much earlier. For a long time, information on balance of payments is being compiled with great care in such progressive countries like U.S.A., Canada and Argentina for the study of movements in trade and investment position and allied matters. In India, however, up to now no such compilation in an organised manner has been attempted with the consequence that there has been a serious statistical lacunae. Very little definite knowledge is available at present as regards the debtor-creditor position if one takes into account not only public debts but also private investments. Such is also the case with regard to the movement of capital in and out of the country, receipts and remittances of funds in the form of profits, interest payments, shipping, insurance services and tourist services. Detailed information on all these is necessary for making an accurate assessment of the position of this country in regard to any of them. The Reserve Bank has made only a beginning in this direction with a survey of foreign NOTES 349

investments which is the most important because it covers a wide field and is a prelude to the carrying out of other surveys for the construction of an accurate picture of our international accounts. The inquiry has been undertaken to satisfy certain requirements of the International Monetary Fund.

The U.S. and Canada have been the pioneers in the field of conducting surveys of international investments, and the experiment of the U.S. is the most comprehensive and thorough. During the inter-war period, the U.S. Department of Commerce conducted the survey through the issue of questionnaires. After the Japanese aggression, legislation was undertaken by the U.S. Government for a compulsory furnishing of information regarding all types of foreign-owned assets by individuals and institutions in the U.S. owning property on behalf of foreign countries or nationals thereof Illuminating details have been compiled and published. The method followed by Canada resembles that of India in securing information of the type in question, in that its estimate of balance of payments, particularly its international investment positions, would appear to have been based on securing information with the co-operation of the business community through the issue of questionnaires. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics maintains individual cards for all firms with foreign ramifications and the latest information is posted in such cards as when the returns flow in from year to year. The results of such statistics are published by the Board of Statistics with exhaustive comments on the methods followed, as also the trends indicated. We have doubts, however, about the success of the Canadian method in this country. Here most of the foreign firms are British and their spheres of investment are widely varied. Tea, jute. coal, mica, manganese, engineering industries and similar important interests are still almost completely in the hands of Britons. All of them are organised ou strong monopolistic lines and have so far baffled all efforts by the Government to elicit informations from them even of a minor character regarding their working. The British firms in India have not yet been able to adjust themselves to the altered condition. We have doubts about the Reserve Bank's success in securing true and adequate information through questionnaires; we are afraid, legislation will ultimately be necessary.

Industrial Policy of Pakistan

The industrial policy of Pakistan Government has recently been explained in a press conference at Karachi by its Minister for Commerce. He expressed the hope that within the next six or seven years the Dominion would be reasonably industrialised. There is still some confusion in regard to participation of foreign capital in Pakistan's industrialisation. Elucidating this particular point, the Minister stated that by allowing "a reasonable proportion of profit" for the purpose of remittance abroad, the Government's intention was to place no restriction on such remittances

other than those of general application arising from foreign exchange limitations and policy to which such remittances were subject everywhere.

Pakistan's total production of jute, the Minister said, was between 60 and 70 lakh bales, but there was no jute mill. The Government had, therefore, concentrated its first effort mainly on the expansion of the Dominion's jute-baling capacity. Orders had been placed for eight presses with firms in U. K. and five in U. S. A. The U. K. presses were expected to be in operation by the end of June 1949, while those from the U. S. A. were expected to reach earlier still. It was further stated that the Government was financing the initial purchase of presses from America. When all the 13 presses had been set up, the baling capacity would increase by 20 lakh bales over the present capacity of 27 lakhs. As regards establishment of jute mills, the Minister stated that the Government was actively considering the question of setting up two mills, to begin with at an early date. One mill has already been established in Chittagong but it is not expected to start working before 1950.

Pakistan's estimated annual raw cotton production was about 12,00,000 bales. There were 12 mills in Pakistan, which, working double shift, were capable of producing 5,000 bales of cloth and 7,500 bales of yarn per month. But this represented only about 10 per cent of Pakistan's total cloth requirement Two mills, one with a capacity of 31,000 spindles and another 25,000 spindles, were nearing completion at Rahimyarkhan in Bhawalpore State and Karachi respectively. Two mills in East Bengal had also placed orders for additional spindles to the extent of 17,000. By the end of next year, the Minister said, the number of spindles installed in Pakistan would have doubled itself from 166,000 to 332,000.

The third most important fibre in Pakistan was wool, which, the Minister said, was in great demand in the world market. The Government had decided to assist in the establishment of five yarn spinneries with a total spindleage of 25,000. It was also proposed to assist in the opening of finishing centres, each centre comprising two sets of raising and finishing machines. Besides, permission had been granted to two parties to set up woollen and worsted mills at Karachi and in West Punjab. The Karachi mill was, according to the Minister, expected to be in production by June, 1949.

Negotiations with representatives of well-established foreign firms on the starting of a rubber tyre factory in or near Karachi were making satisfactory progress. Leather and pharmaceutical industries were also receiving attention.

The Pakistan Government, said the Minister, attached the highest importance to the establishment of an up-to-date paper factory, preferably in East Bengal where the raw materials required for manufacturing paper were available in abundance. In this connection he revealed that it was proposed to utilise

the services of well-known consultants for the planning of a sulphide paper mill, estimated to cost between one and one and a half crores of rupees. The development of sugar and other allied industries were also receiving government attention. A 50,000-ton sugar factory in Mardan was expected to be in production next year. Existing sugar factories in East Bengal were being expanded.

He gave details of certain hydro-electric projets under consideration. The present conditions of thermal plants scattered throughout Pakistan were being surveyed.

Stressing the need for planned economy, the Minister remarked that, excepting the manufacture of arms and ammunition, generation of hydro-electric power, and the manufacture of rolling stock and telecommunication equipment, which would be State monopoly, the entire field had been left for private enterprise and mitiative, the Government reserving for itself, however, the right, when such enterprise was not forthcoming in adequate measure, to undertake the development of industries of national importance. Participation of foreign capital has been invited in order to step up the Dominion's industrialisation taking good care to see that its import did not bring with it foreign political influence. How Pakistan, a distressed borrower of foreign capital and enterprise keeps foreign investment free from foreign political influence remains to be seen, specially with the examples of Iran and Iraq before us.

Pakistan Buys Steel from Abroad

It is reliably understood, says the Pakistan correspondent of the Commerce, that about one lakh tons of steel from Belgium has been ordered by Pakistan Government against sterling The steel will cost ing Pakistan currency about one and a half erore rupees. Further it is learnt that orders for the purchase of over a thousand items of various capacities of goods and steel requirements of the Pakistan railways, valued at about one and a half crore of rupees, have been placed by the Railway Purchase Mission on various firms in U. S. A., U. K. and other European countries. Prompt deliveries of the urgently required stores have been arranged and some of the items are stated to be already on their way to Pakistan. We wonder why, with such acute shortage of steel and railway materials. our Government is unable to utilise the huge amounts of idle sterlings for the procurement of these essential commodities against sterling as is being done by Pakistan.

W. H. O. Regional Committee

Inaugurating the Regional Committee of the World Health Organisation for South-East Asia—the first of the five committees to be set up in different regions of the world—Pandit Nehru stated that the future of national and world peace lay in greater and greater international co-operation in all possible spheres

In the political and economic spheres, unfortunately, there were conflicts, but in matters like public health there was no room for any conflict. "If we have more and more international co-operation on health and other matters, undirectly we are really consolidating the other major political and economic problems of the world, because we create an atmosphere of international co-operation," Pandit Nehru said.

India, he added, attached the greatest importance to the work of the World Health Organisation, more especially from the point of view of South-East Asia, which was very backward in health conditions. If the organisation could achieve its objective of physical, mental and social wellbeing—that was how they had defined health—most of the problems of the world would have been solved. Perhaps progress would be slow and this result would not be achieved as quickly as they wanted.

He recalled how Asia and South-East Asia had been arglected in the past in the sense that world organisations directed their activities more towards the problems of Europe or America. Yet if one looked at questions of health, one found that countries of Asia needed attention first. It was well-known today that one could not isolate any part of the world and make one part of it healthy and leave the other part unhealthy, because the infection spreads. The world must be tackled as a whole and in doing so, backward areas must be tackled first.

Problems of Asia were particularly important. He was therefore happy that the regional system was being developed by the World Health Organisation so that more attention might be paid to the problems of a particular region. So far as the Government of India were concerned they would do their atmost, assured Pandit Nehru to help the organisation and to carry out its decisions.

India's Health Minister Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, stated that the most important item before the Committee was the programme for 1949. It was necessary to give the Director-General a consolidated programme of the assistance required by the regional countries from the World Health Organisation in respect of the technical activities which had been approved by the Health Assembly. The most important of these, she said, were the control of malaria, tuberculosis, venercal diseases, maternity and child welfare, environmental hygiene and nutrition.

Dr. Brock Chisholm, Director-General of the W.H.O., attended the Conference and stated that at the very beginning it had been decided that the activities of the W.H.O. should be decentralised, and that it should not be an academic organisation. It was significant that the first regional organisation was being established in Asia.

The urgency of improving health conditions in this country as well as in other South-East Asian countries can not be over-emphasised. The activities of the W.H.O. which are directed towards this end are, therefore, of special significance to this country. The W.H.O. is one of the specialised agencies of the U. N. devoted to the cause of improving the health conditions of the world. It is noteworthy that the first of the six Regional Health Organisations is to be opened for South-East Asia with headquarters in India. Representatives from Siam, Burma,

Nepal. Ceylon and Afghanistan attended the Conference. Pakistan chose to align itself with the Middle East countries.

Linguistic Provinces

The question of linguistic provinces is being handled by the Government of India and the Congress Working Committee differently for different areas and this is bound to cause discontent. The Congress stands committed to the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis but as soon as it has come to a position to do so the problem is being evaded specially in respect of Bengali-speaking areas in Eastern India. Bengal's just claim for the reinclusion of her ceded districts has been resisted by the Congress Working Committee and the present President of the Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, has definitely and enambiguously expressed himself against it. This has been a clear departure of the accepted policy of the Congress in regard to the re-drawing of the provincial maps in Free India. The just claim of the Bengali-speaking people of Assam for the formation of a Purbachal Province is also falling on deat ears. Provincial autonomy can be a success only when that province is able to conduct its entire education system including University education through the medium of the provincial language. This is possible only when the province is formed strictly on a linguistic province and its extra-territorial right to establish institutions for its own people in other provinces is admitted. All complaints of cultural genocide can be climinated only under such conditions. Mahatma Gandhi had also emphatically said on occasions that the genius of a province could not attain a high level unless it were possible to impart University education through the medium of the provincial language. A consolidated fedral policy can be a success only when the provinces are contented units of a contented State system. The Linguistic Provinces Commission set up by the President of the Constitution Assembly of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad who is following a dual role in respect of this fundamental issue, is, not expected to solve the problem because its scope has been very narrowly superscribed by its terms of reference. The letter of Dr. Lanka Sundaram, published in the Statesman dated October 27, deserves special attention in this connection. We do not know whether the election of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Andhra leader, as President of the Congress for 1949, will mark any appreciable departure in the present linguistic policy of the Working Committee, or whether he is going to barter away the rights of other provinces to gain recognition for his own province, remains to be seen. His silence over this important question, of which he himself had been one of the principal champions, before and after his election. . has raised some amount of apprehension.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram writes:

I have read with interest your Editorial of October 20-21 on linguistic provinces, with special reference to the recent Bombay conference of Maharashtrians.

We in Andhra Desh have been, since 1913, consistently clamouring for an Andhra province. I regret to say that by branding the demand for linguistic provinces as provincialism you have not faced the question at all, much less solved it. To give a bad name to a dog and to hang is not the method expected from a reputed forum of public opinion like yours.

I will state my facts and arguments, particularly with reference to Andhra, in the most straightforward fashion possible. What is the necessity for the postponement of this question? Obviously, dangers in the country, real and imagined. India, however, had not postponed the merger of some 500 Indian States, because of these dangers. Some of these States have merged with Indian provinces, eg., the Eastern States Agency units with Orissa. No revolution or chaos attended these mergers. If there were tough problems like those of Patiala, we had the stratagem, obviously open to objection, of calling the group concerned "Patiala and East Punjab States Union," In other words, if we have a will, there certainly will be a way out of the linguistic provinces controversy. I stake my claim to the city of Madras and am willing to abide by the decisions of a properly held plebiscite. Even if this attitude of compromise is not satisfying to other claimants, then transform the city into a province like the present Delhi Province This may smooth difficulties.

The problem of Andhra is simple. We, Andhras, do not want a Pakistan of our own. We want the right to order our affairs, as self-respecting partners in the free India of today and tomorrow. There are two crores of Andhras in the cleven Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency, with a revenue of Rs. 25 crores a year. We have another two croies of Andhras scattered about in Orissa. Bastar and Chanda, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Tamilnad, and even in distant Bombay and Burma. We do not, however, want areas containing Andhras which are not contiguous to the main body of Andhra territory, to be forcibly attached to the proposed province. You have the assurance that the 70,000 Andhras of Kharagpur, W. Bengal, for example, would not be ordered to undertake an exodus to Andhra Desh, just as much as Coimbatore and Tanjore in the south would not be claimed and joined to the proposed province by a corridor,

What is desired is that the existing Andhra districts, which are self-sufficient and possess the ingredients of a robust future, should be constituted into a province, and that such of the contiguous areas in which Andhras are predominant should be added to them, so that a reconstituted Andhra Desh becomes a State integral to free India.

A commission of the Government of Madras recently investigated a complaint that the mother tongue of the Andhras was suppressed in the curriculum of the schools of the city. Andhras of the Koraput and Ganjam tracts of Orissa (these were lopped off from Andhra Desh in 1937 and given to Orissa to make the latter a sizeable State) are denied the right to use their mother tongue in schools and law-courts, and a domiciliary test was imposed under the Congress Government of the Province which denies vast numbers of Andhras in these areas their right to franchise and gainful employment.

The Andhras want an opportunity to regroup themselves, and become contented partners of free India. Let there be no ground for complaint that vested interests, aided by purposeless historical antecedents, have made for disintegration, for if millions of people continue to grumble against injustice, the State cannot become prosperous. Re-draw the map of India on a linguistic basis—a basis to which Congress stands solemnly pledged for 30 years—and then you have the ingredients of a consolidated federal policy for the country.

Purbachal Pradesh

On the 8th of September last the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, the supreme executive of the organization, recommended the constitution of a new Congress Province-the Purbachal Pradesh. The Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, has since then countermanded the recommendation and stayed its implementation. A representative Conference of Cachar, Manipur and Tripura States was to have been held on the 17th of October, 1948, with Acharya Jugal Kishore, Joint General Secertary of the Congress, as its president. The intervention of the Congress President has halted all this. The reason for it is no longer a secret. The Congress Ministry of Assam and the Governor have appeared on the scene to sabotage this plan which is the only way that we can think of to neutralize the racial policy of the Assam Administration. Sir Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, reflected its mind when he called the Bengali- native to Assani and resident therein "strangers" in the province's body-politic in course of his speech to the Assam Legislature very soon after the Sylhet Referendum. Lately he has been to Silchar trying to persuade leaders of public opinion there to withdraw support from the proposal of a new Congress Province. What his locus stands is in the internal affairs of the Congress we cannot say. We are of opinion that he has stepped beyond his constitutional powers.

We can well understand the mind of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee and the Ministry. They cannot like the idea that about 21,000 sq. miles may be withdrawn from their jurisdiction. At present they exercise direct and indirect influence over Cachar, Lushai Hills and the Manipur State. The constitution of a new Congress Province with the addition of the Tripura State into it may from certain points be regarded as the forerunner of the establishment of a new administrative unit in the Indian Union separate from Assam. At present the Assamese-speaking people are a minority of 25 lakhs in the Province's 70 lakhs total population. But they have been exercising dominant influence over the Assam Administration creating discontent and disgust amongst other elements of the population. By their policy of quickly Assamising them they have driven them to the verge of revolt. The recommendation by the Congress Working Committee of a new Congress Province is a recognition of this growing tension of feeling. But Babu Rajendra Prasad has not cared to take the public into confidence with regard to the reasons of his stay-on order. He has

spoken obliquely of opposition to the Working Committee's recommendation from other groups of the population in Cachar and the Manipur State.

The Assam Provincial Congress Committee and the Assam Ministry have co-operated in manufacturing these groups which more often than not are the remnants of the pro-British elements in the population. These want to make amends for their past betravals by doing the dirty work of the Assamese chauvinists. Babu Rajendra Prasad may not know all the intricacies of the situation. In course of a speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Minority Coordination Conference of Assam held at Silchar on the 26th and 27th September last, Shree Vidyapathi Singh, Congress M. L. A. of Assam, described these groups as agents provocateurs who "in the past had aligned themselves with the Imperial bureaucracy and betrayed the interests of the people." He also described the narrow policy of the Assam Administration discriminatory of the minorities. "We know that a strong move is going on to adopt Assamese as the State language of Assam, and the language of the minorities recognized by the Calcutta University are not having any sympathetic consideration from the Assamese leaders." In the matter of appointments and contracts under the patronage of the Assam Administration there has been shameless discrimination as related in an article in The Modern Review, August, 1948, entitled "Story of a Great Betrayal."

These instances make it necessary that for the peace of India's castern frontier areas the Assamese-speaking people should be freed from the temptation of power-polities. The administration of the Province under their influence is proof enough that they are unfit to exercise power over non-Assamese peoples. The constitution of a Purbachal Congress Province is the nearest step towards the solution of this problem ultimately leading to the setting up of a separate administrative province in the Indian Union. By its area of 25,530 square miles including Lushai Hill's 8,142 square miles and its population strength of 22,04,929, the new Congress Province can compare favourably with other provincial units.

"Rasic Education" in Bihar

So far as we are aware the province of Bihar appears to have set itself enthusiastically to make the Basic Education programme a success. The doubts that characterize the conduct of Bengal's Education Ministry appear to be absent from Bihar. The Bihar Basic Education Board, recently appointed by the Ministry, have drawn up and propose to give shape to a scheme whereby about 1,600 graduates will be trained for Basic Education. A considerable number will be sent to Sevagram, Delhi Jamia Millia and Santiniketan for the requisite training. It has been decided to open 35 Basic Training Schools, and 60 multi-lateral schools, each having two or three departments, such as of textile, agriculture, technology, home

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oraft, public health and teaching Besides, about 1,000 Basic Schools for children between 6 and 14 years will be started. The Board aims at the annual supply of 10,000 non-graduate teachers and 600 graduate teachers in Basic Education by 1953 and onwards.

This scheme does not remove the impression that "deplorably progress in this new field has been meagre"; the results of the experiments in Basic Education "are not encouraging." Apart from "the inefficient administration of the Provincial Education Department" there must be other causes for failure. The summary of the report that we have seen appears to put the blame on the paucity of financial help. But the question remains un-answered why the public mind should not have been sufficiently awakened to the possibilities of Basic Education. If we rightly understand it, as visioned forth by Gandhiji, the scheme should be self-paying, the products of the crafts taught the students should be able to finance it. imposing no or very little financial burden on the general resources of the State. History has told us that during the twenties of the 19th century it was nonofficial agencies that pioneered English education in the country, the State always lagging far behind. Why on the present occasion the same non-official initiative should be lacking has got to be explained.

Orissa Government's Khadi Scheme

The Government of Orissa have prepared a new scheme for this province under which various provisions have been made for the encouragement of spinning and weaving of Khadi. It has been put into operation since 15th June last. This scheme provides for the opening of a number of centres with 500 spinners and 50 weavers in the first year of its operation. In addition to this there is provision under the scheme for the grant of Government assistance for individual enterprise A provision of Rs. 30,000 has been made for payment as subsidies to the spinners.

The scheme was put into operation from June 15, 1948. But from June 15, 1948 till July 29, 1948 much work could not be done except the location of centres, collection of spinning and weaving implements and purchase of cotton. In the first iustance, the work commenced by purchasing 14 bales of cotton from Wardha and also bringing 22 bales of cotton on loan basis from the All-India Spinners' Association. Subsequently through lot of difficulties 150 bales of cotton from Wardha were received on September 16, 1948. These have been purchased at a very high price.

Up till now 14 centres in all have been opened in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam and Balasore out of which six centres are in Puri, three in Cuttack, one in Balasore and four in Ganjam.

During the short period of three months and a half since the date of execution of the scheme the number of spinners and weavers working in the different centres have increased to 2,993 and 146 respectively although in the scheme provision has been

made for 500 spinners and a few weavers for the first

In order to encourage the spinners, the scheme provides for grant of financial assistance by Government. As a result of this grant enthusiasm is noticed among the people for hand-spinning with charkha. If 20 people combine and spin, they will be provided with Rs. 120 to start work after a due enquiry. Out of this sum they will be able to purchase the working materials of charkhas and cotton. Rs. 120 will be given as a help for every multiple of 20 charkhas.

After that if they begin to work by forming cooperative societies and if each man will spin one seer of yarn, then each will be given a help of one rupee at the end of the month and eight annas if they spin half seer of yarn.

A workshop for the manufacture of spinning and weaving implements has been under contemplation, but owing to the absence of suitable workers it could not be given shape to.

Other provinces have had similar plans. But we are not assured that they have made much headway. We had expected that the Oriyas, a less sophisticated people than others, would be able to make a better success of Khadi work. Let us hope, however, that with their aspiration for greater Utkal almost realized, their political frustration got over, they will be able to devote undivided attention to constructive nationalism.

Sugar

The Indian Central Sugarcane Committee held meetings at New Delhi on and from October 8 last. The Bombay Chronicle's correspondent sent certain informations in connection therewith which we propose to share with our readers. The meetings considered the question of protection which the industry has been enjoying for about 15 years and which expires on March 21 next. The basic reason for protection to any industry is to make the country self-sufficient. This the sugar industry seems to have done, and as the industry has been allowed to export, the need for protection ends. But what the sugar industry has been trying to secure is to have the best of both the worlds -to have protection and the permission to export. We will allow the New Delhi correspondent of our contemporary to describe their goings-on.

The sugar industry would like to retain protection and also export sugar even at rates lower than those fixed by it for the home market. A representative of the Sugar Merchants Association recently told the Committee that India could export sugar to the tune of two-lakh tons to Gulf ports, Turkey, etc., at Rs. 26 per maund or Rs. 10 per maund cheaper than the rate fixed for the Indian consumer. He added that though sugar from other countries at lower prices was available, these markets were anxious to have Indian sugar on account of dollar scarcity. It is also learned that sugar was recently exported to Pakistan at rates which were lower than Indian rates by Rs. 6.

Thanks to U. P. Government, a sugar monopoly has been created. Imports are banned on account of dollar scarcity. Side by side Government has become party in fixing present rates for home consumption which are lowered for purposes of

A section of the Committee, therefore, holds that with its recent record, the sugar industry has forfeited its claim for protection and Government should not permit sugar exports till the home

market needs were completely met.

The Indian Central Sugarcane Committee has so much expanded itself that it is having a tussle with the Government to secure for itself four annua per hundredweight from sugar excise duty, as against one anna per hundredweight granted to it by Government. The Committee had a balance of nearly fifty-four lakes on April 1 this year and expected to receive from the Centre twelve-andhalf lakhs at the rate of one anna per hundredweight from Central Sugar Excise duty. The Committee has been requested by its Secretariat to urge the Government of India to increase its share to four annas per hundredweight.

It has also been put up to the Committee to demand money from Government to subsidise the sugarcane industry. It is pointed out that sugar production was not sufficient to meet the demand of the country and that the position was deteriorating every year, hence the need to subsidise the

industry.

This plea was advanced to secure the whole procceds of Sugarcane Temporary Excise Fund. The Government of India, however, were totally opposed to hypothecation of specific items of revenue for specific purposes and therefore regretted its inability to transfer the whole amount of the fund to the Committee. The Government realised rupees three crore forty lakhs from Temporary Excise Duty levied in 1943-46. Out of this it allocated 75 lakhs for five years' provincial sugar industry development scheme, fifty lakhs for establishment of new Sugar Technology Institute at Lucknow and 103 lakks for subsidising sugar industry in U.P. and Bihar to compensate for additional cost involved in certain concessions to labour. It kept with itself 70 lakes to compensate sugar industry in falling

The above quotations prove what has long been suspected and protested against, that as between the Government and this capitalist combine there has been formulated an unholy arrangement by which the consumer is being exploited. When will this intolcrable state of things end?

Prohibition

The Congress has been vowed to total prohibition since it came under Gandhiji's dominating influence. When under its auspices Ministries were formed in provinces in 1937, attempts to give shape to this policy were made in Madras and Bombay. In the latter, the -Kher Ministry by introducing prohibition incurred the vehement opposition of the liquor trade in which the Parsis had been predominantly represented. In Madras, the Rajagopalachari Ministry limited its experiments to districts like Salem, and met the deficit caused by the loss of excise duty on wine by the Sales Tax;

opposition to this tax on the part of traders was as intense as that caused in the sister Presidency.

Since August 15, 1947, it has become a live issue. Madras again has been going ahead with her prohibition campaign extending the number of districts to which prohibition would apply. Other provinces, all under Congress Ministry, have been trying to follow her when comes the declaration from the Central Government of the Indian Union that in the financial consequences of prohibition and Zemindan Abolition the provinces should not expect any subsidy from the resources of the Centre. This has brought to the force the question of deficit budgets that prohibition would create. "Experts" have been trying to prove that Zemindari Abolition even after paying compensation to Zemindars would leave a margin in the hands of the provincial finance minister. But about prohibition nobody has as yet gone into its economic and financial umplications.

We have read of an organization set up by the Central Government to tap the resources of the palm and date trees of the country with a view to increase wealth. These two trees are the chief sources which supply intoxicating beverage to the masses of the people. Millions of them are engaged as tappers, as makers of crude wine. Prohibitions would throw them out of employment, and it is the State's duty to find them other avenues of income. Here comes the utility of the Central organization to which we have referred. These millions can tap as well for producing sugar as they do now for producing intoxicating beverages. We have seen an estimate which says that a palm-tree vields juice within a season sufficient to produce a maund of sugar which at the current rate of price comes to above Rs. 35. There are said to be 4 crores, 40 millions, of palm-trees in India. Add to this date trees. And the vast possibilities of wealth production from these two trees alone are illimitable. They only wait for the researcher and the practical man of affairs to prove the truth suggested in the figure above. At Sevagram under Gandhiji's inspiration they have heen experimenting the results whereof have to be better publicized.

How War Created "Commercial" Classes

New Sind is a weekly published from Bombay. As its name signifies, the editor, Jairam Thakurdas Agnani, has been striving to make it the organ of the four lakh Sindhis congregated in the Bombay Presidency who hope to build a newer and better Sind in areas which are watered by rivers other than the Indus. In an article in the 16th number of the paper Mr. Nagazani, an eminent Sindhi lawyer and a noted writer, has, in course of the first article of the series. entitled "The Unhappy Valley" traced the history of the communal tension in Sind which has ultimately led to the dispersal of Sind Hindus from their ancesNOTES 355

tral homes built in times beyond historic memory. Jealousy of Hindu success in services, professions, in trade and commerce, started the mischief. The separation of Sind from Bombay won the Muslims "their first victory." Government services came to be increasingly filled by them leading to a fall in efficiency. The Hindus did not worry much; they had their trades, factories and international commerce where they found compensation for loss of Government appointments. The eyes of the Muslims were opened to these opportunities.

The second World War came, and "a new commercial class" was sought to be created by "Muslim officials who while granting licenses and permits wanted 50 per cent of these to be given to Muslims. Men who were ignorant of commercial usages suddenly found themselves operating various monopolist concerns."

The same thing happened in Bengal, where during the Fazlul Huq and Nazimuddin Ministries. Muslims were pitch-forked into businesses simply because they were Muslims. This happened in Delhi also. And from this development we can trace the beginning of the jobbery and corruption that have been strangling lite out of society in India and Pakistan. The new "commercial" classes, Hindu and Muslim, have imbibed a new morality that has become curse to us all.

The Battle Over Berlin

The Paris session of the U. N. O. has been engaged since its opening about four weeks back in "wrangling," to use the word used by a neutral observer from India. The centre of this wordy duel is Berlin under Soviet blockade now. The three Western occupying Powers-the United States, Britain and France-have brought Berlin's case before the Security Council as "a threat to world peace." The Soviet contention in opposition is that the Security Council is not entitled to take cognisance of the Berlin dispute, that there is really no "blockade" of Berlin. The first point of the Soviet argument is a matter of interpretation of Article 107 of the U. N. O. Charter; it is argued by Vyishinsky that no complaint can be with the Security Council that involved "a former enemy country." This legal hair-splitting is countered by the contention that the Berlin "blockade" is really directed against the three Western occupying Powers, the Soviet Union's partners in the common victory over Germany. About the complaint of "blockade," it is a question of fact which is easily ascertainable Russian denial can be tested by any neutral observer if there he a neutral cobserver to be found anywhere in the world today. The latest position is that a compromise proposal suggesting withdrawal of blockade and the introduction of Soviet currency to follow it has been rejected by the Soviet because there was no simultaneity of these two steps. There is power-politics involved as the following from the Worldover Press illustrates:

When Russia cut off the milk supply, it caused more indignation than anything hitherto. This was

playing politics with babies, and the people will not easily forget. But soon the city's Communist Party published the news that it would ask the Soviet authorities to relent. They had undoubtedly been tipped off that a favorable answer would be given, and their prestige thus enhanced. When the Russians gave in, the Americans refused to accept the milk, saying they had arranged for powdered milk in sufficient quantities by air. This seemed polities too, for powdered milk is considered inferior to cow's milk by the city's mothers.

Use of Atomic Power Dispute

Another dispute that high-lights the widening gulf between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union is centred round the use of atomic weapons in future wars and their interdict under international sanction. A United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has been engaged since 1946 with creating an institution under it that can control and regulate the abuse and use of this most devastating of scientific discoveries. An interm report submitted by it proposed inspection under U. N. O. auspices of research stations that were concerned with atomic research and of factories and mines, devoting attention to its application to human needs. The representatives of the Soviet Union to this Commission demurred to this proposal for inspection specially; since then the Commission has been in abeyance owing to this opposition. The Paris session or the U. N. O. General Assembly has been freshly confronted with the dilemma of finding a solution to it; it appointed an 11-Member Committee of which the Indian Union was one to thresh the matter out. Though they are no nearer solution, the Assembly's session was quickened into expectancy of success by a Soviet proposal for "the drafting of a convention for the out-lawing and destruction of atomic weapons and a convention establishing a control agency-both to go into force simultaneously."

The reaction of Western opinion to the Soviet proposal can be understood from the following extract from a New York Times article:

"Quite aside from the fact that it would take only a few hours to destroy all American atomic weapons, while it would take months and possibly years to create an effective control agency, Vyishinsky continues to repudiate all the other control features of the Atomic Commission's plan, including the elimination of a Russian veto by means of which Russia could always prevent any control of Russian atomic activities behind the Iron Curtain. And that reduces his 'concession' to a propaganda manoeuver designed not only to mislead the world but also to disarm the United States and eliminate the main factor which helps keep Russian force in check."

The leader of the U. S. A. delegation to the U. N. O., Warren Austin, dotted the i's and crossed the t's of this objection to the Soviet proposal. A summary of his speech stressed on the necessity of "effective and enforceable international control of atomic energy in the beginning and all the time"; he appears to have tried to raise a laugh over the Soviet proposal by saying that "if it referred to the destruction of the

bomb casings only, any machine-shop could make them in a short time, but if referred to the nuclear fuel inside, no one would advocate the destruction of that; . . . the production of nuclear fuel for beneficial purpose is similar to its manufacture for destructive purposes up to the very late stage, and would, therefore, require thorough and unhampered control from the very beginning."

China's Travail

On the 10th of October, 1911, the Chinese recolutionaries under the inspiring lead of Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Manchu regime. The day has since then been celebrated by our Chinese neighbours as a day of re-dedication to the cause of Chinese freedom, of dignity as one of significant events of the modern age. This is a day apart from the Republic's foundation day which fell on January 1, 1912.

Since then our Chinese friends have been passing through an experience of internal conflict and foreign intervention and attack under which a less tough race would have succumbed. This period coincided with the Japanese attack on their integrity and their grim fight against it for eight years, 1937-45. A New York weekly, Time, described in glowing words this episode in China's millenial fife, surpassing in glory anything even in her own history or of any other people.

"His (Chiang Kai-shek's) people has been beaten and battered from one end of China to the other. Their cities have been bombed; their soldiers gassed, their women raped. From Valley Forge (a reference to the U. S. A. Civil War) through Valley Forge he has fought and gone on fighting. The aid that the Democracies promised him was never enough. But he kept on. In earlier years he had fought a retiring battle. But in 1941, he fought the Japanese to a standstill. That was an achievement neither British nor American have yet (1944) accomplished."

This epic of endurance deserved a better sequel. But fate has decreed otherwise. And we have been witnesses to a fight between Chinese and Chinese since the defeat of Japan. Communism and nationalism are in death-grip, and the world can only look on in mute helplessness at this frustration of hopes, at this tragedy in the life of one-fourth of the world's population.

Khurshed Nariman

Bombay mourns the death of Khurshed Nariman so soon after his return to the leadership of the civic administration of the city. Today it is hard to resist the regret that a good man and true should have been kept under the shadow and deprived of legitimate opportunity to serve the people in the way he was most capable of doing. We on this side of India, away from the heat of the controversy that raged round him in the middle thirties, can take a detached view of the personal factors involved in the matter. We

deplore now as we did then that the High Command of the Congress should have been led to put a ban on the activities of a public man who by his services was marked out as the leader of the Congress party when it chose to undertake ministerial responsibility in Indian provinces under the Act of 1935.

He came in line with the pioneers of political reform in India represented by such doughty figures as Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Edulji Wacha and other leaders of the Parsi community in India. He carried their traditions to new altitude by his lone fight against the Back Bay Reclamation scandals when Lord Lloyd was Governor of Bembay. He was a young lawyer then unknown to the public, but the way in which he threw himself into the fight against corruption in high places put the seal of leadership on his brow. He identified himself with and led the Youth Movement in Bombay which brought him into intimate touch with Subhas Chandra Bose. This camaraderie made him one of the leaders of radical opinion within the Congress. Then came the eclipse. And by his dignified attitude under injustice Khurshed Nariman retained the esteem of disinterested Bombay. And just before his death-a month or two before-Congress leadership in the province did the decent thing in calling back the old warrior to his post of duty, and we have been looking forward to the fuller recognition of his worth in the expansive days of free India. Instead, death has come to rob us of this hope.

Benjamin Guy Horniman

Death has been busy robbing India and more particularly Bombay, of the fighters for her freedom. Benjamin Guy Horniman has been taken away from us, with whom he made common cause against the imperialism of his own people. Horniman came to Calcutta 42 years ago during the hey-day of the anti-Partition and Swadeshi Movement when the Calcutta Statesman under Ratchffe's editorship had a spell of sincere friendship for Indian aspirations for a fuller life of dignity among nations. From Calcutta be was invited to Bombay when Pherozeshah Mehta planned the start of an English daily in Bombay vowed to the popular cause. Horniman organized the Bombay Chronicle and set it on the road to leadership of public opinion in Western India. He was a leader of the Home Rule League Movement during the second decade of the present country; for this crime of his he was externed from India by the British bureaucracy and kept in England. But his heart remained in Bombay into which he almost gate-crashed after seven ycars.

He lived to see the end of imperialist exploitation in India. To the memory of this sincere friend of India we pay our homage.

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BRITISH RULE AND INDIA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE

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Now that India has achieved her independence, it may not be inappropriate to attempt a historical review of the influence of British rule on our cultural heritage. Free India must necessarily take stock of the cultural legacy of British rule so as to be able to formulate her immediate outlook and future goal.

The period when British rule got itself entrenched in this country during the middle of the eighteenth century may be designated the dark age of modern India, for the old order lay prostrate with the disappearance of the Mughal Empire and the resulting vacuum was leading to a kind of cultural anarchy which reacted adversely on the people's morale and selfconsciousness. The Company's early administration only aggravated the chaos, for being suddenly uplifted from the unromantic and dull monotony of factory accounts to the dizzy heights of political power, the Company's servants naturally got too much engrossed in personal aggrandisement to be able to think of cultural pursuits. They were out for shaking the pagoda tree, and they had no time or inclination for anything else. The outlook in those early days of British power was indeed gloomy for India, and a feeling of frustration seemed to weigh on the minds of thoughtful people everywhere, indian vernacular literature of this period, for example, betrays the utter despair and escapism that had crept over the country's inner soul, and its passionately tevotional or morbidly erotic notes revealed the temper of an age that was crumbling in the midst of the tinsel artificiality of a dying order.

But India's national culture has been a continuum always, and even in the politically decomposed and culturally disintegrated India of the eighteenth century a complete break with the past was not possible. Besides, the John Company could count amongst its servants a few who did not blindly follow the principle of "get-rich-quickly-and-clear-out-of-the-country." These rare individuals in the Company's service had the healthy zeal and determination to study India's religious and secular literature. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, was the most influential among those early European students of Indian culture, and his patronage was of vital importance to the growth of Indological studies in that age.

In fact, Hastings's interest in oriental learning had a potent influence on the cultural life of British India. With his innate sympathy for Indian learning, he became, unofficially, of course, the chief patron of India's old learning. He took an unusual interest in Indian law, Hindu and Muslim, and got it systematised at his own expense. This pioneer work prepared the ground for its ultimate codification, and modern adaptation and simplification. A number of Indian works

which were mostly in Persian or Sanskrit came to be produced under the direct patronage of the Governor-General to whom these were dedicated by the authors. Sayyid Ghulam Husain's Suyar-ul-Mutaakhkhirin is a well-known example of this kind. The Calcutta Madrasa was founded by Warren Hastings himself, and the establishment of the great Asiatic Society of Bengul was in no small measure due to his encouragement and patronage. Warren Hastings was such a warm admirer of oriental classics that he even proposed the inclusion of their study in the courses of the University of Oxford. He took a keen interest in painting and other fine arts, and his patronage was responsible for the success of a number of European painters who came to India at this time.

Hastings's example was naturally a source encouragement to other Europeans who wanted to study oriental languages and institutions. The most distinguished trio among these contemporaries of Warren Hastings were Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and William Jones. These three scholars may be regarded as the pioneers among European orientalists, and their historic contribution to Indian learning is of permanent value to modern India. Mr. Wilkins who was well-read in Persian, Bengali and Sanskrit was the father of Indian printing, for the Persian and Bengali printing types east by him made printing in these languages for the first time possible in India. In order to achieve success in a country so remote from Europe, he had to play the role of a metallur-ist, engraver, founder and printer-all in one. Apart from printing, he acquired such mastery of Indian classics that he produced the first English translation of the Bhagwad Gita which was published in London (in 1785) under the patronage of the Directors of the East India Company. His translation of the Hitopadesha appeared a couple of years later. But, Wilkins's achievement in the field of Indian epigraphy was no less profound and inspiring. His work, in short, marked the real beginning of Indological studies among Europeans in India. Mr. Halhed was an equally distinguished orientalist, and his Bengali Grammar is a pioneer work of immense value

Sir William Jones was, however, the most brilliant of the trio, and his place among the European students of oriental learning is memorable in the history of Modern India. He had proficiency in nearly every one of the many European languages, and, what is indeed remarkable, he was master of Hebrew, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. His linguistic and also scientific attainments were a veritable marvel of that age, and it is indeed surprising how in the midst of his arduous duties as a Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court he could find time for his oriental studies. His most historic

work was the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the study of the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia. He became its first President as Warren Hastings gracefully declined the honour in his favour. His scholarship as also his expert guidance of scientific and literary studies under the auspices of the Asiatic Society produced results of a high order, and laid the foundations of oriental research in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal soon became the prototype of similar learned societies in other Presidencies. Through these societies the portals of oriental learning were thrown open to the West, and Europe and America began to draw some inspiration from the East-a fact which was testified to by such great writers of the last century as Goethe, Schlegel, Emerson and Thoreau. The Indian people's self-esteem which had reached almost the vanishing point under the onslaughts of Western culture had a new and unexpected stimulus in the European appreciation of Indian culture. Thus, "Asiatic" Jones, and his collaborators may well be regarded as the pioneers of Indian renaissance itself.

The work begun by these early pioneers was continued with equal zeal and persistence by Henry Thomas Colebrooke—an eminent civilian in the Company's service in Bengal. His studies in Sanskrit were as profound as they were extensive, and his researches in Indian philosophy, Vedic literature, mathematics and astronomy entitled him to be ranked as the foremost orientalist of the early nineteenth century. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain which owed its inception to his personal efforts is one of his lasting contributions to oriental studies in Europe.

This enthusiasm for oriental culture was, however, confined to a select few. The Company's government officially took little or no interest in the promotion of oriental scholarship. The Calcutta Madrasa owed its origin to the personal interest of Warren Hastings, and its counterpart—the Sanskrit College of Benares—was likewise established through the efforts of the local British Resident. The Fort William College for the Company's servants was similarly founded by Wellesley on his own initiative. These Colleges, however, made little progress, for while on the one hand the Government provided insufficient funds, very few Indians on the other hand availed themselves of the instruction provided in these institutions. Things came to such a pass that there were often more teachers than students in the oriental colleges. The Fort William College meant for the Company's junior civilians did encourage vernacular studies for a few years, but this institution was closed down under the orders of the Company not long after its inception. This failure of oriental education was due, firstly, to want of adequate financial support, secondly, to missionary opposition and propuganda, thirdly, to the new-born craze for English education among the enlightened Indians, fourthly, to the recruitment of only English-knowing Indians to the Company's services, and, lastly, to the misrepresentation

of the Anglicists who had no knowledge of oriental learning and who ridiculed the oriental classics as "of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank."

While classical studies languished modern Indian literatures, however, received powerful stimulus from European missionary enterprise in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Serampore missionaries, for example, did valuable pioneering work in the development of modern Bengali literature, Bengali journalism and Bengali printing through their translations of the Bible and other original works of a useful nature. Of these missionaries, William Carey, J. C. Marshman, and William Ward formed an illustrious trio whose educational, cultural and journalistic activities are of vital importance to the history of modern India, The Anglo-Indian Press which began its long and historic career with the first English newspaper founded by James Hicky in 1780 made a profound impression on the mind of the educated Indians who along with their Christian missionary collaborators finally laid the foundations of a popular press in India.

One of the noteworthy contributions of the Britishers in the days of John Company was their momentous decision to make the new learning the foundation of Indian education and that through the medium of English. The uninformed criticisms of oriental learning in Macaulay's historic minute would sound ridiculous at the present day, and Macaulay's arrogant sarcasm about "seas of treacle and seas of butter," or his impudent boast that a shelf of a good European library was worth the entire treasures of oriental literatures may not matter anything to us now, but the fact remains that the foundations of India's present-day revival as a nation were laid in the cultural movements which issued directly from the fountainhead of English education, or indirectly as an inevitable reaction against the excess of Auglicisation. That English education deeply stirred the depths of the Indian mind and broke up its inertness is an undeniable historical fact. Even the reaction which came against the fast-moving tide of Westernisation assumed an expression which was fundamentally based on a deep study of the Western civilisation. The educational policy of the Government was neither progressive, nor comprehensive, yet it helped to create a large and progressive educated middle class which became the mainstay of India's cultural revival and political awakening.

Secularisation through liberalisation was, however, the main contribution of British rule to Indian culture. The new wine of Western thought produced a natural ferment in India, and it resulted in the growth of a secular outlook on all aspects of life. Even in the sphere of Indian religion, European rationalism had a deep influence, and prepared the ground for a new rebirth. Ram Mohun Roy, who is justly regarded as the father of modern India was, in spite of his unrivalled oriental learning, essentially a rational humanist who was deeply influenced by Western liberalism and

Christianity. His zeal for reform as well as revival in the spheres of society and religion was much too rational and much too impregnated with Western liberalism to have any direct appeal for the common man. But it gave the newly-educated middle class a spiritual balm in the midst of the destruction of old values and the old way of life. Ram Mohun Roy was a great reformer, but he was more distinguished as the founder of various secular movements in India. He was, in fact, the first modern man in India. But, all his movements—social, educational, cultural or political owed their prime inspiration to the fount of English education. The movement of social reform and female emancipation was, for instance, a direct offshoot of Western humanism. The abolition of sati and slavery, or the legal recognition of widow remarriages reflected a liberalism which came along with the introduction of English education. Even Indian nationalism was the child of Western influences in more ways than one. The wave of cultural reaction which was marked by the Rebellion of 1857 failed to stem the tide of secularisation, and in the ideological conflict that came in its wake. Western liberalism won the day, and finally broke India's cultural isolation as also her intellectual stagnation. The "Rebellion" virtually marked the end of the old order and the old way of thinking.

The complete ascendancy of the New Learning was the key-note of India's cultural history after 1857. But, it was through the New Learning that India redeemed its lost soul. The first phase of this revival was religious and the mighty minds like Ram Mohun Roy, Vivekananda, Dayananda and Keshav Chandra Sen formed the motive force of this awakening. That this religious revival is closely interlinked with India's freedom movement needs no elaboration. In short, a new India had arisen with the impact of Western culture, and the varied religious developments of the post-Rebellion period, such as the re-appearance of orthodoxy among a section of the educated Hindus, the growth of synthetic eclecticism in the Brahmo movement, the intensification of the Muslim reaction associated with the Qadiani and the Aligarh movements, the birth of the neo-Vedantic order of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, the inception of the aggressive revivalism of the Arya Samaj, or the philosophic and spiritual latitudinarianism of the Theosophical movement fostered the forces which all served to strengthen and inspire the Indian national movement of our times. European thought wielded a potent influence on the mind of Young India. The democratic faith of the Victorian age. no less than its positivism and humanism moulded the thought-currents of modern India; and Comte, Mill, Carlyle, Maszini, Kant and Fichte inspired new trends in Indian literature and political life. Even Western unbelief led to repercussions in Indian society in the form of intellectual agnosticism and moral epicureanism Both the orthodox reaction and the modernist rationalism of modern India were thus a product of English education and British rule.

The post-Rebellion period witnessed cultural developments through official agencies in various other directions as well. The Archaeological Department prepared the ground for a renewed Indian interest in the country's art, architecture and epigraphy. The Education Department sought to revive oriental research on modern scientific lines, European scholars in India and abroad patiently reconstructed the missing links Indian history, and made the Indians conscious of their glorious past. European savants gave a powerful impetus to the study of oriental philosophy and classics. The remarkable efflorescence of the modern Indian vernacular literatures was inspired and shaped by the European cultural influences of this period. Indian poetry, drama, and fiction underwent a process of modernisation, and found a new orientation as a result of the impact of Europe on the Indian mind. The growth of the scientific spirit was also a consequence of the new editeation that opened the way to the sciences and technologies of the West. This many-sided cultural awakening stimulated progress in all spheres of lifeeconomics, industries, society, art, science, literature and philosophy. In short, British rule, despite its inherently conservative and mundane character, set in motion new creative forces in every domain of our national life. It may thus well be likened to the indispensable burning of the stubble as a prelude to the next crop.

This bird's-eye view of the cultural influences of British rule shows the steady re-orientation of Indian life and thought under the pressure of alien ideas. These influences were both positive and negative, and they operated both in the moral and material fields. The story of these diverse influences sums up the basic trends of Modern Indian history. This history has its lights and shades, for India has been moulded in different ways in different periods of British rule. The Indians entered the arena of the modern world in a mood of frustration. They began by aping the West. The early products of English education, in their first flush of enthusiasm for Western culture, paid almost fetish worship to all that was glittering in the Western way of life, and this craze for imitation assumed at times ludicrous proportions. The so-called Babu represents this phase of cultural mimicry and intellectual slavery. A reaction against this slavish imitation of the West was not long in coming, for Modern India soon tired of this new Babu culture, and realised the futility of merely copying the West. Young India began to chafe under the weight of the new shackles of cultural bondage, and gradually sought emancipation therefrom. This feeling of self-consciousness gave birth to aggressive Hindu and Muslim revivalist movements. India then began to denounce the materialism of the West, and became conscious of its ancient spiritual legacy. Political and economic discontent accentuated this cleavage between India and the West, and deepened the cultural conflict between the two.

Divergent sentiments, however, soon dominated

the cultural outlook of modern India. One was represented above all by Rabindranath Tagore according to whom the problem of Indian culture is in fact the problem of the world culture in miniature. The India that Tagore envisaged is one which cannot be restricted by the fetters of nationalism or any other ism. This India is said to be marching in quest of a higher ideal of universal brotherhood, which shall be for the gain of all humanity. The other school of thought represented by Vivekananda and Dayananda strove for the selfexpression of India's own spiritual voice and genius for the salvation of the whole world. This spiritual revival ism has steadily developed since the latter part of the last century, and, re-vivified by the intellectual and philosophic asceticism of Sri Aurobindo Ghose in our own times, forms the basis of an intensely patriotic conception of Indian culture and India's spiri ual mission. Yet another school of thought was represented by Mahatma Gandhi through his gospel of peace, morel force and ahimsa. Though he was the culmination of India's spiritual re-awakening, he was not communal, parochial or intolerant. His insistence on spiritual faith and moral regeneration marks a way of thought which free India and the world have yet to digest and assimilate. The clash of these conflicting ways of thinking has necessarily created a crisis in Indian culture which we can resolve in the light of our own traditions and ideals alone. Free India will after all have to stand on her own legs, politically as well as culturally.

The Indian mind which successfully stood the challenge of Western culture in the last century is now called upon to bridge the gulf between the old village system and the new technocracy, and between the ancient spirituality and the modern cults of force and real politics. British rule introduced to India the industrial civilisation and commercial culture of the West with all the attendant evils thereof, but it attempted no harmonious fusion of the Indian and the Western ways of life. The inevitable consequence of this failure was a maladjustment of these two, which caused all the ills of separatism, reactionism and communalism. India today is on the threshold of a new re-birth. The cultural problems that lie ahead of her may not be easy of solution, but free India, we all hope and pray, will eventually adjust her age-old culture to modern conditions of industrialism and nationalism. and evolve a synthetic culture which will be her distinctive contribution to world-thought and worldculture.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

PRINCIPAL A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D (LONDON)

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LET us now see what is the present position with regard to the conditions governing citizenship at the commencement of the Constitution and how far the requirements have been simplified with a view to accommodate the refugees from East Bengal. With regard to the first clause in the Draft Constitution regarding citizenship qualification no modification is called for, nor has any been made, as it concerns persons born in what is now Indian Union and those born of parents or grand-parents born therein. All such persons automatically become citazens of India at the commencement of the constitution unless they suffer from any of the disqualifications, such as being below 21 years of age, bankrupt, insane or making a foreign state their permanent abode before 1st day of April, 1947 and so on. It is with regard to the domicile qualifications set forth in the second clause that some simplification has been made. The present position as explained by Dr. B. C. Roy, the Premier of West Bengal at a Press Conference on the 26th of July last, is as follows:-

The domicile requirement would be deemed to be satisfied if a person fulfils either of the two following conditions:—

(1) If he makes a declaration before an enumerator appointed in connection with the preparation of electoral roll (and not the District Magistrate or any other high officials) that he had been residing in the Indian Union

and also desired to do so in future—not at all a difficult or complicated procedure beyond the reach of common men

(2) If before the commencement of the constitution he deposited in the office of the District Magistrate a declaration in writing of his desire to acquire such domicile and if he had resided in Indian territory for at least one month before such declaration. The process has since been further simplified and embodied in Part II, under head "Explanation of domicile", of the "Questions for the guidance of Enumerators" issued by the Government of West Bengal. It runs as follows:—

PART II-Explanation of Domicile

(a) "A person may acquire domicile in India by taking up fixed habitation in this country as provided by Clause 10 of Appendix IV to memorandum No. 634(2) A. R. dated 22nd May, 1948. The taking up of fixed habitation is itself a fact which gives the domicile. No declaration is necessary in such cases."

Fixed habitation in the Indian Union is a phrase which includes staying at different places in the Indian Union at different times. The emphasis is on inhabiting the country, not on residing in a fixed place. In other words anybody who has taken up fixed habitation in India is ipso facto a citizen of Indian Union without the formality of having to make a declaration as required by the explaination of 'domicile' in Article 5 (b) of the Draft Constitution

It should be noted, however, that to acquire citizenship is not to acquire voting right. To be a voter a person has to satisfy more stringent residence qualification. In his statement before a Press Conference referred to above Dr. Roy described the position as defined by the instructions of the Government of India as follows:

"A person shall not be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for any electoral unit unless he has a place of residence in that unit and has resided in such place for a period of not less than 180 days in the figuratial year ending on March 31, 1948. For the purpose of this paragraph a person shall be deemed to have resided in a place if he sometimes uses it as a sleeping place and a person shall not be deemed to cease to reside in a place merely because he is absent from it or has another dwelling in which he resides if he is at liberty to return to the place at any time and has not abandoned his intention of returning."

For the purpo e of registration in the electoral roll in terms of the above instructions it would be enough if a person made a declaration before the enumerator that he had been staying in the electoral unit for the required period of 160 days and desired to reside there in future and also if a refugee made a declaration before the enumerator that he had come over to the Indian Union and desired to remain there in future. The residence qualification has been made sufficiently loose, so as to rope in the largest number of persons. The requirement as to 180 days' stay did not mean that it should be a continuous one. The provision regarding the place of residence did not mean that the house must be owned. A hired house, a hotel or even a refugee camp would fulfil the requirement. The only thing that was necessary was that the residence must be available for him at any time that he wants to use it during the period of 180 days. As regards refugees still further relaxation in the procedure has been made. On the subject of the enrolment of refugees as voters in the preliminary rolls in connection with the first general election to be held under the new constitution India Government's instructions as quoted by Dr. Roy at the same Press Conference are as follows:

"It has been decided that for the present refugees should be registered in the electoral roll on a mere declaration by them of their intention to reside permanently in the town or village concerned irrespective of the actual period of their residence. Such enrolment is liable to revision in due time in accordance with the electoral law when enacted."

These instructions have practically been incorporated in "Questions for the guidance of Enumerators" under head "Enrolment of Refugees" which runs as follows:—

PART III-Eurolment of Refugees

"Refugees should be registered in the electoral roll on a mere declaration by them, of their intention to reside permanently in the town or village concerned irrespective of the actual period of residence."

According to the direction given by the office of the Constituent Assembly this declaration is to be given by a refugee in writing and before a responsible officer specified in this behalf by the Provincial Government. To make it easy for the refugees to make the declaration the West Bengal Government have specified for this purpose all Enumerators, Presidents of Union Boards, Presidents

dents-Panchayet, Sub-Registrars, Sub-Divisional Officers and District Magistrates as the persons authorised to receive the declaration.

It will be seen that a distinction has been made between citizenship qualification and voters' qualification. ample concessions have been made in favour of refugees from Pakistan so that they may not be debarred from voting right on the ground of stringent domicile requirements. At the same time a 'domicile' qualification has been insisted on and we think rightly to guard against 'spurious voters' from across the borders influencing the elections from ulterior motives. To be a voter a person must give conclusive proof of his desire to make West Bengal their permanent home. Although there may be some justification for the relaxation in this direction that has been made in favour of refugees under the rules as stated above in view of the peculiar conditions of the refugees, when things get stabilised, we think, the domicile qualification should be rigidly enforced. We do not agree with the view that even those who are now habitually resident in Pakistan but who simply make a declaration of willingness to become Indian citizens should be emolled as voters. Voting right is a very important right which should be given with due caution. It may spell incalculable injury to the State if the door is left open for its abuse by interested parties. When the present abnormal conditions pass away the relaxation now made in the rules about domicile qualifications to accommodate the refugees from East Bengal should be done away with and those who want to be enrolled as voters must not only be able to give evidence of being habitual residents of Indian Union, but also of having a permanent habitat therein. On the 16th of September last the West Bengal Assembly adopted a resolution recommending an amendment to Article 5 of the Draft Constitution regarding citizenship in the following terms:--

"A person may acquire his domicile if:--(1) he has a fixed habitation in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution or (2) he has made and deposited in some office or with some officers in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution appointed in this behalf by the Provincial Government a declaration in writing under his hand of his desire to acquire such a domicile provided that he has been a resident of the territory of India for at least one month before the date of declaration."

As West Bengal is mainly and vitally affected by the provision of the article in question the Constituent Assembly of India should give serious consideration to the amendment suggested above and adopt it. The amendment is conceived in a spirit of compromise, attempting in its second part to make liberal concession in favour of refugees while guarding against taked voters. It may appear to be a little irksome to refugees to have to make a declaration before an officer and produce evidence of at least one month's residence before the declaration although the rigour of the procedure may be softened by nominating an officer who may be readily accessible to common people, say, the President of a Union Board, or the Chairman of a Municipality, but the difficulty is unavoidable to prevent the greater harm consequent on throwing the privilege

when things settle down the procedure should be stiffened and both the provisions in the amendment should be insisted upon instead of making them alternative. The term 'fixed habitation' in the first clause of the amendment should be precisely defined. It should include ented houses, quarters occupied by virtue of holding an office, rooms in lodging houses or hotels provided they are regards citizenship qualifications we may be more liberal. franchise.

open indiscriminately to all. As we have said above We may be content with either residence for a certain prescribed period, say one year or six months, within the territory of the Union or birth or descent from parents or grand-parents born within the territory of Indian Union. In the long run this distinction between citizenship qualification and electoral qualification may perhaps be removed provided there is a return to peaceful conditions in the world, but for the present, situated as we are, we have to occupied habitually besides houses owned by person. As be cautious in the matter of admitting persons to (To be continued)

FRANCE'S DILEMMA Between the Left and the Right

By KAMALESH DAS GUPTA

DURING the last Great War Field-Marshall Smuts, whose political prophecies have very often turned out to be bitterly true, said that France would cease to be a great Power after the war. It caused much uproar and great resentment in France. Today, three years after the conclusion of the war and after a dozen impotent Governments have been formed and overthrown, it seems France really has ceased to be a Great Power.

Governments of the Fourth Republic which set to work with the laudable determination of avoiding the political futility of the Third, have now surpassed the latter in its political instability. While the political leaders of France go on experimenting with new Cabinets, the people are faced with a grave economic crisis. Taking the index figure for 1938 to be 100, the cost-of-living index figure for January is 1,437, for July 1,559, for August 1,716. But then France is not the only country which has been adversely affected by inflation; inflationary trends are now visible, though in varying degrees, in almost all the countries of the world. But when all other countries are making vigorous efforts, and some successfully, to deal with the situation, France is lagging behind. What is fundamentally wrong with her?

Both economic and political factors are responsible for this. The report of M. Jean Monnet's Planning Commissariat on the state of French economy, published recently, is worth noting here. Although its tables carry the story only up to the end of 1947 (first year of the Five-Year Monnet Plan), its conclusions about the present and future trends of French economy and analysis of the obstacles to recovery are illuminating. The planners maintain that though French industry is today producing up to 115 per cent of its 1938 level (this no doubt represents a strenuous effort on the part of an exhausted and under-nourished working population working increased hours per week with worn-out machinery), the increased production has been used largely for reconstruction and re-equipment. On the other hand, the total amount of goods and services (representing home production plus exports) is below the pre-war level, causing great hardship to the common man. Moreover, the object of the Monnet Plan

to increase French productive capacity has not yet been realised. Labour productivity is still about 20 per cent lower than it was in 1938. Allowing for strikes, lock-outs, war-weariness, shortage of trained specialists, the special reason for this, they say, is the worn-out and antiquated industrial and agricultural equipment.

The imperative and urgent task is to bring French economy up to date. The difficulty is how to finance it. The French private investor is not expected to meet this deficiency in the essential sectors of industry and agriculture, which either have been or might be nationalised. Wealth accumulated during the war and post-war periods is in the hands of vested interests who prefer to raise their own standard of living and scale of comforts rather than invest their money with a view to returns in some distant future. The situation has worsened as the old-fashioned investor is himself unable to live today on the returns of capital invested yesterday. In short, the planners believe that if an adequate flow of investments is to be maintained and directed into right channels-without which economy will continue to stagnate—the state must resign itself to financing it. The conclusion evidently suggests increased state enterprise in the national economy as the only remedy. But the trouble arises from the fact that once you drag in the government, you introduce political, and more specifically electoral, factors which are hardly compatible with long-term planning. And some governments aimed at budgetary equilibrium by cutting expenditure rather than by raising taxation.

If the immediate problem of achieving monetary stabilisation can be solved, the long-term plan of modernisation of industry and agriculture can be undertaken with the arrival of Marshall aid. Such a programme can be financed by allocating to it the entire resources accruing to the government from the sale of commodities provided under Marshall aid. The equipment and machinery can be largely manufactured in France and paid for in francs.

But internal stabilisation must be achieved first. Prices as well as wages must be kept under control. But here the governments recently formed have miserably failed. The successive governments of the

Fourth Republic have failed to carry out, in order to achieve monetary stabilisation, any hold financial reforms. This can be ascribed to the inherent weakness of a coalition government. The futile attempt to form a government of a middle-of-the-road policy, avoiding the extreme right-wingers—the de Gaullists. and the extreme left-wingers—the Communists, is mainly responsible for this. As the Communists form the largest single party and the de Gaullists also enjoy great popular support, the shaky coalitions of the Socialists, Popular Republicans and the Radicals, (Blum's Third Force), which from time to time manage to secure a majority of the National Assembly, hardly represent the French majority sentiment.

This Third Force, an imaginary middle between capitalism and communism, between Washington and Moscow, has in actual practice proved to be, only negatively, a frontline defence against communism, lacking any positive economic programme of its own. Very much to the disappointment of the Socialists, the Third Force Coalition, with a precarious parliamentary backing, have to depend for its support on the parties of the Right including, up to a limit, the de Gaullists. Hence the vacillation of the Socialists and the consequent Cabinet crises in France.

Wherein lies the remedy? Can a de Gaullist regime bring stability? No doubt, repeated Cabinet crises and the resultant political instability have greatly increased the popularity of General de Gaulle. but what can the General do without subverting the whole structure of French life? The peasants might under certain circumstances co-operate, but the workers, faced with a drastic deflationary policy of wage restriction, which is the General's only possible programme, will resist the formation of such a government, and resistance may mean repression and civil war.

The fact is that price racketeers and peasants who are doing their best to destroy the Fourth Republic must be dealt with strongly. The vested interests in agriculture and industry have badly let down the governments. (The dissolution of Paul Ramadier's Cabinet was caused last November on account of an inflation for which the commercial classes, that is, the electors of the Right and Centre parties, were largely responsible). Stern financial and economic measures must be taken and the burden must fall equally on all elements of the nation.

Austerity, which should be the keyword of the day, must be shared by all, not by the poor wage-earners alone who are most hard hit by this inflation. A thorough reform of the fiscal system to make it more equitable and more remunerative is required, while on the retrenchment side, the present heavy military expenditure should be reduced.

All these suggest a bold socialist programme. A Government of action and not of coalition is the only remedy and that cannot be formed by avoiding the largest single workers' party. The present coalition of the parties of Centre and Right, with a shaky Socialist support has nothing more to offer. I do not think that the present Government of France will enjoy a very long lease of life, as the equipment of the new Cabinet to solve France's crisis is no better than that of its predecessors. If the Socialist party cannot shake off its indecision, there is destined to be a marked fall in its support among the workers, as the rank and file is already discontented with its present policy of hobnobbing with the Right, which is making the ground clear for the establishment, not of Socialism but of Fascism.

A renewed understanding with the workers' party is certainly preferable to the growing pressure of reaction and incipient dictatorship that is bound to accompany the political instability of the present phase. A truly Socialist economic and financial policy alone can help France stand on its legs again, in which the co-operation of the workers is an essential prerequisite. A Government of a progressive coalition between the Socialists, Communists and other Leftists is the need of the hour. The French Communists also should change their present attitude to the Marshall aid as, in her present state of economic affairs France can hardly go without it. As the state of emotional tension and panic subsides, second thoughts should urge them to think less of dogmatic party ideologies and more of the long-suffering people. Lately, the Communists have also expressed their eagerness to create a Democratic Front to form a stable Government. Many good Republicans among the Centre Parties would also rally to such a call. Then only France can become a Great Power again. The wretched process of degenerating compromise of the present Governments holds no prospect of relieving the sufferings of the French people.

A PLEA FOR INDO-AFGHAN UNDERSTANDING

By H. K. SONDHI, M.sc.

A giant statue of Gautam Buddha, the prince of peace, gulfed that part of the world and she began to look to looks across the mountains at Bamian, a small town in Afghanistan. It is an eloquent reminder of the days when India and Afghanistan were bound to each other by ties of a common religion and culture.

More than a thousand years back, Afghanistan cut herself adrift from India. The rising tide of Islam en-

the Caliphs of Baghdad for inspiration. She became a part of Khawrizimia Empire and experienced the fullury of Mongol invasions. Later, under the great Moghuls some kind of unity was restored, but it was only superficial and even that was lost when the Imperial power at Delhi began to decay.

With the coming of the British, the relationship between the two countries underwent a radical change. The foreign policy of India was decided at Whitehall, thousands of miles away, and the beautiful land of Afghans came to be regarded as a buffer which effectively screened off the brightest jewel of the British Empire from the envious gaze of Czarist Russia. Afghans themselves became unwilling pawns in the game of power-politics, whilst India was forced to fight the whiteman's wars. The natural result was that fear and mutual distrust took the place of peace and goodwill which were once prevailing among the two peoples.

After decades of arduous struggle India has achieved independence and is now able to formulate her foreign policy, unhindered. Having cast off the shackles of western domination, she is now free to renew contacts with her Asiatic brethren, and to the oppressed oriental peoples she sends a message of good cheer. She is now ready to take her rightful place among the nations of the East and is also willing to champion their cause against occidental economic exploitation and political overlordship.

With freedom has also come laceration of our country and a new-born state, whose very foundations are laid in religious exclusiveness and mutual hate, now strides between India and Afghanistan. The leaders of this new state as also the foreign vested interests which are strongly entrenched in it and find it a welcome refuge from the rising tide of Indian nationalism, feel that it is to their interest to keep our two countries always apart.

However, it is left to the Indians and the Afghans to think and to realise as to how their best interests would be served. The new set-up has ended the various causes of friction existing between them for all times. Both have chosen the democratic way of life and have common problems to face. On their heads hangs a potential sword of Damocles and the bonds of common interest should serve as a great cementing force between the two nations. Let them come to a mutual understanding.

When the Indian Ministry of External Affairs asked Wing Commander Roop Chand to be their representative at Kabul, they made a very wise choice. W. C. Roop Chand combines a proved business acumen, inherited from his father R. B. late Lala Ramsaran Das, along with an intensive military experience. A happy synthesis of these two admirable qualities would no doubt make an appeal to Afghan heart. He is also fortunate in having with him a very able assistant in the person of Lala Girdhari Lal, a former M.L.A. of N.-W. F. P. The latter has made a special study of Afghan history and is thoroughly conversant with the present trend of thought in that part of the world.

However, His Excellency Roop Chand will need all his enthusiasm and discretion if he is to make his mission a success. He will have to endeavour ceaselessly if India and Afghanistan are to be made friends.

Afghans have their aspirations. Which nation hasn't? A million of their kinsmen living across the Afghaniatan fervently long for the day when

they will again be united with the mother country and be delivered from the tyranny of the hated jawans of the West Punjab. The failure of the mission of Sardar Najibullah Khan to the newly set-up court of Qaid-e-Azam at Karachi cast a gloom over the beautiful valleys of the Sulciman range. On the occasion of the opening of Shorai Mali, the Afghan Parliament, H. M. King Zahir Shah feelingly referred to "our Afghan brothers on the other side of Durand line" and pleaded that they be allowed to determine their own destiny.

Afghans admire strength and the task of our representatives at Kabul would be rendered very much easier if the military prestige of India is maintained at a high level. Kashmir gave us a splendid opportunity to test our armed strength and now that we are in mid-summer the Afghan statesmen have naturally begun wondering as to what is keeping the greatly publicized Indian army back from clearing away the raiders to the last man. In this conflict Afghanistan has maintained a strictly correct attitude and has shown no sympathy with the misguided tribesmen, whose ignorance is being exploited by another power to achieve its own ends. A speedy and a total victory in Kashmir would raise India's stock very high in the whole of the Middle East.

Cultural relations between the two countries should also be cultivated. For a number of years, Afghan students have been coming over to India for advanced studies. They are found to be refreshingly free from the virus of communalism and are proud of our common ancient heritage. Let more of Afghan youngmen be encouraged to come to India and learn not only the various sciences and the different branches of technology but also something about our Indian civilisation. An exchange of cultural missions between the two countries would also be a factor towards increased mutual understanding.

A few words of advice might here be given to the non-Muslims living in Afghanistan. They owe their loyalty to H. M. King Zahir Shah and they must learn to identify themselves completely with the sons of the soil. Forsaking big business and its huge profits, they should take to agriculture, industry and the army and should try to become valuable and trusted citizens of the state.

In the so-called tribal areas, India's case should not be allowed to suffer by default. The tribesmen have been pretty badly licked by the Indian army and it must have put them both in reflective as well as in receptive frames of mind and if they are approached along the right lines, there is no reason why they should not be made to distinguish between their real friends and foes. They must begin to realise that in India's friendship and not in her enmity lies their welfare.

It is a herculean task which faces His Excellency Roop Chand. India and Afghanistan must be made friends. Good work done on the banks of the river Kabul would bear fruit on the Ravi—the same old Ravi, on the banks of which he used to play while young and where Indian independence was first pledged.

SUDHINDRA BOSE Portrait

By ANNE Z. BOSE

Born in 1883 in the village of Keotkali, not far from the city of Dacca, Bengal, Sudhindra Bose spent his 1 appy boyhood under the watchful supervision of a stern father and an adoring mother. He was full of life and mischief and he often puzzled his elders as to the outcome of such a disposition. He loved to listen to stories told in the quiet of the evening by his mother or some friends who visited the house. Accounts of travels fascinated him. The books in the Dacca Library inspired the mind of the eight-year-old boy with awe, but the missionaries could never satisfy him with their stories of foreign lands and especially of America. Some day he would cross the various waters separating the East from the West and which his mother called "the black waters." Someone said: "If you wish a thing hard enough, you will get it." The scant, little, home-made duary which Sudhindra kept has the following entry, dated Tuesday, April 23th, 1904: "I am going to America on board the Tioga as a working passenger. We left Calcutta on the 8th of March and hope to get to Philadelphia next Saturday. We passed this morning the city of Delaware and anchored at noon off Point Bridge near the dockyard. I was dejected, but I soon screwed up my courage." On the 2nd of May he writes, "God be blessed, I set my foot on the free soil of America this evening." May 4th he writes, "The Reverend Janvier took me to the store of John Wanamaker. It is a very big store. . . . When I first saw the place I felt a little dizzy." John Wanamaker was a kindly man and give Sudhindra a job at the "very big store" at \$5.00 a week. That was not a brilliant salary and the work-day was long, beginning at 7-30 a.m. and ending at 6 o'clock p.m. He found a room in one of the old streets called Vine Street. It was a modest room up in the garret of an old house but the rent was cheap and good enough for the summer. His first pay-day came on the 16th of May and Sudhindra spent part of his wages on an English dictionary. An abcess in the arm-pit troubled him greatly for the next two weeks and he longed for home and the comforting care of his mother. Then came the 4th of July. "The Fourth is the most glorious day in the history of America, for, it is the birth of the United States of America. One hundred and twenty-eight years ago it was on this day and in this city that the Representatives of the thirteen colonies proclaimed that the United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states. Early this morning the stars and stripes flew from every public building . . . the band played the national anthem and school girls dressed in white were waving small American Flags and sang with a band and the United Singers of the town."

September 9th, 1904, Sudhindra Bose is enrolled in Park College, Parkville, Mo., a co-educational

institution. This is a college where the students work half time and study half time. The work varies from manual labor in the dormitories and fields to clerical work in the offices of the college. Sudhindra was assigned to the potato field where he dug potatoes until his back ached. The atmosphere of this college was essentially religious. Morning devotion was compulsory and on Sundays none was excused from the morning and Vesper services, and the Bible study was part of the curriculum. This course also was obligatory. Sudbindra hated it; still it was a hope and an ambition of some of the grey beards to make out this young Hindu a convert, a Christian. In this they were very much disappointed, for Sudmindra apparently was immune to the doctrine of Christianity. Two years later he was called to the Pre-ident's office and told that his attendance in the college was terminated because of his lack of interest in the religion for which the school stood.



Dr. Sudhindra Bose 1883—1946

Reading through the dog-cared pages of his diary, one perceives neither a startling intellect nor the staunch defender of his motherland of later years. Sudhindra Bose was just another Indian student who had to accustom himself to wearing Western dress

with the celluloid collar-for glossy, well-ironed, linen collars were not in his budget-and the bow-tie with its rubber band that never held the tie in its proper position and which caused a great deal of merriment when that little bit of superfluous wearing apparel slipped to the side of his neck or even to the back. The student parties were invariably a source of pleasure to him. The freedom between the boys and girls embarrassed him at first but by and by he was amused, for the girls had many queer questions to ask of this young Indian. But the part of college life which meant much to him was the annual intercollegiate oratorical contest. To get to the platform and to debate and match wits with the best of the contestants, that fired Sudhindra's soul and made tense every nerve in his body.

The little diary next carries the date of October 21, 1906, Champaign, Illinois. "Illinois University is a big place. President James gave a reception to the senior class. It is a large class, there must be four hundred seniors on the roll. The President is very sociable and interesting, full of cheer and sympathy. There is a ring in his voice that inspires confidence. He has the rare gift of entering your life with sympathetic interest." Sudhindra Bose entered the University of Illinois as a senior student and studied English literature and journalism. But again as in Parkville, the lack funds troubled him and had it not been for the kindness of some friends, Sudhindra might have had to quit school and seek employment "Where there is a will there is a way" and Sudhindra had the will and found the way. He had Saturday jobs and did odds and ends to bring in a bit of money for his sustenance. He waited on table in the Men's Common in the morning and evening and worked in the Library at night. The summer vacation was hey-day for him, for then he went on the road and going from door to door he sold the "Volume Library" and made good money. In doing this, he became acquainted with the rural population of America. In later years he often spoke about the adventures when he was a "peddler."

In June, 1907, he proudly enters in his diary that his year as an undergraduate is up, but at the same time a feeling of whither now comes over him and he realizes with sadness that he must leave Champaign and seek another school for the furtherance of his advanced studies. He turned to the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, for that school was wellknown for its school of journalism, for its studies of sociology. He worked as a reporter on the Maroon, (the Chicago University student paper). In connection with his social study classes, he visited Hull House, the Chicago lodging houses which are the supervision of the police, the Juvenile Court and the Mary Crane Nursery. These trips brought a release from the monotony of constant work and at the same time he realized how much life had favored him compared with the human wretches who oftentimes, through no fault of their own, were forced to look stark misery straight in the face. Their utter wretchedness and helplessness touched him to the quick and on one of these trips he writes in his little booklet: "I must do something to relieve the suffering of humanity."

Sudhindra's great ambition was to be a journalist. He liked the work, reported faithfully and diligently. He studied all the courses pertaining to that subject; still his progress was not what he had hoped for. Was it because of the medium of a secondary language and its difficulties or just a natural slowness? He could never write as fast as his fellow-journalists. That fact he noted very sadly, "I shall never be able to write as fast as a journalist should. There is no use to make myself believe that I can; perhaps with years of training I shall be able to write as fast as one should, but have I the time for it? I shall have to turn to the field of magazine writing rather than to the newspapers."

In the summer of 1909, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him at the University of Chicago. Then suddenly, without any explanation, we find that Sudhindra is in Birmingham, Alabama, selling steroptical views and the "Volume Library." His journal is silent on the reason for this odd choice of locality. I have a suspicion that he was sent there by the company he represented without having anything to say about it. His experience was dismal. He was disappointed both in the people and in the country. The color-bar distressed him greatly and the arrogance of the poor whites was repulsive to him. He applied for the position of reporter on the Birmingham Ledger. but expectations and joy of being at last a newspaperman were knocked into a cocked bat when the interview with the editor-in-chief was over. "The world seemed in a second like a dismal, dreary, dark blank," The only bright spot during his stay in Alabama was a trip to Havana with its pleasant climate and its deep blue waters.

On the 23rd of September, 1910, the entry in the diary reads as follows: "Sunday, 10 p.m., 213 East Market Street, Iowa City, Iowa. After a week's apprenticeship in journalism at, the office of the Chicago Daily Socialist, I came to Iowa City, Iowa, and entered the State University for the studies of the Ph.D. degree. For a long time I was undecided whether to make my major work in English or in Political Science. Prof. Ansley was anxious to have me in his English Department, On introducing me to his assistant he said, 'Professor Thompson, this is Mr. Bose. You know that we have never callowed any student so far in our English department to take the doctor's degree. I have made up my mind to admit Mr. Bose to our department. He has already done some advanced work in English. Will you please talk the matter over with Mr. Bose and arrange a subject for his thesis.' I felt proud of such a compliment, but I knew my shortcomings so well that I finally decided to give up English and to choose Political Science." It must have been the correct choice, for he writes in



Sudhindra and Anne in the library in their home, Winter, 1946

his little booklet again: "I am very much pleased with my work. My teachers are all reasonable and sympathetic. They are constantly inquiring after the progress of my studies."

November 4th, 1910, brought a high light in Sudhindra's simple student life. Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt came through Iowa City and stopped at the small station for ten minutes. "The entire town turned out to greet the 'world citizen' who spoke to the crowd from the platform of the rear parlor car. I too went to get a glimpse of the man. He is strong and vigorous; he has a round face, keen, piercing eyes and firm square jaws. His voice is excellent and he can pitch it high or low. He is all enthusiasm and earnestness. About six or seven thousand people turned out to meet the colonel. They climbed the railroad cars, on the roofs of the nearby houses, telephone poles and tree-tops, so eager were they to see the greatest contemporary American."

On the 3rd of December, 1910, he confides again to his booklet, this time with warm feelings: "I am glad I came to school here. The teachers are interested in me." Among these friendly teachers is Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, the Head of the Political Science Department. To this excellent scholar and great man, Sudhindra was drawn right from the start. Dr. Shambaugh was not only his teacher but also the best friend a man ever had. It was he who discovered the ability to teach and to lecture in the young Indian student

and it was he who gave him the opportunity to teach a class at the University of Iowa. This was not only a boost for Sudhindra, but it was a signal and generous gesture, for until then, no Asian had ever been given such a chance. And Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh remained his staunch friend throughout their relationship which only ended with Dr. Shambaugh's death in April, 1940.

Even a bear becomes friendly at the sight of good tood and even the most intellectual individual comes out of his shell and can be gay when invited to a delicious dinner. Sudhindra was no exception to this. Now and then he had the good fortune to be invited to a good meal and good company. So he betrays his feelings to his journal when he writes: "I had a good dinner indeed and good company too." By the end of 1910, Sudhindra seems less gloomy, less isolated than ever before since his coming to America. Here on the lowa campus, he met young instructors like himself and faculty members of high rank who took a liking to him. This association was responsible in the change of attitude toward existing conditions. He felt that he had made a beginning and a faint feeling came over him that he could do what he wanted to do if he persisted and even more than that, that he was not altogether an outsider, here in this great Mid-Western University. His New Year's resolution was heartening. "As I am about to enter the New Year, I resolve to live a life of hope, of good cheer and of happy optimism. I believe that a positive attitude of mind towards these qualities will enable me to win success quicker than a negative one. It is of little use going through life bemoaning. Let me make the best of what I have and strive for what I have not. Past experience tells me that that is the only way of attaining my goal. I have discovered that nothing in the world will make me happy till I learn well the art of writing. The object may be hard to attain, but attain it I must. Let nothing in the world stand between me and my object in life. In all my studies, in all my work I resolve not to lose sight of the main thing which has been haunting me in all those years. I therefore take fresh heart and renew my pledge to keep practicing writing until I learn it."

In 1912, Sudhindra Bose received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa. His thesis, "Some Aspects of British Rule in India" was considered a splendid contribution on the subject. At the same time Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Chief of the Political Science Department, appointed bian as lecturer in his department at a salary of \$500.00 per annum. The position was a half-time position. At that time, the following notice appeared in the Iowa City Daily Press, dated August 19, 1912:

"A Hindu from Calcutta, Sudhindra Bose, has been engaged by the University of Iowa, to fill the first faculty chair ever occupied by an East Indian in this state. He will be professor of "Oriental Politics and Civilization," and he will treat the relations between the United States and the Oriental Prof. Bose has won his degree at Iowa and has established his reputation as a man of scholarly attanments here."

In 1915, the little journal contains this cheerful entry: "I am finally in the Chautauqua (pronounced shatakua). I tried for ten years and have at last landed a job as lecturer in the Chautauqua circuit." The Chautauqua used to be very popular before the invention of the radio. During the summer months, a good many towns held Chautaugua for a week. This Chautauqua may be described as an assembly for educational purposes, combining lectures of various types, entertainments, such as plays, vocal and instrumental music. The performance was always given in a tent. The audience was usually made up of farmers and small townspeople. They enjoyed a popular lecture far more than they did a learned one. Sudhindra liked this type of work. It threw him in contact with the common people and kept him on the move. He saw a lot of America and had many experiences. His lectures on India were well-liked and they secured him contracts with the Chautauqua circuit for quite a few successive summers.

If Sudhindra was going up and down the country giving summer lectures, he picked up with all the more seal the broken threads during the school year. His half-time teaching permitted him to practice the art of newspaper writing. He contributed regularly to The Modern Review, Indian Review, Hindustan

Review, and the East and West of Calcutta. He also found time to organize the Hindustan Association of America, which elected him as the national President of the National Board of Counsellors of the Association, and he was also very active in the organization of the Cosmopolitan Club. It was his constant endeavour to bring East and West nearer to each other and to bring co-operation and understanding among the different students representing the various lands on American campuses. The Hindustan Association established branches in every important center where Indians, students and non-students, desired to meet with one another. Their program was ambitious; the ultimate goal was to form a world federation. Among the officers of the local chapter in Iowa City, we find the name of Sudbindra's life-long friend, Dr. Raidin Ahmed, Calcutta, India. He acted as Vice-Chairman of the association.

His activities increased and shaped themselves in rapid succession, and Sudhindra was working out his destiny. In 1914, the Hindu Exclusion Law Bill, or better known as the Raker Bill, was pending the U.S. Congress. Sudhindra was sent to Washington, D. C. by the Indian Defense Association of the Pacific coast and the Hindustan Association of America of which he was the President at that time, to present the Indian point of view before the committee in charge of the Raker Bill. The men with whom he conferred were W. J. Bryan, Secretary of State, and the British Ambassador, Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice. He secured a hearing before the House Committee on immigration and naturalization which was in charge of the Exclusion Bill. They had given him an hour to present his case, but so eloquent was the argument of this carnest defender that those busy men in Washington, forgot the time and listened to him for three hours more, then they cross-examined him on various points. Here are some of the most outstanding points Sudhindra made in the defense of his cause:

"The British Government in India does not favor the idea of Indian engineering students going to America, because American-trained engineers import American machinery. He firmly believed that America would violate its time-honored democratic traditions, if it were to bur from the gates of its institutions of learning, students with limited means."

He then suggested that the Raker Bill should provide for a minimum income of not more than \$200.00, a year from such prospective students. In regard to the Hindu laborers at the Pacific equst, Sudhindra contended that they did not undersell the native. American laborers and he pointed out that their literacy was not below the level of those immigrants from Eastern Europe, Southern Italy, Mexico, Syria and Turkey.

"There is no reason to fear the Hindu. There are at the present time only 4,784 Indians in continental America and these people are sober, law-abiding and conscientious workers."

Finally, he suggested to the legislators in Washington, that

"If the Government thought it necessary to exclude or restrict the Indians from the United States, then it should be brought about by diplomacy and through legislation. A special law excluding Indians would humiliate us in the eyes of the world. That is not necessary."

He further pointed out, that the wording of the Raker Bill should at least be altered in order to avoid the juxtaposition of the "Hindu laborer" with "idiots, imbeciles," etc. . . . As the Bill stood at that time, it enumerated the classes of excluded persons in the following fashion: "All Hindu laborers, idiots, imbeciles, paupers, etc." Sudhindra stayed about one week in Washington, D. C. defending the Indian cause. His expenses were paid by the Sikhs at the Pacific coast.

Very notable Asians visited the State University of Iewa in rapid succession. Sudbandra, representing both the University and Asia, played official host to all of them. The first on the list was the poet laureate and Nobel Prize winner, Rabindranuth Tagore. The second was the distinguished orator from Northern Iudia, Lala Lajpat Rai; then came the noted physicist, Prof. Jagadish Chandra Bose, "who makes plants tell their feelings." These were followed by many more distinguished Asians from many lands. Sudbindra was always at the station to meet them and to extend the hand of welcome.

In November, 1916, the "Volume Library," a condensed encyclopedia, for school children, invited him to the editorial staff for the Oriental section of the book. In this work he was responsible for all the editing of political, economic, historical, literary, religious and philosophical items concerning the nations of the Orient.

Tuesday, February 20th, 1917, was a momentous day for Sudhindra Bose. On that day, he became a naturalized citizen of the United States of America. But owing to Sudhindra's dark skin, very black hair and black eyes, his admittance to citizenship was opposed by a United States immigration official on the grounds that he was not a "white person." Consequently, the question arose as to the definition of a "white person." Judge R. G. Popham, of the District Court, in Iowa City, Iowa, differed with the view of the immigration official, saying that a "white person" was a member of the Caucasian race irrespective of the color of the skin, hair and eyes. He contended that Sudhindra Bose had been declared a "white person," that he had taken his oath of allegiance and had been admitted to citizenship. That Judge R. G. Popham's decision in this matter would have widespread discussions was to be expected and this case had also definite bearing on several other cases of similar nature throughout the country. We shall see directly what the outcome of the granting of this citizenship really was.

Sudhindra taught during the scholastic year and lectured on the Chautauqua circuit during the summer

months until 1920. His lectures were well-liked and he had a good platform personality. His remunerations also became more and more attractive so that they supplemented nicely his very low income at the University. He had tried many times through Dr. B. F. Shambough to get an increase in his salary since the curollment of his classes had grown each year. But the Board of Education did not see it that way. Be it said very frankly, their opinion was, that an Oriental should consider it a privilege to be on the teaching staff of an American institution of learning the size of this University. Sudhindra knew well, that Dr. Shambaugh who was his trusted friend, had tried carnestly



Bose's faithful collie dog, Rani

and sincerely to help him, but to no avail. He was not to be daunted in this either. Since he taught only half time, he started to give lectures during the scholastic year in different colleges and High Schools as well as to clubs and organisations. His articles appeared in a number of newspapers and magazines. Sudhindra worked and studied with all his strength. In spite of all these activities, he was dejected and lonely. In this mood, he confided again in his diary: "I have been teaching here for four years for five hundred dollars per annum. They say, and the Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Dr. Shambaugh, confirms it, that my work is entirely satisfactory. But what is my reward? None whatever. Those who began to teach in the Department long after I did, have been promoted over my head. Can I afford to stay here the rest of my life on five hundred dollars a year? It cheapens me, it lowers me, it humiliates me in the eyes of my friends as well as in my own eyes." At the time Sudhindra wrote these lines in his diary, he was 34 years old, an age when a man is full of vigor and life promises fair. But life did not promise fair to him and he was despondent and lonely. Again he writes: "I am sick and tired of this awful lonely life in America. I feel that my position in this country is precisely like that of the ostracized man. I have no social standing in this benighted, caste-ridden land. They say that I am now a free American citizen, but I am looked down upon because of my race and the color of my skin. I am treated like a pariah. Far, far better it were that I had never taken out my naturalization papers."

This complete despondency was of course not due altogether to homesickness and ostracism, Sadhindra wanted a home of his own. Nother did romance pass him by, of that the numerous snap-shots of very pretty, young American guls are testimony enough. And why should be not have been popular with young ladies " Sudhindra had a splendid personality, to be sure he was rather small of stature but was wellbuilt and had a finely shaped head. His forehead was high, his nose slightly ageiline and his eyes glorious and soft. His whole person breathed neatness and cleanliness, in fact, he was always well-groomed and carefully attired, though not elegant. He had an air of distinction and was somewhat haughty, but not offensively so. Well, he was popular with the young ladies, for there was real glamour about him There was Lasa with the curls; Florence, the chemist who was very friendly, but that was all. Sentiments in Florence seem to have no place in her make-up. I also read about Susie in the little diary. Susie was very young and her mother was proud of her musical accomplishments. Then came Marjorie with whom he liked to go hiking across country and build bonfires in the open. Kathrine too did not lack charm in Sudhindra's eyes. Ruth disappointed him the most, for she was fickle. Then came blonde, little Mary, but she was too devoutly catholic to fall in line with Hinduism. Indeed, the photograph album contains a veritable collection of pretty girls, which must have made a selection rather difficult. However, Florence ruled supremely in the heart of the young Indian, Indeed, she caused almost a calamity for Sudhindra, for according to the diary, Florence really captivated his heart. She was pretty-the writer can wouch for that-, exact, gifted in her line as chemist. At home she combined the charming hostess and the careful homemaker. She could cook, preserve, sew. She was neat and very clean in all her habits and duties. She was also loyal and her sense of integrity was much above the common conception of it. She was not much of a conversationalist to be sure, but what of that, she was a good listener. Besides, Sudhindra could talk for both of them. Carefully he weighed all these essential and good qualities against that one great virtue, love, but the scales dupped too much and love was found wanting. Florence was too practical. No doubt, she too weighed all the pros and cons in regard to a marriage with this Indian who was at odds with his Government, who, living in a foreign land found it difficult to make a living for himself and who, in the eyes of

American society was a member of the barred zone not even eligible to citizenship. The fact of the matter was, that Florence was afraid of such a marriage. She preferred economic and social security to "a loaf of bread, a jug of wine and thou" marriage with the man whom she greatly admired, but did not love. Did Sudhindra propose formally to this unusual girl? The little journal is silent on this score. Well he knew that he could not support a wife on his present salary. He also knew that conditions for him would not substantially improve. That rankled in his bosom and embittered him, for he did want a home and a normal life to which every human being is entitled.

September 1920, we find Sudhindra Bose in Loudon, England. He had asked for a year's leave of absence from the University to travel and to study abroad, that is in Europe and Asia. In America, he had received a visa to visit India, but in London this visa was contested and after two months' stay in London, during which he vainly attempted to secure the permit to proceed to India, he left without it for France and sailed from Marseilles for the Orient. Why the objection to his visit to his home-land at the hands of the British is not clearly stated and all we can do is to surmise and guess Said Mr. Montagu:

"I have had thorough inquiry made into this case. This Indian gentleman is now a citizen of the United States, having applied to renounce his British Indian nationality a few weeks before the outbreak of the war. Dr. Bose's original application for a visa to travel made no mention of his mother's health, and I am not prepared to facilitate his return to India."

This was the first ominous obstacle of his trip, on which he wished to study political and social conditions in the Orient. The following three publications among his possessions brought him into direct conflict with the Hongkong Police. They were: (1) & copy of The Open Court, for August, 1920, containing an article by Sudhindra himself, entitled, "Home Rule for India"; (2) a publication entitled, The Labor Revolt in India, by Basanta Koomar Roy; (3) a compilation published by the Indian National Party, entitled British Rule in India In Hongkong his trunk was searched. The above-mentioned three publications were taken from his possessions by zealous officials whose language was sneers, jeers and taunts. There was not much that he could do about this. All three publications were considered by the police as seditious, hostile and couched in "extreme and violent language." The purpose of his visit was of course clear to them. In the eyes of the Hongkong police, Sudhindra was a renegade who sought the protection of another flag to cover up his evil intentions and to attack with all the more viciousness the regime of the country of his former allegiance. The police was determined to keep him out of India and from the areas adjacent to India. He protested through the United States Consulate, but to no avail. The British remained adament in their decision; he did not enter India in 1921.

Aside from these inhappy incidents, Sudhindra's trip to the Orient was a great success. He came in contact with many of the leading figures in Asia, among them, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and many other notable Asians. The fresh contact with the Orient, its peoples, their philosophy, their political aspirations, their point of view, showed him clearly that Asia was on the march. This gave him renewed courage to carry on the fight for freedom. He returned to the United States in the early part of September, 1921, and was again at his post at the University of Iowa when the fall term opened. Throughout his Asian trip, Sudhindra was correspondent for the Desmoines Register, one of Iowa's leading newspapers.

Life seemed rather uneventful to him for about two years. His experience on the trip had sharpened his wits and opened his eyes still more to the evils of imperialism. Now he applied himself vigorously to denounce it by word of mouth and with his pen. Some of the anglophiles did not like these attacks upon their so-called "motherland," and thus they demanded his dismissal from the University teaching staff. But as usual, Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh stood by him and tendered his resignation in case "this drastic step should be taken against Dr. Bose."

In the spring of 1923, the naturalization question loomed again on the horizon. Bhagwat Singh Thind, a man who had served for six months in the United States army and who had received an honorable dicharge, was refused the citizenship by the United States Supreme Court. This man was not a common laborer, but a graduate from the University of Punjab, India, and a former student of the University of California. Sudhindra Bose promptly took up his pen in defense of his countryman. His was a valiant fight, but a futile one, for the Supreme Court ruled that the words, "free, white person" were not to be taken in the ethnological meaning of the term, but in the popular sense. Thind was, accordingly, not a "white person" and therefore not eligible to the American citizenship. Furthermore, the decision of the United States Supreme Court was retroactive and held that, since the Hindus were not of the Caucasian race, the lower courts, which had granted them their naturalization, were in error and their grants were null and void. Consequently, those affected by this regulation, found themselves to be men without a country. Sudhindra felt this blow keenly. In his opinion, India and her people were humiliated, since the best of them could not cope with the poorest of Eastern Europe's immigrant. There was nothing that could be done about it, for when the highest tribunal in the land makes such a final decision, there is no court of appeal to turn to.

It is understood that there were at this time about one hundred Indians who had received their naturalisation papers prior to 1923. Of these, about half moved elsewhere, but those who still remained in the United States, banded together decided to reopen the case with the United States Supreme Court. It was not until the spring of 1927 that a decision was agreed upon by the law-makers of this land, that those, who had been deprived of their citizenship were to be reinstated. In Sudhindra's files, there is a letter from the State Department in Washington, D. C. confirming the reinstatement to citizenship. It is dated May 19, 1927, and reads in part:

"The Department refers to your letter of May 5, 1927, in which you request a copy of a ruling, which you have been informed has been made, permitting Hindus who were naturalized before 1923 to retain their American citizenship."

Thus closed the chapter which brought so many anxious moments and the feeling that Indians were definitely discriminated against by the Government of the greatest republic in the world.

August 13, 1927, Sudhindra Bose married Anne Zimmerman, a graduate student in the Romance Language Department of the State University of Iowa. But even here the sailing of the event was not & smooth one. The Justice of the Peace who was to unite them in holy matrimony, had a stroke while he was reading the service. Helped by the members of the household, Sudhindra and Anne carried the stricken man to a couch. He passed away the next day. The ceremony begun by the Justice of the Peace was terminated by a protestant minister. When the news of Sudhindra's marriage reached the Political Science Department, there was consternation, but Dr. Shambaugh said humorously, "These Hindus woo and win our best and prettiest girls. Dr. Bose how did you do it?" He raised his salary by \$500 00 a year. But even that was not sufficient for Sudhindra to establish & home, for with that increase, his salary was only \$1500.00 a year. Anne took up a position in Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Mo.

In March 1928, Sudhindry, accompanied by Anne, started out again to go to India. His mother was still living but very feeble and aged. But Sudhindra's joy of seeing his native land and his kin once more was, however, mingled with misgivings. Would the British again annoy him and not let him enter India as they had done in 1921? It was not until the permit to land was granted by the British police in Karachi, that Sudhindra breathed a sigh of relief and rejoiced while deeply inhaling the fresh morning air. All the glooms had disappeared. He was glad to be alive and among the people he loved. Four wonderful months followed. Every day was crammed full with interviews, talks, gatherings, visits. India revealed herself to him worn and poor, but full of dignity and her people povertystricken but not discouraged. It was at the time when Catharine Mayo's Mother India was first out of the press. This book sold like hot chestnuts on a cold winter night while Dr. Sunderland's India in Bondage was proscribed. The vociferous indignation of the Indians against the vicious attack by sewer inspector Mayo rang out genuine and sincere. The fearless revolt of the Bardoli peasants fired and assured Sudhindra of the ardor and hidden strength of his people. Everywhere he went, he found the people dissatisfied and trying to find a way to throw off the foreign yoke that bound them so firmly to the wheels of bondage. Sudhindra had secretly hoped to secure the permission to remain in India. With that intent, he went to Simla to see the Viceroy. He had already sounded the possibility of obtaining a position in some educational institution, if not at that particular time, then at least at some later date. But without the co-operation of the British, a definite arrangement was futile. He was not encouraged by the Viceroy to stay in India, and so Sudhindra returned again to the United States accompanied by Anne ready to teach at the fall session.

The visit to India proved to be invaluable to him. It had given him a shot in the arm; he had a new approach, a new outlook. India's problems were his problems, her struggle his struggle. He lectured and wrote. His attitude toward imperialism in India and elsewhere was unshakable. The slights he received at the hands of the Spure Aryans" troubled him little now, for he had a much greater cause to defend. Altogether, Sudhindra seemed to have a clearer vision, a wider horizon, a greater activity. His classes were larger than ever and more than once did Dr. Shambaugh commend him for his clear thinking and his brilliant presentation of his subject. He was friendlier than ever in his contacts and students sought his company and his advice. Life really smiled at him and he smiled at life. His contributions to the various newspapers and magazines were regular and numerous. He never feared to attack an opponent, who, either through poor judgment or willful misrepresentation, jeopardized the real issue regarding India and her people. His language was direct, terse and forceful. He never left anyone in doubt as to the question in his mind. To bombast he answered with caustic sarcasm. Often he answered a question by asking another one. In regard to imperialism, his stand was uncompromising. Anglophiles and unperialists viewed him with anger and openly accused him of subversive activities. The United States F. B. I. agents frequently attended his lectures and found them delightful. Many admired him for the courage of his convictions, for he was ever ready to defend them to the end.

As a teacher, he was a success. In the words of Dr. Shambaugh, his good friend and Chief, "Dr. Bose has become one of the most outstanding teachers in this University." He was patience itself when it was a matter of bringing a difficult point across to the students. He never discouraged anyone as long as he good quay tried to achieve his goal. Often groups of the scales diffents gathered around his fireplace in his ing. Florence while they sipped coffee and munched weighed all the ould discuss world problems with them with this India hours of the night. In the summer, he ment, who, living well-informed person to join them and to make a livinight moon and in his secluded garden.

they would talk over current events and problems of the day. Untiringly he strove to disseminate knowledge about the East, its philosophy, its religious, the social and political life of the people. The freedom of India was his great dream; he never thought that Pakistan could ever become a reality. He firmly believed in the goodwill of his countrymen toward one another and in their true love for their motherland. "Let us be Indians first and foremost, and then only, Muslims or Hindus," he would say to visiting Indians. He thought of a free India, united, strong and great as of old, stepping into the ranks of the leading nations and the leader in Asia.

Sudhindra Bose had a number of hobbies. He loved books. He bought them regularly but with care. He was fond of good paper, good binding and he was very fussy about the general set-up of the book such as : printing, type, margin. In reading a book, he took time to digest all important points. He was not interested in telling people how fast he could read or how many books he read over the week-end. Every point of importance, he underlined and indexed on the empty fly-leaves of the book. The margins too served him for annotations. He would explain that this method enabled him to go back to the book and use it for quick references. His books were neatly kept in closed book-cases in his cheerful library. His yard or lawn, which resembled a green carpet, received almost as much of his attention as did his books. He kept it weedless and well cut. It was a standing joke in the neighbourhood that Dr. Bose brushed and combed his lawn every morning before breakfast. Evenings, he and his faithful collie dog, Rani, loved to sit under the spreading weeping willow near the house. There he would read and medicate and enjoy the peace of the descending night. Sudhindra loved his modest home on that short side street, near a small wood with all his heart. He had wondered the world long enough to appreciate this little haven of a storm-to-sed traveller. Each Friday, on returning from his last class of the week, he would enter the house and symbolically shut the door behind him and say: "I am shutting out the world and its people for a moment. If anyone wishes to see me, I shall be glad to see him, but he must come here to my refuge, and he shall be welcome."

"Man proposes and God disposes." Sudhindra's longing for India became ever greater and he hoped that the time would come when he could return once more to the land of his birth and to his dear brother Jotindra Nath Bose. It was not to be. A skin disease had troubled him for years, a disease for which modern science has not as yet discovered a remedy, scarcely a check. He had consulted every medical authority on dermatology he heard off, but there was no cure. They told him that the disease was not "killing" but that it weakened the system in general. The doctor never spoke a truer word. Sudhindra's resistance weakened visibly. He closed his book earlier and stayed in bed longer. The care of the lawn became too

much for him. He who never rested in the day-time, now pulled the shades at the windows and reclined for a while. His quick step slackened. The University lectures, which he religiously attended, held no interest for him any longer. He refused to make cails. More and more he found solace in reading the Gita, meditation, in telling the beads. He sought carnest advice from Swami Nikhilananda and even arranged for a visit with him in order to learn more about prayer

and meditation. Strangely, he felt that the sand in the hour glass was running fast. Still he insisted on going to Columbus, Ohio, to give a radio discussion on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's poetry. This was his last lecture. A week later he succumbed to the third attack of pneumonia. This time there were complications of the heart and on the 20th of May, 1946, Sudhindra breathed his last. A valiant son of Mother India had at last gone home.

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INDIAN JOURNALISM AND OUR FREEDOM MOVEMENT

(The first Phase)

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE story of the growth and development of journalism in India is an interesting and instructive study. Newspaper is called the fourth state in a democratic country, whereas in the case of a dependency it proves a veritable thorn in the way of its rulers. The reason is not far to seek. In one case the country is ruled by the will of the people, while in the other the ruler never cares for it in the governance of the land. Similar was the case with India. Since the battle of Plassey this country became a dependency of Britain though it was under the acgis of the East India Company. Any protest against the vagaries of the rulers was not to be tolerated. The press is the principal medium of public protest against any governmental misdeeds, and it became the first victim. . This is writ large on the pages of the history of Indian journalism.

The first newspaper in India was the weekly Bengal Gazette started in Calcutta on 29th January, 1780. It was edited by James Augustus Hickey. After two years of its existence the paper was suppressed by the Government as it slandered the wife of Warren Hastings as well as some highly placed officials.

More newspapers were started in the wake of the Bengal Gazette. The India Gazette, The Calcutta Gazette, The Bengal Hurkaru were the principal of them. It should be noted here that the editors of these journals were all nonofficial Englishmen. At this time no love was lost between the servants of the Company, that is, the actual rulers of the country, and these non-official Britons. The latter had to take licences in order to live and move in the land. Any offence committed by them against the State was punishable by deportation to England at Government expense. Indians were not organised, they had no organ, their views remained unheard. It was these non-official Britons nurtured in the ideas of democracy who expressed their indignation through newspapers against the actions of the government which were too much despotic. The annexations of Lord Wellealey were severely criticised by them, and the result was the order of pre-censorship of news, views and even advertisements by the Government in Newspapers oftentimes came out with many ustericks in their columns, as the editors could not make time to fill up the gaps caused by the deletion of words by the official censor. Our freedom struggle, so far as the expression of free opinion through newspapers was concerned, dated from 1799 and this was done on behalf of the mute millions by the generous-hearted non-official Britons.



Rammohun Roy

The consorship continued till 1818. Lord Hactings' government found that the Wellesley regulations of con-

sorship were not proving effective. Anglo-Indians had by now become editors. India being their homeland, they could not be punished by deportation for the breach of the Regulations. The Government then had no other alternative but to withdraw them. But this they did temporarily, only to pass fresh Regulations in 1823 for shackling the Press. But more of this later.



James Silk Buckingham

Meanwhile in 1818 even before the withdrawal of the Press Regulations two Bengali newspapers were almost simultaneously published, Bengal Gazette by Ganga Kishore Bhattacharya in Calcutta and Samachar Darpan by the Serampore Missionaries at Serampore. The latter took care from its very inception not to offend the authorities in any way. Bengal Gazette was a progressive journal and supported the reforms sought to be introduced by Raja Rammohun Roy in the Hindu Society. The paper was however short-lived. Sambad Caumudi followed Bengal Gazette. It came to light on the 4th December, 1821. The principal inspirer and writer of this weekly was Rammohun himself. Not only the need of social reforms was broached in the journal, but all news both Indian and foreign found space in it. To improve social economy the value of insurance and banking was stressed for the first time in this paper. Bhawanicharan Banerjee who was a collaborator of Rammohun in conducting and editing Sambad Caumudi, severed connection with the journal and started Samachar Chandrika which soon became the exponent of the orthodox school. The liberal and orthodox schools thus parted ways as early as 1823. Rammohun Roy was himself the editor of the Persian paper Mirat-ul-Akhber.

During the four years 1818-1823, the Government were busy finding out ways and means to put new shackles on newspapers, both English and vernacular. The Government view regarding the freedom of the Press was aptly put in these few lines, "The liberty of the Press, however essential to the native of a free State, is not in my judgement, consistent with the character of our institutions in this country, or with the extraordinary nature of their interests." The Government of Lord Hastings forged new shackles for the Press in 1822. And it was left for John Adam, the acting Governor General, to issue the new Press Regulations on March 4, 1823.

The Press Regulations of Wellesley were directed against English journals (as there were none other), and those of this year were directed against both English and vernacular papers. Needless to add, the nascent vernacular journalism was hard hit by the latter Regulations. Rammohun Roy thought it beneath his dignity to publish his journal any longer under these service Regulations. His letter to the Government is a unique specimen of the first public expression of our love of freedom.

It should be mentioned here that, amongst the Europeans James Silk Bockingham, the crudite scholar and editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, was the first victim of the Press. Regulations of 1223. A friend of Rammolon, Buckingham fought bravely for our cause. He had already carned the opposition of the Government. The latter lost no opportunity of resorting to the law and deported him to England on a frivolous charge.



Debendra Nath Tagore

Our struggle for freedom really started from cessation of publication of Mirat-ul-Akhber by Rammohun. In this respect Rammohun may be called the first non-co-operator in India. He did not rest content with this. He at first sent an appeal to the Supreme Court, and when it proved unavailing, he preferred a memorial to the British Crown. Among the signatories to the appeal, besides Rammohun, were Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and three others. The memorial is regarded as the first

charter of our freedom movement. During the liberal regime of Lord William Bentinck, however, the Regulations were not stringently applied. Some new journals belonging to the progressive school made their appearance in the early thirties. The Reformer of Prasanna Kumar Tagore, The Enquirer of Krishna Mehan Banerjee and Juananwesan (a



Tarachand Chakravarty

diglot paper) of Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee and, later of Rasik Krishna Mallik, kept the torch of free expression alight. These journals discussed politics from a new angle of vision. Bengali journalism also flourished in early thirties. Sambad Pravakar appeared as a weekly in 1831 under the editorship of Iswar Chandra Gupta, the famous Bengali poet. The movement started against the Press Regulations by Rammohun bore fruit after a decade. Sir Charles Metcalfe, then acting Governor-General, appreciated the importance of the movement against the Regulations and withdrew it on 15th September. 1835. From that year newspapers in India enjoyed freedom for another twenty-two years, till it was again disturbed during the Sepoy Mutiny.

After the Press had been set free, Indian journalism began to rise to its full stature. In Bengal many Bengali weeklies were started. Sambad Purnachandrodaya (1835) and Sambad Bhaskur (1839) became the leading Bengali weeklies, Sambad Prabhakar which had stopped for sometime, reappeared as a tri-weekly in 1836 and three years later became a full-fledged daily, the first of its kind in Bengali language. Sambad Prabhakar was not aggressively orthodox, and it represented what was best in our religion, culture and society. The Bengal Spectator founded in 1842 as a monthly and edited by such stalwarts of the Hindu College as Tarachand Chakravarty, Ram Gopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mitra and the Reverend Krishnamohan Banerjea, appeared with a new ideal of service of the motherland. In the prospectus it was declared that the conductors of the paper would not seek any monetary gain from it. Over and above providing news both Indian and foreign, they would do everything in their power to serve their country. When George Thompson arrived in India late in 1843, and with his help

the Bengal British India Society was founded, The Bengal Spectator became their mouthpiece and was turned into a weekly. It propagated the views held by the progressive school. The paper was a diglot one, and the ruling race could grasp its contents easily. The views expressed in this journal made the Anglo-Indian papers like The Star, The Englishman and The Friend of India fly into a great rage. They criticised George Thompson severely for helping Indians to be politically conscious. The Young Bengal, promoters of the Bengal British India Society, were criticised no less severely, and were nicknamed "Chuckerbutty Faction" after the name of their leader Tarachand Chakravarty. Tattwabodhini Patrika of which Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore was the founder, and Akshoy Kumar Datta, the first editor, supplied what was wanting in The Spectator. The Bengali life and culture found a ready exponent in this Bengali monthly. It fought vehemently against the Christian Missionaries while the latter were engaged in proselytising activities in this province. This gave no less impetus to our future freedom movement.

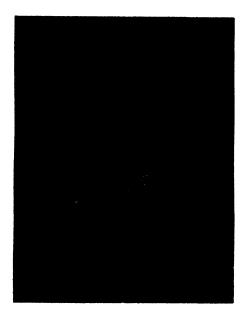
The struggle for Indian freedom had up till then been mostly on the plane of idea, but henceforward it began to take a practical shape, so far as political agitation was concerned. Political societies had hitherto been established more or less for sectional ends. But this time the Bengal British India Society commenced striving for the wellbeing of the whole of India, and for all classes of people.



Ram Gopal Ghose

The Bengal Spectator could not continue long. The Hipalu Intelligencer of Kasiprasad Ghose was started in 1846 and took up the cause advocated by the Spectator. But much water had flown by this time under the bridge of the Hugli. The Charter Act of 1833 had removed all the restrictions against the Europeans settling and carrying on business in the country. The latter became self-conscious, and instead of broaching the cause of the Indians, pleaded for their separate entity as distinct from the children of the soil. The official Bills of 1849 to put an

end to this sense of separatism could not be proceeded with owing to European pressure. The causes of conflict between the official and non-official Britons having been removed, they became allies to one another. This was more than sufficiently proved during the Sepoy Mutiny and the Indigo Disturbances. The Hindoo Patriot (started in



Nabagopal Mitra

1853) under the editorship of Harischandra Mukherjee was perhaps the first paper to draw attention to the raceconsciousness of the Europeans. The racial animosity as a corollary to this race-consciousness would prove fatal both to the Indians and Europeans. But its voice was then like crying in the wilderness. When the Sepov mutiny actually broke out early in 1857, the Europeans were up in arms against the Bengalees and induced the Government to punish them as they were also complicated in it. The Bengalees were an eye-sore to the Europeans. While decrying the Mutiny in no uncertain terms, The Patriot proved to the hilt the hollowness of the above charge. The Government, too, paid no heed to this outcry. The Patriot was then a power, and Lord Canning, the then Governor-General, was in most cases guided by the views expressed in it so far as the Mutiny was concerned. The Indigo Disturbances came in the wake of the Mutiny. This time The Patriot championed the cause of the Indigo ryots. Accounts of the tyrannical and, sometimes, murderous acts of the Indigo-planters appeared in The Hindoo Patriot. The ryots were goaded to rise in combination against this brutish class of exploiters. The Hindoo Patriot appointed correspondents in the mofussil to give authentic accounts of this rising. The Government could not sit idle. They appointed a Commission, late known as Indigo Commission, to enquire and report on the Indigo question. They did not pass any laws on the findings of the Commission, but the administrative arrangements made by them proved

effective. The Indigo-planters' various forms of oppression and torture came to light; they became disgraced before the public eye. The Hindoo Patriot's services in this regard were unique. Somprakash, the Bengali weekly, of Pandit Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan, was started in November, 1858. It did yeeman's service at that time for the political education of our countrymen.

Racial animosity of the European community could not but react on the mind of the educated Bengalees. The Bengalee of Grischandra Chose, The Indian Mirror started under the auspices of Maharshi Debendra Nath. Mookheriee's Magazine of Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee, both old and new series, took up the cause of their countrymen and criticised the conduct of the Whites and their official henchmen whenever occasion arose, without the fear of frown or favour. In Siksha-Darpan Bhudeb Mukherjee commenced discussing political, educational and social questions in pithy Bengali. His line of approach was altogether new. By the mid-sixties Rajanarain Bose issued a prospectus from Midnapore adverting to the necessity of a Society for the all-round improvement of the nation. Our language, literature, art, system of medicine, costume, customs, traditions in a word our own culture must be revived and improved. Dependence on foreigners in this respect was proposed to be discarded and self-reliance



Sishir Kumar Ghose

encouraged. Nabagopal Mitra gave shape to this idea of Rajanarain by starting Hindu Mela (or, 'National Gathering' as it was called in English) in April, 1867. He had already started The National Paper, a weekly financed by Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore on August, 1865. Now this paper began to espouse the cause of the Hindu Mela and naturally became its spokesman. The cause of the Hindu Mela was taken up by other Indian journals also. In this connection, the services of Madhyastha of Mano-

mohan Bose and Amrita Bazar Patrika, of which more presently, should be specially mentioned.

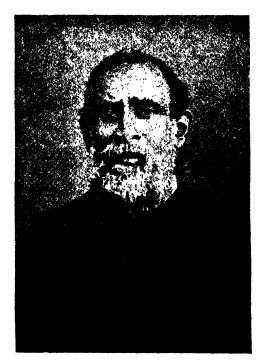
The publication of Amrita Bazar Patrika from a remote village in Jessore on February 20, 1868 is a landmark in the history of Indian journalism. Our freedom movement is closely interlinked with this journal. It was at first



Bankim Chandra Chatterice

a Bengali weekly. From the second year some English articles were inserted in it. From 1872 it became a regular bilingual paper. But it had to forego its Bengali portion altogether owing to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. The English and the Bengalees, or for the matter of that, the Indians, are two distinct races. Their interests are different, and diametrically opposite to each other. These two races could never meet to solve the country's problem. Hence we, the Indians, must stand on our own legs and strive for our own progress. One thing the Patrika used to emphasise even in those days. That is, political dependence is the root of our misery. Removal of this is the panacea of all our evils. The sooner it is achieved the better for all concerned. While advocating this, the Patrika was not unmindful of the then progressive movements of the country. It advocated reform in society and religion. espoused the causes of the Hindu Mela and all its offshoots. National and scientific education, physical culture. Bengali literature, National theatre-all these nationbuilding activities of the time, and most of which were affiliated to the Hindu Mela, found a ready exponent in Amrita Bazar Patrika. Needless to add, Patrika's politics was very much disliked by the officials, and within a few month of its start Patrika found itself involved in a libel case. The officialdom stood as one man against Patrika, and though the Printer and the contributor of the article for which the libel case was instituted, were found guilty and punished, the editor came out unscathed

to the great chagrin of the officials. Bangadarshan of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, a Bengali monthly started in 1872, served to rouse the educated people from the state of stupor. It unravelled to them the immense possibilities of our language, literature, arts and culture. Sadharani of Akshoy Chandra Sarkar, a Bengali weekly, did not lag behind in educating the people in the affairs of the State. But Amrita Bazar Patrika alone claimed the honour of virulently attacking the Governmental measures which it deemed anti-national, harmful or notorious. Various regulations restricting the freedom of expression, apathy of the Government to employ Indians to responsible positions, educational policy of Sir John Campbell, deposition of the Gaekwar, European ouslaught against natives, the famine in the southern provinces, the Afghan war, the Delhi Durbar-these were only a few of the topics that egitated the public mind during the seventies, and to each one of them the Patrika did not fail to pay adequate attention. It was mainly due to the fearless discussion and vehement criticism of these measures in the Patrika that Lord Lytton's Government thought it fit to pass the obnoxious Vernacular Press Act of 1978. The authorities of the Patrika saw through the machinations of the powers that be and turned it into an exclusively English weekly almost overnight. This was not only a great relief but also a source of great encouragement for the man in the



Surendra Nath Baneriee

street. The intentions of the Government were brought to light and the people, especially the educated section who were more dependent on the State, resolved more than ever to rely on their own selves. Aryadarshan of Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan took up the cue from the

Patrika and encouraged, through its articles on Mazzini, Garibaldi and other heroes of Italy's liberation movement, the intransigent spirit of the educated Bengali youths. Sulabh Samuchar of Keshub Chunder Sen, one pice Bengali weekly, did much for the propagation of progressive ideas amongst our countrymen.

The services of The Bengalee of Surendia Nath Banerjee in the first phase of our national struggle should be mentioned. The Indian Association was founded in July. 1876. It took up the Civil Service question just after its inception. It conducted the agitation against the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act. Agitation against the former met with success when the Act was repealed in 1882. Reform of the tenancy laws, introduction of local self-government and similar other things also were attended to by the Association. Surendra Nath Bancrice, the mainspring of the Association, purchased the proprietary rights of The Bengalee in 1879, became its editor and began to express the cause the Indian Association stood for. The Bengalee also did not spare to criticise the Government whenever the occasion arose. It was involved in a contempt of court case in 1883 in which editor Surendra Nath was imprisoned. Surendra Nath was at that time at the hey-day of his glory and his imprisonment was deemed a national insult by his countrymen. The Bengabasi and Sanjibani also came into being in the early eighties and served our cause vigorously in the days of the Ilbert Bill Agitation.

To sum up, the services rendered by Indian Journalism to bring about political consciousness cannot be overestimated. During the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century non-official Britons championed our cause. The Wellesley Regulations of 1799 and the Adam Regulations of 1823 were mainly directed against them, though the vernacular papers and local editors also came under the latter's purview. Sir Charles Metcalfe repealed these Regulations in 1835. The freedom, thus conferred on the Press, gave a fillip to the cause of Indian journalism. More and varied types of newspapers appeared and continued political discussion. The Government of Lord Canning was constrained temporarily to check the venomous effusions of the Anglo-Indian Press during the Sepoy Mutiny, Partly for the governmental measures and partly for the racial animosity of the new class of Britons, Indians were gradually estranged from the ruling race. Journals, mostly those in vernacular, became their spokesman and opened their columns for continuing agitation, political and otherwise. This was not tolerated by the Authorities, and the sinister Vernacular Press Act of 1878 put tremendous shackles on it. Our journals also did splendidly on ie occasion of the Ilbert Bill Agitation in 1883. Ame the factors that contributed to the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885, growth and development of Indian journalism can be fairly counted as one. Contribution of our journals to the cause of freedom movement in the pre-Congress days must not be forgotten.

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YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK One of the Scenic Wonders of the United States

By JOSEPH LANDAU

The spectacular grandeur of Yosemite National Park, one of the most scenic in the United States, has brought gasps of admiration and astonishment from everyone who has ever seen it in the short time it has been known to the white man. Here is Nature in her most rugged and grandest dress. In Yosemite are gigantic granite monoliths-single blocks of stone that rear up out of the valley floor and tower many thousand feet. Here are waterfalls, one of which plunges more than 2,000 feet. Here are lakes and streams; cloud-scraping mountain summits and spectacular waterfalls; Nature in her rawest-and most pleasing aspect. Yosemite National Park is a 1,189-square-mile area about 200 miles east of San Francisco, California. The scenic grandeur that annually attracts thousands to this park is compressed into a valley about seven miles long and a mile wide—a valley walled in by nearly perpendicular cliffs surrounded by breath-taking vistas of giant rocks and lovely waterfalls. Around this valley lie the ridges and peaks of the rugged Siorra Nevada Mountaina.

Here are to be seen those great single granite rocks, Half Dome and El Capitan. El. Capitan is the largest exposed single block of granite in the world. Its cliff rises in a sheer line more than 3,000 feet above the valley floor. Half Dome, next only to El Capitan in size, has one sheer cliff reaching almost half a mile in height. Yosemite Falls tumbles in three steps 2,425 feet from the valley of Yosemite Creek down to the floor of the valley. Bridalveil Falls is never entirely dry, and drops 620 feet. Nevada and Vernal Falls give an unparalleled display of water acrobatics.

Yosemite is a scenic playground. There are miles of auto-roads leading to the many sights; additional miles of bridle paths and trails for hiking. There are camping facilities and fine hotels complete with golf courses and swimming pools. And there are 300 lakes and many miles of mountain streams stocked with trout to tempt the fisherman. Saddle horses and bicycles can be rented. And it is not only a spot to visit in summer; there is an all-weather road leading into the park, and in the winter there is skiing, ice skating.

tobogganing and other winter sports available, including a ski lift.

Yosemite Valley first entered the white man's history in 1776, the same year the 13 American colonics 3,000 miles to the east were starting their war of inde-



The gates of Yosemite Valley showing famed El Capitan on the left, Clouds' Rest and Half Dome in the distant centre, and on the left Bridalyeil Falls which drops 620 ft.

et dence. A Spanish explorer, looking across the great valley of Central California noted "a great, snowy range" which he marked on his map. But while the American Indians knew of this area, no white man is known to have entered it until 1851. Prospectors worked through the valley in the 1550 s, but apparently did not find enough to make it a mining center. By the 1860's, surveys were being undertaken, and a few brave parties of sightseers made the trip into the valley. in 1864, the valley was set up as a state recreation area. Yosemite National Park, surrounding the California area, was established in 1890, and the United States Government took, over the entire area in 1906 as a national park.

Yosemite Valley once was ocean bottom, covered by an arm of the Pacific Ocean. Geologists figure this was about 200,000,000 years ago. The land generally rose, eroded, and

waterfalls. Later glaciers came, in some places 500 feet thick; but thick as they were, they never covered such eminences as Half Dome. Even then Half Dome and El Capitan towered above the sen of ice that covered the valley floor. The ice was responsible for many of

the vertical rocks that make Yosemite so spectacular.

In Yosemite are to be found some groves of the Giant Sequoia, the oldest and biggest living things. Some of these giant trees tower almost 300 fect. They are not so tall as the Redwoods along the California Coast, but they surpass those Pacific Coast trees in girth, In the park, too, are many kinds of wild life. There are black bears, many standing as high as 40 inches at the shoulder. Visitors have to be warned constantly that these animals are dangerous. However, the grizzly bear has been practically extinct in this region many years. There are also deer, mountain lions, wildcats and coyotes, as well as smaller animals, such as ground squirrels, chipmunks, gophers and porcupines. There are many varieties of birds, and quite a collection of reptiles, of which only the rattlesnake is poisonous.



Beginners at Chinquapin Ski School try out their skis on the heavy snows in Yosemite National Park in the western state of California

then rose again. The Merced River cut the Every effort has been made to keep Yosemite valley itself; the other streams in the area is National Park as nearly natural as possible. Anyone were not able to cut so fast, thus causing those tremen who cares to can leave the road or trail and in a few dous differences of elevation that make the magnificent feet he in virgin wilderness. The United States National

Park Service provides ranger service; these men conduct auto-caravans, short nature walks, and even longer trips through the beauties of this wonderland. Nightly programs are provided at many camps. Yosemite Lodge is open all year around. Other hotels are open only in the spring, summer and autumn months. Water, garbage facilities, comfort stations and lavatories are provided. There is a charge of \$2 for entering the park.



The upper Yosemite Falls of Yosemite, one of the highest sheer falls in the world, plunges 1,430 ft. in its first drop. The lower Yosemite Falls, immediately below has a drop of 320 ft.

Here in the park is Yosemite Valley, one of the scenic wonders of North America. Around a little stretch of land about seven miles long and a mile wide are eight of the most beautiful waterfalls in the world, towering rocks that rise above the clouds, streams and scenes of grandeur. The visitor is not long left in doubt as to what awaits him. His first view of the valley is through the gateway formed by El Capitan on the left and Cathedral Rocks on the right. Everything here is

on a gigantic scale. Single rocks tower thousands of feet; streams drop in falls by like amounts; the trees are among the biggest in the world. Yosemite Valley is but a small part of Yosemite National Park. Around the valley lie other attractions; Wawona Basin, Hetch Hetchy Valley, with its dam that stores San Francisco's drinking water supply; Tuolumne Meadows, and many gorges and canyons. And towering over all is the High



Yosemite National Park in the western state of California is famous for its giant sequois

Sierra. Nor is this just a summer playground; there are winter sports here as well.

Yosemite got its name from the Yosemite tribe of American Indians, a tribe of aborigines who lived in this area. Their name means grizzly bear—but the grizzly has been extinct in this region since about 1880. The name was bestowed upon the valley by a doctor who accompanied the first white men into this country. "Yosemite" is pronounced in four syllables—"Yo-semmitt-tea," with the agent on the second syllable.—From The (Louisville) Courier-Journal Magazine, June 27, 1948.



AS STONES SPEAK—JAIPUR

By SATYA PRAKASH, M.A., Superintendent of Archaeology, Jaipur

STONES speak but they speak in symbols understood and grasped like words written in a book by those who have trained ears. Trained ears silently receive sermons and musings of the country's glorious past from stone or wood, which is but an unintelligible record to the naked eye.

Symbols in stones and wood are indicative of styles and decorations which are largely conditioned by the character of the material employed in them. So far as the age of the city of Jaipur is concerned it is not very old. It is only a little over two hundred years old. Its look is very deceptive, for the city is more gay and attractive than its age. It has been very little affected by the ravages of time so much so that even in this mechanised age artists and craftsmen of the place are continuing to work wonders in stone with age-old instruments, which are simple and materials that are easily available everywhere. It is but a wonder that they produce work of a very high quality by such insignificant means.

Japur, the city of victory as it literally means, presents a good many attractious to a foreigner. One is simply charmed to see this city of extraordinary beauty and grandeur as one moves on its broad roads and straight streets. The view of the picturesque buildings in bright pink colour is soothing to the eyes and refreshing to the mind. Numerous sights, natural and archaeological, fill one with delight. Needless to say, the city is one of the very well-known places of India. It is famous not only for its romantic past but also for its beauty and symmetry.

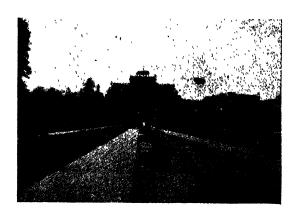
The credit for this well-designed and regular construction of the city goes to the Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh II, who may well be called the father of this city. The true glory and magnificence of the ancient cast have been allowed to be kept up by the present ruler His Highness Maharajadhiraj Sri Sawai Mansinghi Bahadur who has contributed much to the material improvements and modernisation of the city.

The city is surrounded on the north and east by rugged hills crowned with forts. At the end of the ridge overhanging the city on the north-west is the Nahargarh or "Tiger Fort." The face of the ridge is scarped and inaccessible on the south, i.e., city side, while on the north, it slopes towards Amber.

A crenelizated wall with seven gateways encloses the city which is the pleasant healthy capital of one of the most prosperous independent States of Rajputana. It is a very busy and important commercial town with large banks and other trading establishments. It is a centre of native manufactures specially those of many kinds of jewellery and of coloured printed cloths and muslins. The enamel work done is the best in India, and the

cutting and setting of garnets and other stones found in the State is an important industry. The crowded streets and markets are most lively and picturesque. The city is remarkable for the width and regularity of its main streets.

The street are laid out in rectangular blocks and each of them is divided by cross streets into six equal portions. The main streets are one hundred and eleven feet wide with paved foot-paths on both sides. The city is lighted by electric light.

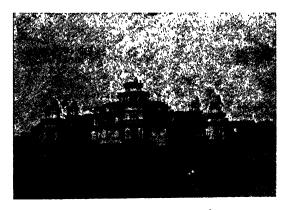


Chandra Mahal, Jaipur

The city of Jaipur is a planned city. Its founder Maharajah Jaysingh and his learned Jain assistant Vidyadhar are said to have adopted this plan from ancient treatises on the art of architecture and planning, the Sitpasastra. The general style of architecture is Indo-Saracenic. Its buildings have not been hybridized through the western influence. The old traditional Rajput style is manifest in majority of the buildings. The latticed terraces, the airy pavilions and the verandahs with their slender colonnades are enough to enchant a visitor. The uniform colour scheme running through all the buildings enhances the beauty of the city and nicknames the city of Jaipur as the 'Rose Pink City of India.'

All these attractions are for all and sundry, and the streets, as one moves on them, present a homogeneous atmosphere for all the visitors. From the high-powered cars and elephants of the nobility and the State, down to ordinary camel and oxen carts there is room for all. In spite of the dense traffic pedestrians do not find themselves inconvenienced in any way. The religious-mirded pilgrims visiting Jaipur meet their deity too on the way when they cross the main road and thorough-fare, for gods have their shrines in the middle of the road and there is usually room for a Bo tree beside the shrine.

India is a land of charity. It is an object of pride here for people to resort to acts of charity. This is manifest here on the roads and streets where regular herds of cows and bulls are seen wandering and also staying at some quarters in wait for the meals served to them at public expense at regular intervals. Langurs, peacocks, kites and pigeons too share the bounty of the State and its people and it is a sight to see pigeons hovering on the streets and waiting to be fed by some one. Peacocks are in evidence everywhere, even in crowded streets, where their presence is very pleasing to the eye, and their dance seen from some vantage ground is all the more lovely and graceful.



The Art Museum-Albert Hall

Everywhere in Jaipur State stones have played the most prominent part in the field of architecture. The latticed terraces and parapets of the houses and the verandahs with their slender colonnades are, no doubt, influenced by Persian art in the matter of construction, but the old tradition and the Rajput style of architecture have not been marred in any way. The general impression which one gets from the sight of its buildings is of harmony in style and form but there is no monotony to be found anywhere. Usually the architect and decorator is at liberty to follow his own creative impulses but he has also catered to the taste of the people whose requirements have hardly suffered any change here. The grandeur of the town is much enhanced by the sense of unity which is in its colourscheme. It is the same rosy colour of the desert at sunset—the symbol of renunciation—not of the type of an ordinary sadhu's robe but the dress of a chivalrous Raiput who, after having renounced the ordinary ties of love and weakness, rushes to the battle-field either to win laurels or to die in glory.

A glance at a plan of the walled city of Jaipur would enable one to find that about one-seventh of the area within the city walls is occupied by the vast sarhad or palace enclosure. The first and the foremost enclosure is the seven-storeyed palace, the Chandra Mahal. The whole is surrounded by a high embattled wall, built by Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh, but many of the buildings included in it are of a later date.

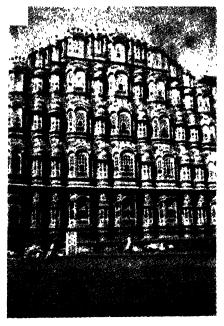
The lofty and striking character of the sevenstoreyed Chandra Mahal, the gaudily furnished modern buildings containing the apartments of the Maharaja, his courtiers and the queen and their retinue, the milkwhite structure of the Diwan-i-khas, the elaborately planned and constructed observatory, the beautifully designed and executed buildings of white and other kinds of stones in the shape of Mubarak Mahal, the fantastic, elaborately designed and stucco-decorated buildings of Hawa Mahal, the extensive and massive structure of the Albert Hall and Museum are sufficient to present an onlooker some of the wonders of the city of Jaipur wrought in stone. This building of Hawa Mahal, to be more precise, is of a singularly vivid rose-colour, rising in the form of a pryamid bristling with a nine-storeyed facade, composed of a hundred bell-turrets and sixty-five projecting windows adorned with colonnades and balcomes pierced in open work with countless flowers cut out in stone. The palace is a mere mask of stucco, and it is more fantastic than beautiful. The structure is not of so high an order as that of the Chandra Mahal.

The houses on its different sides in the main city with small windows and filled in with slabs of perforated stone are beautiful-looking. The mud walls are made to look like stone-houses and are painted pink. This type of beauty is perhaps responsible for the remark from the pen of a famous writer, "Jaipur is the India of novels and the opera, fairy-like and incredible." But this is not all. The stone buildings of the place here present in them certain traces of the past, which find themselves expressed in style and decoration. The facade of the building, Hawa Mahal, is formed into a broad front consisting of several storeys of polygonal windows with curved roofs and cupolas. The tiny flags on its small cupolas and roofs give it a great charm and make it a nice blend of Indo-Saracenic style of structure. The frontal side of this elaborate construction is based on walls which are hardly six inches in breadth, but its different parts are very beautifully arranged. The distinguishing mark of this building as also of other heavy structures is that each storey finds itself more and more elevated over the flanks till at last the big central pavilion of the topmost storey assumes the form of a mountain peak over the small lateral forms.

The State palaces of Jaipur, though not very ancient, provide great attraction, and present in them a good specimen of art. In the beautiful building, Mubarak Mahal, Jaipur marble is at its best. Other local stones have shared the credit of being nicely fitted in them so as to turn the building into a delightful example of Hindu architecture embellished as it is with artistically carved screens, balconies, arches and brackets.

As we pass on we come to a beautifully carved marble gate fitted with brass doors. This is also a good specimen of local brass work of art. On either side of

this gate are found fine frescoes, depicting Hindu gods in the foreground and places of interest in Jaipur in the background. It is the entrance to the Palace within. The beauty of both the Halls—Diwan-i-Khas and Diwan-i-Am—is delightfully charming. The former is a big hall open on all sides and protected against light and heat by nice red cotton-stuffed curtains. The hall is painted with colours and lighted with crystal chandeliers. The latter is decorated with delicate colours on ivory ground, which has given the edifice a very delightful appearance. There are soft tints on an ivory ground of the ceiling, columns and walls to produce a very cool and invigorating effect on the minds of the visitors.

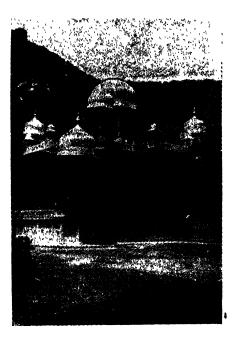


Hawa Mahal, Jaipur

The valuable and fascinating stones employed in the buildings tell their story in detail when one studies them rather closely. We learn from them that many of these stones are quarried in Jaipur territory. A little sandstone comes from Hindaun near the Bharatpur and Karauli border; valuable marbles are obtained from the quarries of Bussi and Raiabo in the northwest; enormous slabs of mica schist used in roofs have come here from the hill of Bankri close to the town of Dauss.

Jaipur is essentially a land of stone and stonecarvers, and stone-buildings predominate here in their best, but this does not mean that the use of wood, the basic material for work in primitive India, is ignored here. Several rich businessmen have employed wood also in their buildings to advantage. Since good durable wood was scarce, they imported it from distant places and had it carved into door-frames, windows and balconies. Wonderful old traditional designs have thus been preserved. Thus, in some of the buildings in the city cut-timbers have afforded opportunities for the development of that exuberant surface decoration in which the genius of India has excelled.

To the east of the Chandra Mahal is the famous Observatory, the largest of the five built by the celebrated Royal Astronomer Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh at Benares, Mathura, Delhi, Jaipur and Ujjain. It is not under cover, but is an open courtyard full of curious and fantastic instruments invented and designed by him. It was constructed in the years between 1718-1734 A.D. The principal instruments are, first on the west, the two circular Rama Yantras for reading altitudes and azimuths with twelve horizontal sectors of stone



Cenotaph at Gettore

radiating from a round vertical rod; then to the east of these the twelve Rashi-valayas for determining celestial latitudes and longitudes and next, the great Samrat Yantra, or Gnomon, 90 ft. high, situated between two quadrants with sextants in a chamber outside them. The gnomon's shadow thrown by the sun touches the west quadrant at 6 a.m., gradually descends (this at the rate of 13 ft. per hour) till noon and finally ascends the east quadrant. To the north of it is a Dakshina Bhitti Yantra or meridional wall, near which is a large raised platform known as Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh's seal and near it are two brass circles, one of which is a map of the celestial sphere. Between these and the Rama Yantra are a number of other instruments known as the Kranti Yantra, the Kapali, the Chakra Yantra, the last being a graduated brass circle corresponding to the modern equatorial.

Near the Observatory, to the south-west of it, are

the Royal stables, built round large courtyards and beyond them towards the east is the Hall of the Winds—the Hawa Mahal. This is a fantastic and elaborate building and overlooks one of the chief streets of the city. It was built by Maharaja Sawai Madhosingh I.



Galta, Jaipur

In the central court of the palace are the Clock Tower and the Armoury. Close to it is situated the old Record Office or the Pothikhana--a place where the rare paintings and records are preserved. This palace library of ancient manuscripts is housed in a pavilion in the garden and contains great treasures the most famous and the most priceless of which is the illustrated translation from Sanskrit into Persian of the Mahabharata by Abul Fazl. An amazing collection of carpets (some of which date back to the times of Jehangir and Sahjehan and are almost worth their weight in gold) are housed in this pavilion.

To the west of the capital and beyond its walls is a Westermsed modern town in the making. This suburb has a vast new royal palace with its beautiful and well-planned gardens which are considered to be the finest in India. The barracks of the Sawai Man Guard are very much imposing. The Lady Willingdon Hospital and Maharaja College are on the same imposing scale. The new town has streets

same imposing scale. The new town has streets A s would enal which are elegant in style and more modern would enal

area within or palace of the statue of Lord Mayo in these gardens is the sever soological in character and surround the Maharaja S, better known as Albert Hall. It contains included in the Hall and a beautiful museum—an included in the Kensington—beautifully housed.

The Albert Hall is a very imposing structure. It is also in Indo-Persian style with certain modifications that suit modern times. Nevertheless, the building in the details of its stone carvings presents in them vivid and careful reproduction of the decorative art displayed in the famous historical buildings of Rajputana, Delhi, and Fatepur Sikri. The large portico is adorned with careful reproductions in distemper of contemporary portraits of the Maharajas of Jaipur from 1503 A.D. to 1922 A.D. which remind one easily of the processes through which the work of fresco and wall-paintings had to go through in ancient India. The copies of well-known pictures from China, Japan, Assyria, Chaldea and Persepolis as well as examples of ancient Egyptian and Ajanta Art give us an idea of the skill of brush demonstrated by artists of the different parts of the world.

The Albert Hall contains in it a very old Persian carpet beautifully designed and worked and also some Indian carpets finished on Persian pattern. The paintings representing the different notes of Indian anusic through visual aids are both instructive and interesting. The Museum collections, divided as they are under four heads--Economic, Educational, Industrial and Art, present in them a vast treasure of modern works of art, industry and also of antiquities from every part of India and outside, These collections are very complete and highly interesting Besides the display of foreign and Indian industrial arts in the museum, there are also splendid and beautiful models depicting all forms of animal life (invertebrata and vertebrata), antediluvian animals, comparative anatomy and physiology. Here are also models to illustrate botany and geology There are numerous collections of clay figures to illustrate local industries in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. A series of figures in clay present studies in life, such as Hindu ascetics and persons holding different occupations.

Of other things worth seeing in the city of Jaipur is the Maharaja's Public Library, which is near the Tripolia and is a treasure of knowledge in several ways. On the Kishan Pole Bazar Road is situated the School of Art, a handsome modern building, which holds technical and industrial classes for teaching and reviving various branches of native artistic industry—such as metal and enamel work, embroidery, weaving, etc. One can also purchase from here at moderate price any product of the school boys, if it appeals to him.

The cenotaphs of the Maharajas at Gettore situated just outside the north-east city wall, the Museum of Archaeology at the Purana Ghat and the Sun Temple at Galta are also places of great attractions for a visitor from outside.

Though the architecture in Jaipur city shows traces of Persian art in it, it need not be stated that it shows marked deterioration when we compare it with that of Amber. Here architects have affected a graceful compromise between the

Hindu and Mohammedan styles by combining Persian domes with Bengali bent-cornices and Hindu cclumns. Excellent examples of this pretty style, as used for both civic and religious buildings, are to be seen here. The existence of a number of Brahmanical and Jaina styles in the country helped a good deal in the fusion of different styles and thus several threads of earlier art tradition appear to combine themselves in Jaipur stone-buildings. Strictly speaking. architecture from the 15th century to the present day is a continuous growth of extraordinary grandeur and beauty, in which is to be seen the original type, of which the Moghul buildings of the 16th and 17th centuries were mere imitations and Moslem adaptations. Thus, Jaipur buildings are Hindu and Raiput in

character influenced by Muslim contemporary decorative tradition which is to be expected because of the Persian and other west-Asiatic influences.

It is interesting to note that we find references in old treatises of Indian architecture of a decorative style known as Manisila Karma or Manibhumika Karma. It appears that 17th century Renaissance did revive this ancient art,

Jaipur, in short, exhibits in perfection the plans of its designer and founder Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh II, who, to repeat the remarks of Abul Fazl with regard to Akbar, dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay. In other words, it is a reflex of the mind of the great Maharaja.

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ROAD TRANSPORT IN BRITAIN From Chariot to Motor Car

By RALPH STRAUS

In the last war Britain's war effort was immensely helped by her communications. The highroads between her lag cities compare with any in the world while the minor roads which link villages equal the principal thoroughfares, both in the smoothness of their surface and the skill with which they have been drained.

The Romans were Britain's first roadmakers, and the lines of the highways which they drove through the forests can still be followed quite easily.

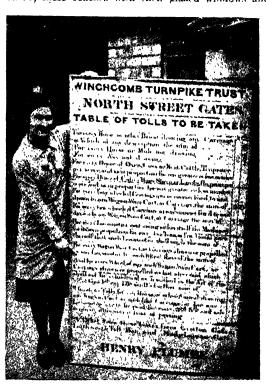
As one crosses England today along wide, white stretches of road—some of the finest in the world—it is hard to conjure up the countryside of two thousand years ago.

It was strangely wild—thick forest and scrub, with only the roughest tracks meandering through. Yet, though a man rarely ventured far away from his own hamlet, unless on horseback, you would have seen a primitive form of cart on the tracks and, in time of war, the far-famed British chariot.

The British people may not have been the actual inventors of this engine of war, but they adapted and improved it. After the Romans had shown them what roadmaking could mean, a long, four-wheeled vehicle with a hooped body was evolved which was certainly British in its origin. In spite of a furnishing of thick tapestries it must have been an uncomfortable carriage.

The roads throughout the Middle ages and for long afterwards, remained appallingly bad. Some of the monks built serviceable bridges and repaired the worst ruts, but complaints about the "wikked wayes" did not grow less. It was not so much the state of the roads as the fear of being considered effeminate that retarded innovation in carriage building. This form of travel might be all very well for the women and children, but for a man to permit himself to be carried in a box was not to be thought of.

The next step forwards was a body swing on leather braces, and by 1670 this was in general use. Even so, these coaches with their glazed windows and



This eighteenth century road tariff is an amusing reminder of the vanished state of things

gaily-painted panels were incapable of any speed. Very soon a new rival was making its appearance: the man-drawn litter, or sedan-chair. All this while little had been done to improve the roads. A nobleman setting out from his northern eastle to attend Parliament might take three weeks to reach London—excellent for the inn-keepers with whom he had to lodge each night, but a source of urritation to everybody else.



This view of England's old Roman highway shows the straight determined direction which Roman engineers gave to their road-building

However, transport was increasing rapidly, and while the first public carriages were plying for hire in the streets of London, the mails were being despatched by huge stagecoaches. Travelling post was introduced from France, and the post-chaise made its appearance. The driver (postilion) was mounted, both horse and postilion being changed as often as was necessary. And with the lofty gigs and sometimes fantastic traps which the "sparks" of the day fashionable delighted to use, a touch of new gaiety was added to the countryside.

The problem of the roads became more acute when farmers found it necessary to use heavier carts to bring their goods to town. The resulting damage led to many experiments, and for years there was waged a fierce Battle of the Wheels, one faction advocating comparatively small, broad

wheels (or even rollers), the other pinning its faith to lighter carts with large, slender wheels.

New stringent laws were passed and tolls were instituted to pay for repairs, but there was little improvement At the end of the eighteenth century there came, however, an Ayrshire magistrate with revolutionary ideas, John Loudon McAdam.

McAdam's innovation in roadmaking was a double one. For the unsatisfactory gravel he substituted a thin layer of stone broken into small pieces, all roughly the same size. These pieces, gradually consolidated by the traffic, would ultimately produce a smooth surface More important was his idea of rais-

ing the road level above that of the land adjoining, and constructing drains on either side. His work, carried out over years in various parts of the country, surpassed expectations, and by 1825 macadamisation was general throughout Britain.

Real roads now connected the principal towns. There was a speeding-up of the mails. Travelling became safer and even reasonably comfortable.

And then an entirely new method of transport came to transform the whole countryside and give new impetus to commerce. In the face of the fiercest opposition—far greater than that which was to greet the coming of the motor-car—the "iron-horse," or steam engine, appeared in 1825.

Landlord and farmer raised their voices against this "stinking iniquity"; the prophets spoke warningly of the



These sweeping highways, England's later-day achievement, with their strips of grass and plantations of trees, are among the finest in the world

grave danger to human life should railroad-travel be put within reach of the common people. But once it was realised that accidents were comparatively rare and investors in railroad stock were rewarded for their boldness, opposition died, to give place to a mad cra of railroadomania. If all the projected railroad companies had been able to carry out their proposals,

there would hardly have been an acre in all England without its network of "lines."

As a result the main country-roads saw less traffic. Many a once-popular house of call became a village inn with empty stables. Road repairs were neglected, and milestones and sign-posts became defaced.

Meanwhile, traffic in the towns was also being transformed. Lighter carriages were built; landau, brougham, hansom, and that ugly, useful four-wheeler were crowding the streets. In 1829, too, a coachbuilder, George Shillibeer, astonished Londoners with the first omnibus, while more than one inventor produced a steam-carriage. Twenty years later, G. F. Train, an American adventurer, introduced the tram into England.

Down to the nineties the average townsman knew little of his country's roads. Had he ventured on their exploration, he would have found little to admire. True, the coming of the bicycle, at first the lofty "penny-farthing" and subsequently the more convenient "safety," sent him into the country. But dust was a problem nobody attempted to conquer. At the

beginning of the twentieth century few people would have thought that road transport was on the eve of its greatest forward step.

The horseless carriage had come to stay. Speedily it turned itself into the rubber-tyred motor-car. As the engineers produced one improvement after another, pioneers again turned their attention to the roads. Tarred wood had been tried as a road-surface in the towns

But the country? Innumerable experiments were made, but the dust showed small inclination to disappear. And then, almost overnight, it seemed, the metalled road we know today appeared and the motorcar entered into serious competition with the train.

The first world war showed the need for wider, straighter, smoother roads. We had reached the age of concrete. The lesson which the old Romans had given us was re-learnt. Great by-passes were designed, along which the heaviest lorries could travel without causing damage, and today Britain might boast, if she chose to, of some of the finest highroads and assuredly the best bye-roads in the world.

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HEINRICH HEINE The Poet and the Rebel

By Dr. ANITA KASHYAP

HEINRICH HEINE, the great German lyrist, whose works were forbidden in Germany during the 12 years of Nazi rule, has become very popular again in Europe to-day.

Born in Dusseldorf in 1791, he is a true representative of the era of romanticism which dates roughly from the Battle of Waterloo till the middle thirties of the 19th century. After Napoleon had been banished, reaction set in in the whole of Europe and especially in Germany. The German princes started a reactionary policy with the aim of suppressing all democratic tendencies.

The literary spirit of that time was opposed to what we call to-day realism. The men of poetic impulse found their inspiration in the far away past, in distant lands, in the realm of the supernatural. The present was felt to be vulgar and depressing, poetry therefore was not to be an expression of the time but a relief and a flight from reality. The German poets of that time were escapists—though the word did not yet exist.

Heine, the most popular among them, on whose shoulder, as Matthew Arnold puts it, "the largest part of Goethe's mantle fell," was different from them. He was a romantic poet alright as far as his emotions were concerned but intellectually he was a rationalist and an intelligent and sharp critic. Whereas the other poets of this period do not reveal any discontent with life or revolt against established ideas in their verses, Heine was a true heir of the revolution. His life and a good part of his work show him as a fighter against reaction,

against narrowness and stupidity. His famous Travelpictures show not only unusual wit but an unheard-of
audacity with which he attacks the bigwigs and solemnities of his time and pokes fun at German parochiality and
prejudice. Nothing so wicked and at the same time so
amusing had been written before in the German language.

It is astonishing how Heine, a hundred years ago, foresaw the ultimate results of that reactionary militaristic fanatism which made Germany the corse of Europe. One of the passages in the first volume of his *Literary History* written in 1834 reads like a prediction of the anti-rationalistic paganism and the war-mad megalomania of Hitler's Reich. For instance, the following lines:

"The philosopher of nature will be terrible, because he will appear in alliance with the primitive powers of Nature, able to evoke the demoniac energies of old Germanic Pantheism—doing which there will awake in him that battle-madness which we find among the ancient teutonic races, who fought neither to kill nor conquer but for the very love of fighting itself. It is the fairest merit of Christianity that it somewhat mitigated that brutal German "gaudium certaminis" or joy in battle, but it could not destroy it. And should that subduing taliaman, the Cross, break, then will come crashing and roaring forth the wild madness of the old champions, the insane Barserker rage of which the Northern poets say and sing. That taliaman is brittle and the day will come when it will pitifully break."

No wonder that the reactionary Government, of the German Bund did not like Heine, especially after he had joined the "Young Cermany" party whose aim it was to establish, in the Cerman states, and restore the principles of the great French Revolution. Life became increasingly difficult for Heine in Germany. When in 1830 the news of the July revolution in the streets of Paris reached him, he hailed it as the beginning of a new era of freedom and in 1831 he finally said farewell to his fatherland to settle for ever in France.

The first few years there were the happiest in his life. He was at once acknowledged by the literary clite of France and lived for the first time in a congenial atmos phere. He carned his living for some time as correspondent of German newspapers. In 1839, however, the Government of the German Bund forbade the publication of any writings by the members of the "Young Germany" party and the name of Heine was the first on the list, As Heine's sources of income were greatly curtailed by this measure, the French Government, realising that a man of genius had found refuge in its capital, granted him a small annual support from a fund "for the benefit of political refugees." In 1811 Heine married a Frenchwoman. A few year ater the first attacks of the terrible spinal disease appeared, which forced him for eight yearstill his death in 1856 on his "mattress grave" as he has called it. He bore the years of suffering with great fortitude and with his never-failing sense of humour and irony. Having read all the books which dealt with his malady he said once:

"This reading will qualify me to give lectures in heaven on the ignorance of doctors on earth about diseases of the spinal marrow."

These years of suffering which left his intellect clear and vivacious as ever brought forth the less in his nature. His genius grew more and more spiritual. The lyrics of his last books Romanzero and Latest Poems surpass in sincerity anything he had written before.

Though the proce writings of Heine make a most inspiring reading even to-day, because of the clearness of their analysis and the accuracy of their foresight, it is only as a romantic poet that Heine has become so very popular all over the world and his fame rests mainly on his Book of Songs whic is a rich treasure of poetry. Here we find an abundant variety of subject and style, a great depth of feeling, often mixed with a subtile sense of irony and an art of expression unparallehed in German literature so far. Like the other poets of the Romantic era, Heine had learnt from Goethe, that the greatest poetic effects can be produced by the simplest of means. Here is an example which also in its English translation has kept its charm:

E'en as a lovely flower
So fair, so pure thou art,
I gazo on thee and sadness
Comes stealing o'er my heart.
My hands I fain had folded
Upon thy soft, brown hair

Praying that God may keep thee.

Many of his poems have been put into music by Schubert, Schumann, Mendelsohn and other famous composers and have become popular songs which were sung all over Germany, not only in concert halls, but in schools and colleges, in homes and on the streets, by the farmers on the fields and the shippers on the rivers. "On the Wings of Song," "The Three Grenadiers" and "The Lorelcy" are the best known among them. German mothers sang these songs to their children often not knowing who the author of these simple and beautiful verses was, whose words were so familiar to them. Heine had reached the highest place a poet can reach: his poems had become part of the nation's heritage.

This was particularly the case with the "Loreley" song which every child knew. It is the story of the fair enchantress who sits on the rock at the Rhine combing her golden hair and who sings so lovely that the boatsman who gazes at her, does not heed the waves and finds his death in the river. If you went on the Rhine by boat or steamer, the music on board be it an orchestra or single concertina—would start playing this song as soon as the Loreles Rock came in sight and everybody would join in the song and feel his heart stirred by the simple beautiful rhymes which express so perfectly and with true sentiment the atmosphere of an evening on the Rhine.

For more than a hundred years Heine was acknowledged as the most popular and with the exception of Goethe as the greatest German lyrical poet. Then came Hitler and the dark ages dawned over Germany. One of the first things Dr. Goebbels, the new master of German culture did, was to organize huge bonfires of all so called "undesirable" literature, which was forbidden in Germany. Heine's works were burnt together with those of Karl Marx and Freud and Einstein, with Zola and Proust and Thomas Mann, with H. G. Wells and Jack London and Upton Sinclair and tens of thousands of other books which obedient students brought from the great libraries at Goebbels' bidding.

The Nazis had two reasons for burning Heine's works. He had been a Jew—though professing the Christian religion—and he had been a fighter for freedom and liberalism. All over Germany monuments and statues of Heine were destroyed, busts and pictures removed from schools and Universities and public places. His works were no more to be mentioned, German students were no more to be taught what one of the greatest German minds had given to the world. Heine, who already during his lifetime had been forced to live cutside Germany, was driven out again.

He has come back now, because Europe is line. Not yet free from want and fear, but at least free to enjoy again those treasures of her culture which Hitler tried to destroy and of which the poetry of Heisrich Heine is one of its most precious flowers.



 Λ general view of the Assembly Chamber in the converted theatre of the Pakis de Chaillot, Paris



Mr. George C. Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States, addressing the General Assembly of United Nations



Mr. George C. Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States (left), with Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Chief Delegate from India to the Assembly of United Nations



Sir Benegal Narasinga Rau, India, addressing the one hundred and forty-sixth plenary meeting of the General Assembly of United Nations

PROGRESS AS THE CONCEPT OF CHANGE

BI SWAMI PRAJNANANANDA

Processes connotes the concept of motion. The theory of progress explains the process of change, evolution or involution, through gradual movements, upwards in downwards. The course of change moves from one point to another either in a straight line, in a circular or spiral way. It appears in successions or series as a flux of connected or discounceted fragments, as a first current of a inverse to changing frame of a lite or is a flying patch of clouds. It emerges as before or as a quality totally new in form of airs, and represents the past in the garb of the it.

the wheel or progress rotates from the beginningpart and will continue to do so through the endcternaty. There is no crying half to the march
progress. There is no rest in this ever recurring
non until it tulfils its imission, until it comes
to its casual state. Even this vast universe in
we live, more and have our being, has been
if out through the gradual process of evolution
grids the gradual shaping out of this universe.
Althodananda mentions

The basic material of the weeld goes through arious phases of transformations, such as liquid, out and solid by one a planet of a cosmic body occomes inhabitate, either for vegetables of animals A large mass of the vegetable substance, or what ever it may be called passes through the gaseoustate, liquid state, solid state, as it is cooled, it becomes the home of various planets and aring is of different kinds. This process may take nullions of years and then, in course of time, the solid body begins to dissolve and gradually evolves into its original nebulous material, or ethereal substance Ascending through the process of evolution, matter gradually passes from one form to another until original life is possible.

The process of progress may be called Nature or Prakriti though practically it forms the category of Nature as a whole The function of Nature is to weave e-ernally the net of events of matter and spirit But historical development is the record of the annals of living beings—their races, their cultures, their someties, their births and deaths, ups and downs, and thus it makes a history of the world in its organic wholeness.

Dynamicism belongs, in reality, to the very stuff of Nature. It may be called an evolving preciseal history that knows development in a dialectical process. Well has it been said by Sir Brajendranath Seal, the greatest Indian savant, that the historical dialectical change does not know the stamp of finality on any particular stage in its way of development, but is left to follow freely its own course. But it is a fact that an evolution is always

Risadunaudes Schiude of Federic Towards Religion 1984.

A Cig Peni, B. M. Seni: Heer Seeings in Cristolem (1908), p. 14.

preceded by an involution growth is always followed by decay, and the repeated occurrences of the two opposites elette a cycle in the bosom of eternity. some say that this series of cause and consequence is the prime actor in the pricess of progress They make in eternal progression or marching with in ever-recurring curle that rotates and does not know how to stop. But this cannot be possible. It may be a fact in the world of imagination and fancy, but in the pragmatic field of experience, this seems to be an impossibility Because what has a beginning, has also an end The initial is foll wed by the final. When a ball rolls it begins its start from a point and marches forward until it reaches the terminus Every movement proceeds with a motive behind it, it can never be blind and aimless. It cannot iun or rotate eternally without iny ultimate aim or goal Every progression has, therefore, a beginning and an and, and it moves gradually towards a goal as its finality.

Progress or development can generally be divided into two main heads (1) It appears without producing any qualitative and quantitative changes, and (2) it appears as an emergent evolution of a different new element with qualitative and quantitative changes The former is called sadrisha-parinama and the latter, cusadrisha-parmama in Indian philosophy In adrishaparmama the change goes with repeated forms without disturbing the primal quality and quantity, where is in usudnsha-parmana the change appears in a quite new form Kanada, the author of the lashenka philosophy, Gautama, the exponent of the Nyaya philosophy and the Tantrikas in the East, and Llyod Morgan, S Alexander, Marx, Engels and others in the West, are the exponents of visadrisha-parinama Kapila, the author of the Samkhya philosophy and the Vedantists in the East, and Bergson, Croce, Gentile, Clifford and others in the West, maintain the theory of sadnsha-paranama The Greek philosophers Empedocles and Heraclitus believed in the theory of visadnisha-pannama, whereas the Ionians, Plato and Aristotle maintained the theory of sadrisha-parinama Empedocles put forward the theory that the existing universe came into being through the gradual process of evolution Heraclitus said that none can take both twice in the same nver, and so the world-appearance is a "continual and all-pervading change." Plato like Ionians believed the progress to be constant or continuous He maintained that world of nature such is process, growth, change' It is a spontaneous movement. It moves by itself and it is a self-causing and self-existing process. Aristotle called this pregress a movement as a process or a development, and not an evolution. Because for Aristotle the kinds of change and of structure", says Prof Collingwood "exhibited in the world of Lature from an eternal repertory and the items in the repertory are related logically, not temporally, among themselves."

It has been mentioned that the Nyaya-Vaishesika schools are the upholders of visadrisha-parinama. And in defence of their theory they say that when milk is changed into curd, the latter becomes entirely a new substance with its new characteristic ingredients. But the Samkhya-Vedanta schools refute the arguments the Nyaya-Vaishesika schools in favour of its theory of sadrisha-parinama. They say that though different kinds of ornaments are made up of gold, yet the gold-element remains the constant factor in the midst of all changes in its forms. The theory of visadrisha-parinama is also known as the production theory or parinamavada that is reduced to the doctrine of dualism, and sadrisha-paranana is known as the theory of superimposition or vivartavada reducable to the doctrine of monism or non-dualism.

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Well has it been said by Prof. Joad that

The progress which "we know as evolution advances by increasing the size, not of the cell or of the individual, but of the unit of organization. Evolution, in fact, is a process by which ever more numerous and diverse units are integrated into ever richer and more comprehensive wholes."

It has already been said that progress or development cannot be an aimless marching. It moves to reach a definite end or destination. The human life is also meaningful and purposive. A purpose implies an inclination to reach a definite goal and that is realized in the way of progress. Life "is conceived initially as a mere blind thirst of impulsion, a willto-live as Schopenhauer calls its expressing itself in a never-ending stream of impulses and desires." In fact, the idea of purposiveness emerges "as one of the qualities that life acquires in the process of its own evolution" and the height of hope and aspiration flash on the mental horizon as it discovers the path to further upward progress. Those rays of hope and aspirations are the Schopenhauer's "first dim light of dawn" that shares "the name of sunlight with the rays of full midday". Swami Abhedananda also says that in the process of gradual evolution in man's life there must be "some definite purpose at each step; it does not evolve blindly as some think, but gain some definite object to fulfil the desire that has existed potentially in that particle of life from beginningless past."

Everything in this world represents, as it were, a stage in progress or development. The concept of progress presupposes the idea of growth. For example, a man has developed from an amoeba that

is a compound of the protoplasms of homogeneous character. A man is simply an organism, that evolves er develops gradually from the lower to the higher stages. This growth from the lower to the higher structure, or from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, is nothing but an ever-increasing complexity and diversity in the character of the actions that take place in the process of evolution. Or it can be said that evolution "not only exhibits a constant process of differentiation and a constant increase in the diversity of parts and organs, but there goes along with this what might be called a process of unification whereby the parts are brought into ever closer and more essential relation to one another." So an evolution does not only mean a mere assemblege of component parts in the structure, but also "a real and organic whole", and that is formed by the gradual process of progress or development with necessary adjustment and readjustment according to the varying situations in the life-process.

Prof. Radhakrishnan says that

"There is real temptation, genuine struggle-involved in every transcendence of the natural man. * * This transcendence is a phenomenon common to all progress. From the pursuit of its prey by the amoeba to the spritual struggles of the striving soul, we have a continuously graded series of purposive efforts"

He argues further that

A man "is never satisfied with mere acceptance or adjustment. There is an urge in the breast that makes him go forward and upward. The ultimate aim of life is not simply to maintain but to elevate the plane. The individual desires to live more and still more and surpass himself in order to reach plentitude of living."

Truly speaking, hunger is life as it is the chief factor in the struggle for existence. Swami Abhedananda says that satisfaction is death and dissatisfaction is life. He means to say that when the word satisfaction is used in a very high sense it denotes perfection or the achievement of the highest good. But, found in the ordinary usage, it signifies a suicidical halt in the way of aspiration in a life, and that means the fulfilment of all the further desires. Ordinarily such satisfaction of desires kills the spur to further advance. Viewed in this light, satisfaction carries with it the germs of death, dissatisfaction serves as the driving impulse to progress whose course is finished with the attainment of moksha or the highest apperception of the Absolute.

All progress, says Prof. Radhakrishnan, is due to rebels. Rebellious attitude is the logical outcome of one's deep-scated discontent. Discontent in its turn gives momentum to life and its activities. So adventure in the form of creative activity is necessary in every human life as it promises the genuine security of bringing immortal perfection to mortal man. Inactivity in higher life is adorable, because it

S. Gl. Prol. R. G. Collingwood: The Idea of Nature (1945), p. 82 s

^{4.} Vide Prof. C. E. M. Jond: The Philosophy of Federal Union, pp. 12-13.

^{5.} Cf. Prof. C. E. M. Joed: Guide to Modern Thought, p. 138.
6. Vide Swami Abhodenands: Attitude of Vadente Towards Meligion (1967), p. 31.

^{7.} Vide J. E. Creighton: An Introductory Logic (1966), p. 576.

^{8.} Vide Prof. Redhakrishnan: Kelki (1934), pp. 63-68.

^{9.} Ibid, p. 66.

signifies the self-resignation to the cosmic win. Buinactivity in ordinary life means idleness that indelges the mind and body to sink in the dark grave of despair and pitiable loss. Activity brings with it the inspiration and enthusiasm in every sphere of life. Activity brings in return a purposive and meaningful progress that bestows the blessings of permanent freedom.

"Mere acceptance without adventure, mere adjustment without alteration" says, Prof. Radhakrishnan, "may mean perfection of a kind, peace of a sort, but it is not the perfection of a human being or the peace of a spiritual nature."

Peace of the blessed spiritual nature breathes the holy atmosphere of serene calmness that leads to Godrealization. God-realization is the final goal of all human progress. Man alone enjoys the peaceful bliss of Immortality. Man "alone has the surest conquest on the conflict between what he is and what he can be. He is distinguished from other creatures by his seeking after a rule of life, a principle of progress." Again it should be remembered that the epithet "man is choicest son of God" does not meau that man of all kinds or man of all grades will achieve the bliss of Immortality, but it signifies that he is only chosen to get perfection, who rises on the crest of progress, who has finished his toilsome journey of the deceitful world, and who is willing to correct his error or false knowledge that chains him and deludes him in the world of change.

The world of endless becoming cannot stand as static. It is ever dynamic. It is an ever-changing actuality like a flux or a flowing flame. It creates the present, past and future." It marches onward through its passing phases and thus makes an eternal chain of changes. Change is its life, and change constitutes its stuff. So, with the changes eternal, the world evolves with its races, peoples, cultures, societies, civilizations, philosophies, religions, arts, and literatures that build a history of the world. The German sociologist-philosopher Spengler's remarkable hypothesis lends also the similar conclusion. Spengler's thesis submits that

"Races and cultures are units which undergo a rhythmically ordered sequence of birth, growth, decline, and decay * *. In the past, perhaps, regional civilizations succeeded one another or passed through the stages of infancy, youth, maturity and old age, and when they decayed, they left their inheritance to the younger ones which sprang up after them."

Impulse to progress lies at the very heart of creation. It is the vital force in the cosmic order. From the amoeba to man there are innumerable changes and developments, and through them the

human society with its immense wealth and beauty marches onward towards its ideal persection. The human society is not a steel-framed (all that can defy growth or expansion. It has an adventurous history of progressive events and incidents. It is mobile and ever-shifting. It marches with its aims and objects. Its present merges into the depth of the past and the future appears in the hollow of the past. The cycle of present, past and future builds the immense structure of eternity. The dynamic dance of Nataraja goes on all the time without cessation. Everything in this world will pass, nothing will remain as static except the immutable transcendent Reality. This present civilization and culture delude us with their pseudo-permanency, will also be merged into a newly shaping future, and that future ones will reappear in a new aspect. The progress thus moves with its phases upward and downward upon the breast of the undying Time or Mahakala. To describe this ceaseless change of the world in the words of Prof. Radhakrishnan:

"The world is easting off its old garments. Standards, aims, and institutions which are gradually accepted even a generation ago, are now challenged and changing. Old motives are weakening and new forces are springing up. Anyone who has an insight into the mind of the age, is vividly conscious of its restlessness and uncertainty, its dissatisfaction with the existing economic and social conditions and its yearnings for the new order which is not yet realized."

The changing or shifting phase is thus the nature and stuff of progress. All progress involves the complexity of potentiality and actuality, and potentiality, says Prof. Collingwood, "is the seat of a nexus in virtue of which it is forcing its way towards actuality." This actuality is another form of the evolutionary progress. Aldous Huxley also raises the question: whether this evolutionary progress can be regarded as genuine. He says that "lower forms of life posits more or less unchanged; but among the higher forms there has been a definite trend towards greater." So he admits that the evolutionary progress can be divided into two heads: "general, all-round progress and one-sided progress in a particular direction." The last one leads, he says, "to specialization, and the first one being one-sided makes it impossible for itself to achieve generalized form."14

But whatever may be the phases and volumes of progress, it is an undeniable fact that progress always expresses the idea of change. This change is conscious and continuous and it knows the finality as its end. It moves towards eternity with an impatient longing and urge to complete and not to continue its marching all through the ages. It will reach its goal where there will be no marching, no change and no concept of dynamicity. Then it completes its journey in the final analysis of perfection which is the permanent solace and peace.

^{10.} Cf. Prof. Radhakrishnan.

^{11.} Oswald Spengler defines present, past and future thus: 'The possible is called the Future and actualized the Past. The actualizing steelf, the centre-of-gravity and centre-of-meaning of life, we call the Present,'—Cf. The Decline of the West (1946), Vol. I, p. 54.

^{12.} Cf. Kelki (1954), p. 10.

^{13.} Ibid. p. 7.

^{14.} Cf. Aldous Huxley: Ends and Means (1946), pp. 262-266.

INDIA'S LABOUR AT THE CROSS-ROADS

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S.

The most disturbing features of post-freedom life in India are continued labour unrest and increasing prices of necessities. Our statesmen, public men and press are alive to the problem, and are trying to ameliorate the condition of our labourers; but still they go on on strikes; industrial disputes are of daily occurrence. The number of working days lost in the last few years is as follows:

| Year . | Nc | o. of w | orking d <mark>ay</mark> s lo | 8ŧ |
|--------|---------|---------|-------------------------------|----|
| 1939 | • • | | 49,92,795 | |
| 1941 | • • | | 30,30,503 | |
| 1943 | •• | | 23,42,289 | |
| 1945 | | | 40,54,499 | |
| 1946 | | | 1,29,17,762 | |
| 1947 | | | 1,65,44,666 | |

Are they genuine expressions of their grievances? Or are they being led by some foreign-controlled forces of evil out to embarrass our infant State.

The Central Government is putting more and more emphasis on the industrial development and production of wealth with the motto "Produce, or Perish." They are tackling and they are out to tackle Sir William Beveridge's "five evil Giants affecting Labour," Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Unemployment. Apart from the administrative actions, and changes in rules, the legislative output in regard to labour is enormous. To give a statistical idea, between 1858, when the Queen assumed the direct Government of India, and the beginning of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921, there were eight central legislations affecting labour, between 1921 and 1937 there were 37 such Acts, since 1937 there were, up to the end of 1947, 41 such Acts; this year they have already passed 7 or 8 Acts.

Since the new set-up on the 2nd September, 1946, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed the Vice-President of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the Labour Department, or Labour Ministry, under Sri Jagjivan Ram has drawn up a five-year programme of legislative and administrative measures to be undertaken by the Central Government for the amelioration of labour conditions in India. The programme is not a mere executive fiat, it was discussed and approved of at conferences with Provincial Labour Ministers, States' Ministers, and of representatives of employers' and workers' organisations. It was formulated to remove the chief defects or grievances revealed by the investigations of the Royal Commission of Labour, generally known as the Whitley Commission, in 1931, and the Labour Investigation Committee (Rege Committee) in 1946.

The programme aims at a uniform co-ordinated labour policy for the entire country to promote social security and industrial peace, ensure fair wages and satisfactory conditions of work. It embraces not only workers in organised industries but also workers in agriculture, commercial undertakings and unorganised

industries. In enacting legislative measures for giving effect to the programme, effort will be made to implement the International Labour Convention. Tripartite Industrial committees on the model of the I.L.O.—the International Labour Organisation—aregoing to be set up in Coal, Plantation, Jute, Cotton—textiles and Engineering industries. The programme provides for the creation of a labour Bureau for collection and maintenance of statistics relative to cost of living and labour statistics. It has already been set up. Of the 13-point legislative programme, 6 have already been enacted. Of course, it would require some more time to put it in force effectively.

I seek to demonstrate below how this increase in pay has not been wholly beneficial, where output is concerned.

Absenteeism is increasing. The following data speak for themselves:

| • | Percentage of 1939 | Absenteeism 1943 | in— 1944 |
|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Cotton Mills- | | | |
| Bombay | 10.5 | 10.8 | 1i·4 |
| Ahmedabad | 3.3 | 4.8 | 5.7 |
| Sholapur | 10.8 | 14.7 | 15.4 |
| Madura | 10 · 1 | 11.1 | 13.6 |
| Railways- | | | |
| Bengal | 5.1 | $6 \cdot 2$ | |
| Oil»—- | | | • |
| Assam | 0.7 | 3∙0 | 4.0 |

The loss due to absenteeism is two-fold, first, there is a distinct loss to workers, because the irregularity in attendance reduces their income, even where "no work no pay" rule is not endorsed but only half-pay is given. The loss to employers is stilk greater, as both discipline and efficiency suffer. Either an additional complement of men has to be maintained throughout the year to meet this emergency; or the industries have to depend solely on workers who present themselves at the gates of the mills in search of employment, and who are normally agricultural labourer and are not up to the mark.

The maintenance of an extra complement of workers leads to serious complications and evils. In particular, it provides a justification to the employer to provide sufficient work to the substitute-workers, and as has been happening, for example, in some industries, not only cotton textiles and jute. The management have to "play off" workers and force some of them to take "compulsory leave." This is resented by the workers' organisations and trade unions, which to some extent think legitimately and justly that the "compulsory leave" is only one method on the part of employers to maintain 'a second line of defence' in the event of strikes and lock-outs. On the other hand, it is represented by the employers that they had no option but to "play off" workers, in view of the serious

degree of absenteeism among them and as they cannot always anticipate their precise requirements of labour from day to day in certain departments, e.g., recling and winding departments.

The causes of absenteeism in West Bengal for January and February, 1948, have been analysed, and they are:

| | Total | Sickness or | tage of absent Leave other than holidays | Social or religious | Other causes |
|----------|-------|----------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------|
| January | 9·26 | $2 \cdot 50 \\ 2 \cdot 39$ | 4·19 | 0·46 | 2·11 |
| February | 10·02 | | 4·58 | 0·70 | 2·35 |

Thus of the total absenteeism, more than half is due to what one is tempted to call "preventible causes." Because the labourer earns so much per week, he does not care to attend to his work. To him the increased pay affords opportunity not for leisure, but for idleness. Next let us consider the position in the Railways. The importance of the railway in the life of the country cannot be over-emphasised. The railway is the lifeline of the country, carrying as it does food, fuel, cloth and other essentials of life. If the railway stopped working, the vital industries would come to a stand still; in fact, the very existence of the country will be at stake.

Today the railway is the largest nationalised industry in the country. With the attainment of independence, the railwayman must consider himself as a national worker if free India's dream of progress is to be translated into reality. The prosperity of the country depends on the efficient working of the railway.

A heavy responsibility, therefore, rests on a railwayman. It must be realised that he is no longer serving an alien Government which is apathetic to him. Any slackening in efficiency on his part would inevitably be of great detriment to the cause of free India.

Much has recently been heard of the railwaymen's grievances and there have even been occasional threats of strike unless the railwaymen's "demands" are met. It is necessary to examine and understand how far these demands are just and, what is more important, to what extent the national exchequer can bear the expenses.

The recommendations of the Pay Commission have effected considerable improvement in the structure of wages and allowances of the railwaymen. The recent Rajadhyaksha Award, which has been accepted by the Government, is a special concession to the railway worker. With these and various other concessions and amenities which railwaymen enjoy a very heavy burden has been put on the railway's budget. The economy of the country cannot bear any more strain on the wages and concession bill of the staff, unless there is a substantial increase in productivity. In certain circles, wage bill of the railways is regarded as being exorbitant and there have been suggestions that this should be reduced. It is to be noted that

94 per cent of the total wage bill for all railways represents the wages of all non-gazetted staff in Class III and Class IV.

Let us examine the figures available from the two railway headquarters in Calcutta, namely, E₁₈t. Indian Railway and Bengal Nagpur Railway.

On the E. I. Railway although the average carning per staff fell from Rs. 2,482 in 1945-46 to Rs. 1,885 in 1946-47, the average expenditure per staff increased from Rs. 505 in the pre-war year 1938-39 to Rs. 661 in the post-war year 1946-47. Similarly on the B. N. Railway, the average expenditure per staff increased from Rs. 519 in the pre-war year 1938-39 to Rs. 773 in the post-war year 1946-47, in spite of the drop in the average earning per staff from Rs. 2,200 in 1945-46 to Rs. 1,972 in 1946-47. It will thus be seen that there has been a progressive increase in the average expenditure per staff on both the railways. This is, however, exclusive of the average expenditure per staff on account of grainshop concessions and Pay Commission Award, and various amenities and staff welfare activities.

The expenditure incurred in the case of inferior and daily rated staff and the workshop staff is specially noteworthy. The average expenditure for unskilled labour increased from Rs. 11 in the pre-war year 1938-39 to as anuch as Rs. 67 in the post-war year 1947-48; that of semi-skilled labour from Rs. 12 to Rs. 72; and that of the skilled labour from Rs. 13 to Rs. 92 taking into consideration the Pay Commission scales as well as the grainshop concessions.

On the E. 1. Railway, the average expenditure per head under the category of inferior and daily rated staff was Rs. 263 in 1938-39 and progressively increased to Rs. 393 in 1946-47, thus registering about a 50 per cent increase. On the B. N. Railway, the average expenditure per head was Rs. 275 in 1938-39 and increased to Rs. 523 in 1946-47, thus showing nearly 100 per cent increase.

The figures will be substantially higher in 1947-48 having regard to the fact that the E. I. Railway's expenditure to implement the Pay Commission's recommendations has been approximately Rs. 2,62,35,000 and that of the B. N. Railway approximately Rs. 1,77,00,000. It may be mentioned that the Pay Commission Recommendations have benefited specially the lower grade staff.

From the Railway grainshops it is estimated that: a railway employee derives benefit to the extent of about Rs. 23 per month by obtaining at a concessional rate rationed and non-rationed food-stuffs which are actually purchased by the railway at considerably higher prices. In 1947-48, the E. I. Railway incurred a loss as high as Rs. 7 crores and the B. N. Railway a loss as high as Rs. 4 crores.

The railwaymen, their wives, children, as well as their dependent relatives enjoy free railway passes and privilege tickets at one-third of the rail fare.

There has been a progressive increase in the expenditure of the railways to provide amenities for staff. On E. I. Railway, the expenditure increased from Rs. 26,47,000 in 19.8-39 to Rs. 89,34,000 in 1946-47. On the B. N. Railway, the amount spent in 1938-39 was Rs. 20,35,116 and in 1946-47, the expenditure was Rs. 54,51,843. These amenities include such items as quarters for the staff, medical facilities, facilities for recreation, health and welfare services, schools and educational help.

Today our national government is faced with serious problems created by the fall in production and at the same time with the continuous demands from the railwaymen. It will be noted, from what has been stated above that the Government has not neglected the railwaymen, but nevertheless the efficiency of the railway has been steadily deteriorating.* Each railwayman must, therefore, regard it as his national duty to

do his very best in building this great country into the glorious India of our dreams.

This inefficiency is serious. Punctuality of trains has suffered, though of late there has been a distinct improvement.

The same is the case in coal-mines. The output of coal raised per man is decreasing, although the wages and amenities are increasing.

May not the common man ask labour what services to the nation at large are they giving for the increasing wages? For increased wages to coal-mine labour means necessed price of coal to the householder; increased pay to the railway, increase in railway fares and so on. We are entitled to ask on behalf of the 95 per cent who form the onlookers, and we do ask—will the question be answered?

• In the first six and a half months of 1948, strikes and hartals by Railwaymon resulted in a lose of 50 per cent of the output of workshops and of 433000 mandays.

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STORY OF SAKUNTALA AND DUSYANTA IN HUNGARY

By V. K. MATHUR, M.A.

The story of Sakuntala and Dusyanta first told in the Mahabharata and then in the Abhijnan-Sakuntala by Kalidasa is one of the most popular stories of Indian literature. Being a characteristic product of Indian genius like the story of Rama and Sita or Nala and Damayanti, it has endeared itself to countless generations of our people ages after ages. But its popularity has not been confined to the country of its origin. Far far away in the heart of Hungary, the land of the romantic gypsies with their songs and dances, a vivid echo of this loveliest of all tales is heard. There is a popular poem by Mihaly Vorosmarty founded on an old folk song. It is a tale about the youth of Mathias Corvinus Hunyadi, a king of Hungary (1458 A.D.).

"He goes to the chase and while dashing after the deer in the heart of a forest he sees a beautiful young girl who is chasing a butterfly. He immediately forgets the deer and begins in his turn chasing the girl. Just at the moment she gets her butterfly, she puts her arm round her and kisses her. She leads him into her father's house not knowing he is the king. There he stays sometime enjoying in her company the beauties of the forest. But the king cannot tarry longer; matters of state hasten his departure. When he takes leave of the beautiful Llonka he invites her to come to Buda (Budapest), tells her and her father that they will be welcome at the court of Mathias Hunyadi and he ends by saying that whenever they want him they will always find him at the court of the King. Beautiful Llonka who has fallen in love with the gay and charming hunter urges her father to take her to the court of Mathias. They set out on their long journey and arrive at the stronghold of Buda. Just then

Mathias comes riding along the street and everybody does homage to him. At that moment both father and daughter realise that their guest, the gay hunter of the forest, is no other than the king. The old father leads his fainting daughter away and they go back to their quiet forest home without having been able to see the king. In the autumn when the leaves are falling and the birds of passage leaving, beautiful Llonka also leaves her home and is carried to her grave to rest under the great trees of the forest in which she loved to roam."—From H. Tarnaide Koner's Hungary.

The reader will at once perceive that the story of Sakuntala and the folktale of Llonka are substantially the same in outline, although, but naturally enough, the sad ending is absent from the Indian tale. The poem by the Hungarian bard follows more the details in Kalidasa's Abhijnan-Sakuntala than the crude outline in the Mahabharata.

How did this popular tale of India reach Hungary? Perhaps it was taken there by the migrating tribes of the gypsies who crossed the borders of India in the 14th or 15th centuries and spread over many countries of Europe. To Hungary and Rumania specially, these gypsies gave a good deal of their romantic ways of life, their songs and dances, picturesque dress and language. No wonder that with their ever-moving caravans of trotting ponies and slow bullock-carts, also went some of the lovely old folk-traditions of India and if such a study were possible, a good many elements of our ancient culture will be discovered in a foreign guise influencing the lives of an alien people with whom we seem to have had no relations in the past.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN PRESS

By V. B. KULKARNI

WITH the advent of freedom the Press in India has a new and constructive part to play in her national affairs. By its sustained and vigorous opposition to foreign rule it made history. In the shifting politics of the country under British dominion, when the tide of nationalism flowed and ebbed, the national press stood out as a towering and massive bulwark, reminding the people of their glorious destiny and urging them on towards their cherished goal. The Gandhian movement of non-violent mass struggle was based on sound strategy. The Mahatma, who felt the pulse of the people as none else could, did not believe in a continuous fight. It was in the nature of things necessary that mass movements should have mass backing. And when this was not forthcoming, he diverted the nation's energies from politics towards less spectacular social and economic activities.

It was during these periods of political inactivity when the nation was overcome with a feeling of frustration, that the nationalist press played a useful part in galvanising public opinion and in sustaining the country's morale. Its trenchant and unsparing assaults on the Government and its ruthless exposure of bureaucratic machinations, designed to defeat and disrupt the forces of nationalism, gave Lope and courage to vacillating patriots and strength and determination to those who had pledged themselves to fight freedom's battle to its successful conclusion. But, despite its devotion to the national cause, the Press had its difficulties as well as limitations.

It is obvious that it could not function freely under the shadow of repressive laws which a foreign bureaucracy made no bones about invoking at the slightest provocation. Even temperate criticism was condemned and punished as seditious. I have not kept a count of the number of securities forfeited by the Indian newspapers and weeklies under the previous regime, but I have no doubt that the Government reaped a rich harvest from them. Journals with small means had often to close down and it is a tribute to the nationalist Press that it preferred death with honour to any surrender of its cherished principles. This is one reason why the expansion of newspapers in this country has not been so rapid as it could have been under normal conditions.

Another great handicap to the Indian Press was and still is the limited reading public. A large percentage of our population is illiterate and has no use for newspapers which it cannot read. It is true that the great upheavals in the world, such as the last war, and the political developments in this country stimulated the interest of our people even in the countryside. But this interest, however encouraging and desirable, hardly affected the position of the newspapers. One copy did service to an entire village and not infrequently to groups of villages. The village

school master or some other literate person was helplessly looked upon to unravel for his illiterate fellowvillagers the mysteries of the world through the medium of a solitary newspaper. These conditions still persist and their effect on the circulation of newspapers can be easily imagined.

Even in urban areas the scope for Indian language papers was most constricted. Here again they were faced with the problem of illiteracy, though not on so wide a scale as in the countryside. Moreover, newspapers in English were their most powerful rivals. The English-knowing readers preferred to subscribe to papers in that language. It was not prejudice alone which influenced their choice. Well-established English dailies gave more and dependable reading matter and enjoyed great prestige with the Governments of the country. The Anglo-Indian Press in particular drew the patronage of a considerable section of the Englisheducated public both for its efficiency and influence. There was a belief that whatever appeared in Anglo-Indian papers must be true and authoritative.

The primacy which the Anglo-Indian Press won in the world of Indian newspapers was, of course, not entirely due to its enormous financial resources or to the preferential treatment which it enjoyed under the previous regime. Lack of enterprise and organisational ability on our part gave easy success to it. Great nationalist dailies, however, soon came into existence and acquired the same dominating position as their Anglo-Indian rivals through efficient service. Today, foreign interests in the newspaper "industry" are fast fading away and it may not be a rash prophesy to say that ere long the Press in India will be fully "nationalised."

The language papers, however, derived no substantial advantage from the competition among the English journals. At any rate, their reading public did not increase. The partiality for the former remained for substantially the same reasons set forth before. They have, however, a great future if they can raise their standards, as many of them have already done. Two circumstances favour their growth. First, it is the declared policy of the Government to reduce the influence of English and to foster the development of national languages. None can cavil at the proposed reform, although precipitate action would be disastrous. Despite the British Government's strenuous efforts to transform English into India's lingua franca, it has failed to permeate our national life.

It is not mere prejudice which has militated against its progress. As a foreign tongue, with its fundamentally different idiom and grammar, it cannot reach the masses. Even to the English-educated classes it is an elusive language which constricts thought and lures them into weaving sonorous phrases with negligible thought content in their composition. There are

of course, noble exceptions and India's contribution to English language and literature is not insignificant. But it is a plain fact that English has no great future in this country. I do not, of course, share the extremist view that it should be banished from our shores forthwith. It must remain with us, not as a menace to our own languages, but as a window on the wideworld beyond our frontiers.

. I am, therefore, convinced that so long as we do not choose to sink into parochial illiberalism, there will remain, at least for a long time, a real need for English language papers in this country. But their influence will be less decisive and even their circulation, never too large, may suffer considerably. This is an inevitable development. With the progress of education the demand for language papers will increase. No paper in India has, I believe, exceeded the one lakh mark in circulation. This position is likely to be reversed with the coming up of a generation of educated men and women, large in numbers and with a keen appetite for news about the happenings in their own coutry and in foreign lands. The development of newspapers in India is thus bound up with the speed with which the education policy is implemented.

The second reason why I envisage a bright future for language papers is that there has been a general improvement in the purchasing power of our people. It is true that their present prosperity is artificial and that when depression comes, as it is bound to come sooner or later, the clock is likely to be put back. But against this development there is the assurance that the fruition of the various reconstruction plans may achieve for the country a stable and balanced economy conducive to the prosperity of the masses. If, as a result of these measures, there is an appreciable rise in the per capita income, it is possible that newspapers will form an indispensable item in the budget of every household. I do not know whether I am counting the eggs before they are hatched, but the rosy picture I have painted here can be transformed into reality if the Governments are earnest about putting into effect their educational, industrial and agricultural schemes.

It is on this hypothesis that language papers should, I suggest, make plans for the future. I do not think that their present standards are high enough, but it would be wrong to emphasise their shortcomings by ignoring their handicaps. Many of them have no sound financial resources and no newspaper can be run efficiently on the basis of make-shifts. Secondly, English is the medium of all news agencies and other news services. A newspaper office is like a crowded railway station when the train is about to steam off. It has to work at a break-neck speed. Hurried translations of news served in English must necessarily suffer in quality and not infrequently even in accuracy.

Moreover, our languages are in a state of stagnation. At a time when they could grow, adapting and adjusting themselves to the manifold needs of a

modern civilized society, the hegemony of English relegated them to the background. How difficult is the problem of adjustment is borne out by the slow progress registered by the Osmania University in transforming Urdu into a modern language. So long as this handicap remains. I cannot envisage a high degree of efficiency in our language papers. It has sometimes occurred to me that prosperous newspapers should have on their staff a small body of experts in philology whose main function should be to translate and bring into currency difficult and technical words in English and foreign languages. How soon we will be able to get over the handicaps of linguistic stagnation I cannot say, but if we can do it early serious consideration should be given to the supply of news through the languages of provinces, if possible. This is a consummation to be devoutly wished for, because then and then alone will our language papers grow to their full stature.

Another factor militating against a rapid growth of newspapers in India is her dependence upon foreign countries for her newsprint. Her average imports of newsprint before the war were 37,000 tons a year. During the war even this small supply was drastically cut down and in 1943 the allotments to individual newspapers and journals were reduced by 871 per cent. The control of circulation and the reduction in the pages gravely affected the newspapers in the country. There has been an improvement in the newsprint situation for sometime past, but it is futile to expect that this serious "bottleneck" can be overcome so long as the shortage continues to be worldwide. It is expected that India will soon need 100,000 tons of newsprint each year. We cannot improve the circulation of our papers or give efficient service so long as we lean heavily on foreign imports. It is stated that "there is not now under construction a single newsprint mill in the world." Let us hope that the new venture in India, which is expected to produce newsprint by the end of next year at the rate of one hundred tons a day, will rescue us from dependence on foreign sources.

The importance of newsprint to the dissemination of information cannot be sufficiently emphasised. In April, the U. N. Conference on Freedom of Information adopted a resolution inviting the attention of governments "to the harm and dangers which inadequate production of newsprint, and unequal distribution thereof, have on the exercise of freedom of information." The fact that Mr. Hoffman, the ERP Chief, has included this commodity in his list of American aid to European countries emphasises its importance to democracy. There is a world shortage of newsprint which is aggravated by its increased consumption by America. Before the war she consumed 44 per cent of the total world output, but last year the level of its consumption rose to 61 per cent.

The Indian Press Year Book, the first of its kind

published in India this year, quotes Sir Walter Layton as telling his American friends that

"If 60 lbs of newsprint per head per year, which is the present rate of consumption in the United States, is necessary and needed to instil and maintain the democratic way of life, there is only sufficient newsprint in the world for 200,000,000 democrats. The other 2,000,000,000 of the world's population must presumably all be totalitarians!"

This is not a rhetorical poser but a vital question which America must answer. If she believes that communism is a "disease of the soul" it must provide the sinews of war to the democracies in the world to fight this menace.

Pleading for an equitable distribution of newsprint, the London Economist writes under the caption "Not By Bread Alone":

"Every argument that induces the American people to send to Europe food and raw materials which they could use at home, applies with equal force to paper, which also they would like to use at home. Indeed, in the long run, it applies with even more force. For democracy does not live by food and raw materials alone."

The fact that India, which has to keep the torch of democracy burning for her three hundred million people, cannot obtain even a paltry quota of 37,000 tons of newsprint in a year is a revealing commentary on the maldistribution of this vital commodity. Her aspiration to sell newspapers in millions must remain a dream unless she ceased to depend on foreign supplies.

Assuming that in years to come Indian newspapers will overcome the present obstacles in their way one cannot be too sure that their growth will be along right lines. The basic function of a newspaper is to make a fair and impartial presentation of news, reinforced by equally fair and impartial comment. If this right is assailed, no matter from what source, the raison d'etre of its existence is lost. The fear is expressed in certain quarters that the organs of public opinion in India are fast coming under the sway of capitalists. There is no doubt that such developments are undesirable, but the question being important should be examined in its true perspective.

It is a plain fact that newspapers cannot be started in a big way, much less maintained at a high level of efficiency, without a huge capital investment. In a series of articles entitled "The Newspaper Industry," which appeared in the Economist of London in 1937, a well-informed writer suggested that a sum of the order of £2,000,000 had to be spent before the Daily Meil, the last comer among national newspapers, "reached a self-supporting position." He added that "there are few industries which impose an entrance fee as high as this." In India initial investments need not be so large, but, according to our standards, the capital necessary to start a daily paper cannot be less than a million rupses.

Now the point at issue is whether there are other

means by which a paper can be started and whether it can austain itself without advertisements which also emanate from the capitalistic source. Some ingenious solution might be offered to this problem, but it is yet untried.

If it is conceded, as indeed we must, that, like every other enterprise, newspapers should have a sound financial support, the fact has got to be faced that their ownership should be vested in those who finance them. The question whether this is an ideal or even a desirable arrangement is irrelevant, when no other workable alternative suggests itself.

Capitalistic ownership of newspapers in India should, I suggest, be condemned only when they are interfered with by their owners. In conformity with the right of the man who pays the piper to call the tune, interference may be taking place, but I believe it is not so serious or so widespread as to negative the claims of such newspapers as organs of public opinion I quite agree that no capitalist-owned paper is free to advocate Communism, but none can prevent fellow-Communists to start their own journals for propagating their doctrines. The Labour Government in Britain is striving for a Socialist State and has the vigorous support of some very influential dailies and weeklies, all or most of which have sound financial support.

The point I wish to emphasise is that the mere fact that newspapers are owned by capitalists is not an evil in itself. In the first and last resort, much depends upon the integrity and independence of the journalists themselves. If they are disciplined and well-organised, they can always successfully resist encroachments on their province. I recall here the satirical lines which Mr. Humbert Wolfe wrote in his Ungelestial City (reproduced by Mr. Wickham Steed in his The Press):

"You cannot hope to bribe or twist Thank God! the British journalist But, seeing what the man will do Unbribed, there's no occasion to."

It is only when we expose this noble profession to such biting satire that there will be a real menace to the freedom of the Press from its capitalist owners. If we are firm none can threaten its integrity. Are we prepared to accept this challenge, if it comes? If not, mere fulminations at the present order if things will take us nowhere.

There is, however, a real menace to the freedom of the Press from the State. We have borne the full brunt of it under the former regime. That danger still exists, not because the national Government is afraid of the press, but the exigencies of the times demand strict vigilance over the irresponsible section of it. On principle, the recent security measures adopted by the Central and provincial Governments are indefensible. The authorities have departed from the democratic

procedure by insisting that their hand-outs should be published and by reserving to themselves the right of pre-censoring and even suppressing news and comments. The Indian Press, while critical of these measures, has not launched a crusade against them because it is unnecessary. It is only when there is a flagrant misuse of the powers taken by the Governments that the cause of action will arise against them.

But the price of freedom is eternal vigilance which cannot be relaxed just because we are now a free nation. In order to make democracy safe we have yet to develop a party system in this country. One-party rule, no matter however high-minded the rulers for the time being may be, cannot conduce to the growth of democratic traditions, for power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. It is the duty of

the Press to encourage the birth of a balanced party system in the country. This is not be suggest that the Congress should be orippied or dissolved. It only means that other non-Congress democratic derees in the country should also grow.

These are some of the problems which the Indian Press has to face in the coming years. I set no limit to its growth into a powerful bulwark of democracy if it plans its development carefully. Much depends upon the journalists themselves. We have passed the stage of agitation in our careers and our new role is constructive. We are as yet unerganised and we are very individualistic. We cannot gain strength or prestige except through organisation and corporate activity. By ourselves becoming strong, we can render better service to the nation.

THE DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECT

By R. N. SEN GUPTA, M.A., B.com.

RIVERS, which comprise one of the most forceful of nature's resources, have been utilised for the service of man in the form of facilitating transport, providing irrigation and water supply, and depositing alluvial silt on the land. Like all other natural forces, however, rivers as well may sometimes be potential sources of trouble and unfortunately the world possesses some such naughty rivers as China's "River of Sorrow."

The commonest form of danger emanating from a river is flood. Rivers are mainly snow-fed, and partly rain-fed. It has been estimated that in a temperate land, on an average, one-third of the rainfall flows to rivers, etc., over the surface of laud (technically known as "run-off"), one-third percolates into the ground and the rest is lost by evaporation; in tropical latitudes the percentage of evaporation is higher. "Run-off" is the chief controlling factor in the occurrence of floods, because any increase in the rate of "run-off" is sure to swell the volume of water pouring into a river to an extent more than her capacity to hold, with consequent overflowing.

If the vegetation of an area through which a river flows is removed, or its density reduced, there is less absorption of rain-water and the proportion of "run-off" is increased. Moreover, being devoid of the protective influence of the vegetation, the soil invariably exposes itself to drastic denudation or erosion through which a substantial layer of the land surface including the alluvial deposit is carried off into the river, so that her holding capacity is gradually diminished by silting up of the river-bed. Floods are, therefore, frequent in those river-valleys, where erosion is extensive due to thoughtless deforestation. Besides, soil erosion imparts serious deterioration in fertility.

Floods prevent numbers irrigation, in addition to

destroying crop, live-stock, as well as human life and property, and rendering navigation extremely hazardous. On the other hand, the potential energy of mighty streams which usually gives rise to floods of a serious nature, if properly harnessed, may woll be diverted towards generating hydro-electric power. Hence, problems of flood and soil erosion, irrigation and navigation, and power production—all go hand in hand and they can be successfully tackled only through unified river-control fighting all the evils simultaneously. Herein lies the basic doctrine of "Multi-purpose River Control Schemes"—a very popular and vital aspect of present-day economic planning.

T.V.A.—THE MODEL

Established as a public Corporation in 1933 under a special statute of the U.S. Congress, the Tennessee Valley Authority operates 26 huge dams over an area of 41,000 square miles with a population of 5 million in the Tennessee River Valley in South-East America. Its activities involve flood control, re-forestation and terracing of the erroded slopes, generation and distribution of electric energy, production of chemical fertilisers, and through these, the introduction of improved methods of agricultural and industrial production. In more concrete terms, the TWA has been producing 12,000 million Kw-hours of electricity annually, and has developed a 9-feet navigation channel 650 miles long as well as a 9,006-mile shoreline offering recreational and public-health facilities through numerous parks, fishing grounds, boat-docks and cabin-sites around a number of artificial lakes. This record of achievements must be regarded as outstanding having regard to the short span of just over a decade, during which the TVA has struggled for converting a flood-cavaged, eroded and peor region into an agriculturally fertile and industrially advanced one by harnessing the unbridled flow of the Tennessee. In fact, TVA has been the ideal and the model for many "multi-purpose river projects." Every year the administration receives millions of letters, thousands of visitors and hundreds of technicians from all corners of the world.

THE DAMODAR VALLEY

The Damodar, which originates in the Chotanagaur hills in the district of Hazaribagh from an elevation of 2,000 ft. above sea-level, merges into the Hoogaly, 30 miles south-west of Calcutta after completing a course of 336 miles. She is served by 13 tributaries including the Barakar and has a drainage area of 8,500 sq. miles. The upper Damodar Valley is widely denuded of forests and vegetation, and is badly erodad, whereas the lower regions have an alluvial deposit.

The total area of the Damodar Valley is 9,789 sq. miles, of which Bengal represents 2,850 sq. miles. The total population of this Valley is 5 millions distributed as follows:

| | No. | Population |
|----------|-------|------------|
| Towns | 15 | 3,00,000 |
| Villages | 10268 | 47,00,000 |

50.00.000

The main agricultural produce is the aman crop, which depends on a well-distributed and ample supply of water. Average rainfall in the Valley is about 46.5". Failure of crop due to inadequacy of rainfall occurs approximately once in three years, and this fact unambiguously indicates the importance of perennial irrigation. The lower Damodar region, particularly in Bengal, is unhealthy being a frequent resort of malaria and dysentery. People, being poorer, cannot import food. Hence, famines are frequent and high death-rate is prevalent.

The valley is, however, fortunate in possessing rich deposits of certain important minerals like coal, aluminium, limestone, mica, fire and china clays, molybdenum and quarts. Major industries are metallurgical and engineering establishments, aluminium and cement factories, fire-clay and silica works and collieries.

DAMODAR-THE CHALLENGE

The forceful and uncontrolled Damodar has ever been a problem to the people of the Valley. She has been responsible for frequent floods, violent and wide-spread, sweeping away crops and livestock and causing damage and destruction to human life and property. With this have joined hands other equally serious maladies like soil erosion and malaria, whereby living in the Valley has been rendered full of struggle. In fact, through the Damodar, nature seems to have challenged the creative faculty in man. The naughty Damodar once held out a challenge to Bengal's illus-

trious son, Vidyasagar (eager to meet his mother), but had to give way to his undaunted spirit. Inspired by a firm determination to better the condition of their motherland, the fellow countrymen of Vidyasagar has also readily accepted Damodar's challenge and proceeded to take suitable steps to curb that mighty river and force her to submit to the service of man.

THE PROJECT

Thanks to the foresight and initiative of the Government of India, a plan for the multipurpose development of the Damodar Valley, on lines of the TVA with proper amendments to suit the conditions of India, was adopted as an important branch of the Post-war Reconstruction Plans. Preliminary survey has been completed and a report submitted by the Central Technical Power Board. The primary object of the proposed scheme is flood-control, while secondary, but no less important, ideas are development of power, irrigation, navigation, water supply and malaria control.

(a) Dams: The entire project would be operated by means of 8 dams all of which are proposed to be constructed in the province of Bihar, as the nature of soil and topography does not permit the construction of heavy dams below the confl.ence of the Damodar and the Barakar. The following dam-sites have been selected:

| iera. | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Along the Barakar | Along the Damodar |
| 1. Malthon | 4. Aiyar |
| 2. Deolbari | 5. Konar |
| 3. Tilaya | 6. Bokars |
| | 7. Bermo |
| | 8. Sanolapur |

It is estimated that the total reservoir capacity imparted by these dams would be about 2.27 million acre-feet, and that their construction may take about 10 years.

(b) Flood Control: The following table shows a record of Damodar Floods during the last three decades:

| auco. | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Year | Run-off in inches in excess |
| | of 1,00,000 cusecs |
| 1913 | 1.9 |
| 1935 | 1.9 |
| 1941 | 1.6 |
| 1 94 2 | 1.8 |
| 1943 | 1.7 |

It is noted that the maximum flow of 6,50,000 cusecs occurred twice, in 1913 and 1935. After a lapse of 6 or 7 years there was again a violent flood in 1942-43, which specially caused a serious dislocation in train services by sweeping away a portion of the E. I. Railway tracks near Burdwan.

The 8 dams are expected to act as safety-valves by checking the violence of flow, storing the excess water and releasing requisite volumes of water during dry months, and thereby maintain a uniform level and flow so as to avoid chances of floods.

- (c) Silt Control: Thoughtless deforestation of the Chotanagpur Uplands has been responsible for rapid and serious soil erosion and denudation of land and the inevitable result has been the gradual silting up of the Damodar bed, which is one of the main factors contributing to floods. Control of flood cannot, therefore, be a success by checking the run-off by putting up dams, unless soil erosion is prevented simultaneously. Control of erosion through planned re-forestation, re-grassing as well as patching up and terracing of land forms an important auxiliary to flood control.
- (d) Irrigation and Water Supply: Existing irrigation facilities controlled by the Eden and Damodar Canal Systems cater to an area of 1,86,000 acres, and the Damodar Valley project is calculated to increase the area to a total of 7,63,800 acres, for which about 1.5 million acre-feet of water will be required, leaving for other purposes a balance of .77 million acre-feet out of the total storage capacity of the dams. Availability of perennial irrigation over such a large tract of land, coupled with a pre-ention of the denudation of the fertile upper layer of soil, is estimated to raise the yield per acre by 50 per cent and to contribute additional rice output of 4 million maunds besides 4 lakhs maunds of rabi crops. This would be an adequate provision against famines.

Lack of fresh water supply is a serious problem for many small towns and villages and the use of impure drinking water must have contributed largely to the predominance of diseases like malaria and dysentery. The surplus balance of ·77 million acre-feet may well be utilised in proper form for domestic as well as industrial purposes. This, together with proper drainage of swamps and clearing of shoreline, would go a long way towards alleviating the distress caused by malaria, ote

- (e) Navigation: The provision of uniform flow at a proper level controlled by the dams, would make the Damodar navigable throughout the year right up to the Ranigunj coal-fields, 120 miles from Calcutta. The port of Calcutta will thus be directly linked with Ranigunj and that would facilitate cheap transport of coal and agricultural produce to Calcutta, as well as return traffic to the hinterland. Specially, this new arrangement would largely solve the problem of coal supply to the Calcutta industrial area by relieving a good deal of pressure on railway transport.
- erection of 8 new hydro-electric plants with a generation capacity of 800 million Kw.-hours annually at 24 annually at million Kw.-hours annually at 124 annually at million Kw.-hours of power at a cost of 62 annual per unit. Supply of such increased volume of electricity at almost one-third the present cost, is sure to accelerate industrialisation of not only the Damodar Valley, but also of the adjoining regions around Calcutta. This would further promote cottage industries and also encourage domestic consumption of electricity.

INITIAL PROBLEMS

While proceeding with the deliberations on the subject the promoters were confronted with certain grave problems, which they were called upon to solve.

- (i) Administrative: The primary difficulty was a technical one arising out of the necessity of participation in the scheme of the Central Government and two provincial governments of Bengal and Bihar, which was found none too easy, under the existing constitutional set-up as it stood. After a number of tripartite conferences amongst the representatives of the three Governments, it was finally decided to establish, by virtue of a second legislation, the Damodar Valley Corporation, a rublic body, with wide statutory powers similar to Governmental authority, for administration of the scheme. The Corporation would consist of three members, one of whom will be selected as a Chairman, by the Union Government in consultation with the Provincial Governments.
- (ii) Displaced Population: It is anticipated that more than 1,00,000 acres of land will be submerged by construction of dams and substantial population will be displaced. It would naturally be a moral and social obligation of the Government or the proposed Corporation to provide for adequate compensation in the shape of money, allotment of alternative land, instruction as well as appliances for earning livelihood. At a conference held in New Delhi early this year, the three Governments concerned agreed on the principle of compensating dispossessed people and helping in their resettlement by alloting land and providing looms as well as electric power for cottage industries at the cost of the Corporation or the Government.
- (iii) Financial: Mr. C. H. Bhaba, the then Member for Works, Mines and Power, presiding over the aforesaid Conference, rightly observed, "Finance has been, in the past, the major stumbling block in the way of any scheme for the harnessing of the waters of the Damodar." The problem of finance has become even more acute at present, in view of the critical times through which the country is passing. It must be appreciated that the Government, Central or Provincial, with their pre-occupation with many urgent and vital matters, are not in a position to spare the huge finance necessary to execute the Damodar Valley Scheme in as short a period as it deserves. It would, therefore, be appropriate to draw out finance from private sources which have generally swelled, thanks to the war boom, and which are seeking sound channels of investment.

The financial needs of the Project are two-fold-long-term and current. It has been estimated that the construction work will take 15 to 20 years at a capital cost of Rs. 55 crores. Besides, the amount necessary for affording compensation would also be very big, although no proper estimate has yet been possible. Such huge sums must be available at the disposal of the proposed Corporation, but the nature of its constitution and financial structure is yet a matter of guess and speculation. At this stage, however, it may be suggested that

the capital of the Corporation may be raised by selling shares to the members of the public, and at the same time, a fair percentage may be contributed by the three Governments according to some agreed proportions, which, besides enabling the Government to exert control over the organisation, would also encourage private investment by inspiring a sense of security. Further long-term capital may be raised by issue of debentures with Government guarantee in respect of payment of interest as well as repayment of capital.

As to current revenue, more than one source were recommended at the last conference:

- (1) Sale-proceeds of electric power to public utility concerns, industrial undertakings as well as households.
- (2) Charges for supply of water for agricultural, industrial and domestic purposes.
- (3) Toll charges on navigation.
- (4) Terminal taxes on passengers and goods arriving in Calcutta by E. I. Railway and on registered tonnage of all ocean-going ships entering the port of Calcutta as well as toll on vehicular traffic entering Calcutta.

PRIORITY No. 1

The importance and urgency of the Damodar Valley Project can never be over-emphasised. A successful execution thereof would bring about an allround development of the area in question, which at present is agriculturally deficient and industrially backward. The possibilities of an increase in food-production, cheap supply of power to the mining and metallurgical industries of Bihar, jute, paper, cotton and other large-scale industries around Calcutta and to

growing cottage industries, improved navigation facilities and eradication of malaria have been fully discussed above. They will all go to build up a wellknit, economically well-balanced region, with a high standard of living and public health. The plan as a whole is calculated to benefit a total population of 7 million, i.e., in addition to the 5 million in the Damodar Valley itself, further 2 million in adjoining regions.

The Scheme has assumed much greater significance after the partition of Bengal. On the newly constituted province of West Bengal, with its comparatively small area and existing limited resources, has been thrust the grave responsibility of maintaining a gradually rising population, contributed by rapid exodus from East Bengal. The targets mentioned in the previous paragraphs are vital pre-requisites for absorbing and supporting the increased population. As such the Damadar Schome should be accorded highest priority amongst all development plans. It is gratifying to note that the Union Government has fully recognised this fact, and that preliminary work has already started. Whole of India now wistfully looks forward to the day when the Damodar Valley will be turned by the proposed plan into a prosperous land, economically, socially and culturally.

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PRODUCTION AND UTILISATION OF GROUNDNUTS IN MADRAS

BY C. SELVANAYAKI, M.A.

MADRAS was the first Province in India to cultivate groundnuts and even as early as 1880, the area under the crop was 70,000 acres. In course of time her share in the total of India's groundnut acreage declined with the increase in acreage in other provinces and states, but even to-day she accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total all-India production of groundnuts.

The two main centres of groundnut production in the province are firstly the ceded districts of Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah accounting for over 34 per cent of the Province's groundnut acreage and secondly the central districts of Chittoor, North Arcot, Salem, South Arcot, Trichy and Coimbatore contributing over 36 per cent of the Province's total.

Groundaut is mainly rain-fed. The area under irrigated groundnuts varied between 86,000 and 218,000 acres during the last two decades that is between 8.3

per cent and 4.7 per cent of the total area under groundnuts in the province.

The area under groundnuts varies from year to year depending on a number of factors like the price of groundnuts relative to prices of other competing commercial crops, etc., but there is no denying the fact that the crop has made rapid strides both in acreage and production. During the inter-war period (1919-20-1938-39) there was an increase of more than 150 per cent in acreage and production. The war period (1939-40-1944-45) saw an increase of 681,600 acres in groundnut acreage and an increase of 173,630 tons in production. Because of its lucrativeness, and because it is comparatively easier to cultivate than the other commercial crops, the ryot has always shown a partiality for the crop. The "Grow More Food" campaign that was launched in the province in 1940 did not offer much stimulus to its expansion. But groundnut being treated as a food crop, it escaped all restrictions that were placed on the cultivation of other commercial crops like cotton.

Though there are variations in the yield per acre from year to year due largely to a number of local factors, the standard yield per acre has always remained 1120 lbs. If there has been an increase of nearly 200 per cent in production during the past two decades, it must be attributed mainly to increased acreage and not to any appreciable improvement in yield per acre though a larger area under irrigation might have proportionally increased the yields.

TABLE I

Estimated Production of Groundnut Kernels*
in Madras

| ALL THE OPENING | | | | | |
|--|---|---------------|---|---|--|
| Year | Production in tons | | Year | Production in tons | |
| 1919-20 1920-21 1921-22 1922-23 1923-24 1924-25 1925-26 1926-27 1927-28 1928-29 1929-30 1930-31 | 398,300 518,000 474,600 576,100 520,800 663,600 884,800 844,900 1,169,700 1,281,000 1,085,400 1,235,500 763,800 | War period | 1933-34 1934-35 1935-36 1936-37 1937-38 1938-39 (1939-40 (1940-41 (1941-42 (1942-43 (1943-44 (1944-45 (1945-46 | 1,243,900 644,000 841,400 1,159,900 1,441,300 1,129,100 1,346,800 828,100 912,800 1,365,700 1,156,700 | |
| 1932-33 | 1,210,300 | | (1946-47 | 1,145,600 | |

The above table shows that the production of groundnut kernels within the province has been gradually increasing from 398,300 tons to 1,129,100 tons during the inter-war period and on the average Madras produces about a million tons of kernel which after meeting the requirements of the export trade will be available for utilisation within the province.

The trade in groundnut kernel constitutes the major part of the total trade in oilseeds by sea and rail from the Madras Presidency. Groundnuts exported to foreign countries from Madras are almost used for oil extraction and the demand therefore depends on the demand for groundnut oil in Europe both for edible and industrial purposes. The demand for this oil and consequently for groundnuts is influenced not only by the prices of groundnuts in relation to other oil-seeds, but also by the availability of supplies and relative prices of a number of vegetable oils, animal fats, marine oils, etc. Since 1919-20 export of kernels shows an upward trend due to increased consumption in European countries. United Kingdom which took less than I per cent of the province's total groundnut exports before the last war increased her share and after the Ottawa Agreement which granted 10 per cent preference to imports on groundnuts from "Empire" countries large quantities of Indian groundnuts were shipped to the United Kingdom. During the depression period when the exchange position of Germany

deteriorated she restricted imports of all kinds of raw materials. Further since 1983, France, one of the principal markets for our groundnuts, passed a decree imposing an import duty on groundnuts other than those grown in French Colonies. Even in "Empire" markets groundnuts had to face a serious competition. from South Africa. During the war period 1939-40-1944-45) especially during the latter half of the period export of groundnuts from the province was severely restricted in view of the serious food shortage. The future prospects of trade in groundnuts do not seem to be bright. Foreign exports of groundnuts will decline firstly, due to decline in demand for groundnut oil from vegetable oil industries in European countries and secondly, due to the restriction on the exports of oilseeds which will continue for some time in the interests of the industrial growth of the country.

TABLE II
Percentage of Foreign Exports to Internal
Production

| Year | Percentage | Year | Percentage |
|---------|--------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1919-20 | 17.6 | 1932-33 | 28.9 |
| 1920-21 | 16.6 | 1933-34 | 36.6 |
| 1921-22 | 44.0 | 1934-35 | 67 · 8 |
| 1922-23 | 39 ·0 | 1935-36 | 39.1 |
| 1923-24 | 43.0 | 1936-37 | 55·0 |
| 1924-25 | 49.7 | 1937-38 | 39 · 1 |
| 1925-26 | 41.8 | 1 938-39 . | 67.9 |
| 1926-27 | 37 · 6 | 1939-40 | 39.0 |
| 1927-28 | 40.0 | 1940-41 | |
| 1928-29 | 45.6 | 1941-42 | •••• |
| 1929-30 | 54 · 7 | 1942-43 | • • • • • |
| 1930-31 | 37.0 | 1943-44 | 16.3 |
| 1931-32 | 65.0 | 1944-45 | 15.7 |

Whatever is left over after meeting the export demand and seed requirements, is being diverted for crushing. The groundmut crushing industry is, so to say, a 'residual claimant' to the total production of groundnuts in the province. The groundnut has essentially been a "Money Crop," the demand for the crushing industry playing little or no part in the disposal of the crop. From the fact that only a very small percentage of total production is used for crushing, one cannot conclude that the groundnut crushing industry is not a profitable one, for it is true that "even in the days of a great slump in prices the oil industry will be a profitable concern unless there is a heavy decline in the demand for cake." When crushed, 10 maunds of kernel yield about 4 maunds of oil and 6 maunds of cake and normally the miller's margin including crushing charges. varies from annas four to Rs. 2 per mausi of oil crushed. The general runaway prices of wartime has made the groundnut crushing industry a highly lucrative one, the margin of profit for the miller (including the crushing charges) rising as high as Rs. 9 per manual of oil crushed.

The development of groundnut ortishing is closely linked up with the consumption of cake as a feed for

After deducting loss due to chelling which is 30 per cent.

animals and here it is pertinent to point out the statement made by the oilseeds specialist of the Government of Madras stressing the importance and value of groundant cake as a feed for animals. Madras was estimated to consume about 53,000 tons of groundnut cake for feeding cattle during the quinquennium 1933 to 1937, a very low figure especially in view of the fact that the quantities of other feeding stuffs available are inadequate for maintaining the huge livestock population of the province. Partly time-worn prejudices and partly the high prices of the cake have stood in the way of tapping this rich source of fodder supply. Dr. Wright has stated that if the large export of cakes and oilseeds could be maintained in India, it would mean a considerable increase in the available quantity of protein rich concentrates, which are the most important sources of nutrients for milk production. At present, the bulk of production is exported abroad, United Kingdom being the principal consumer.

Further, groundnut cake serves as a valuable manure for such crops as sugarcane and coffee and the quantities utilised for this purpose have increased with the expansion in sugarcane acreage in several areas. Since the development of groundnut crushing is closely linked up with the consumption of cake, it is desirable that the consumption of cake as cattle fodder and as manure should be encouraged. The problem of greater utilisation of cilcakes reduces itself to one of educating the farmers as to the advisability of using cilcakes especially groundnut cake as a feeding material and as manures.

Further, the future prospects of the crushing industry depend on the relative demand for groundnut oil, firstly, for consumption and, secondly, for industrial uses. The demand for edible purposes of groundnut oil is likely to increase if people take to it as an effective substitute for gingily oil whose prohibitive price render it beyond the means of the bulk of population. Further, the prohibitive price of the other competing oils increases the demand for groundnut oil for adulteration purposes. On the industrial side the stimulus to groundnut oil production would be given mainly by the

Vanaspati industry. If the province speeds up its scheme of Vanaspati production on a large scale, the demand for groundnut oil—though in course of time other cheaper substitute oils could be found—will take an upward trend in the near future. Thus considering its demand for edible purposes and for industrial uses and for adulteration, the production of groundnut oil will increase largely. Ultimately the quantity of groundnuts that will be used for crushing will be dependent on the price of groundnut oil relative to other oils.

This increased demand for groundnut oil for internal consumption, coupled with the fact that people encouraged through propaganda, might make more use of the nuts for edible purposes, will tend to increase the demand for oilseeds and the acreage is more likely to increase rather than decline in future.

The technique of groundnut production as is prevalent today cannot be called efficient. Premature harvesting, primitive methods of decortication, inefficient storage and lack of control over the supply of seeds to the cultivator-these are the four important factors that call for speedy improvement. Until some years ago the universal method of decorticating was to dump the nuts and beat them with sticks to separate the brittle shells from kernels, a method damaging to the kernels. Once the kernels have been wetted, they are liable to discoloration and fermentation and the oil extracted from them is rancid. Though the use of machines for decortication has grown in proportion, it cannot be said that the position has improved much. The poor quality that is attributed to Indian groundnuts is not a factor inherent in them. The causes are more deep-rooted and they can be eradicated only by educating the cultivators. The lack of control over supply of seeds to the cultivators militates against the production of pure varieties and affects not only the quality of the produce but also the yield per acre. It is therefore desirable that apart from research more attention should be paid to methods of cultivation and harvesting the crops, i.c. in educating the cultivators.



ATOMIC WARFARE AND INDIA

By K. S. R. MURTY, M.Sc.

Aromic energy and the atomic bomb caught the imagination of the world for a pretty long time till recently. The newspapers were full of them; they served the sensationalism of the press quite admirably. Now that it is no longer sensational the press is naturally paying scanty attention to it. Besides, the scientists—in particular those that were directly involved in the production of the bomb—were anxious to calm the qualm of their conscience for having been instrumental in producing the demoniac weapon of destruction by making the public realise the devastating potentialities of the atomic bomb. That being thought to be over, the scientist said to himself, absolvi meam animam.

There were a series of talks by a number of scientists, engineers and philosophers in the first week of March, 1947, arranged by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Profs. J. D. Cocroft, M. L. E. Oliphant, P. M. S. Blackett, Sir G. P. Thomson, Sir Henry Dale and Sir John Anderson were among them. As regards the technical aspect of the atomic bomb nothing new has been given out that was not already given in the Smyth Report. But some very significant views have been expressed by the speakers.

Sir G. P. Thomson, along with others, pleaded for a strong and comprehensive system of control and inspection of the atomic research and armaments. Prof. Blackett pointed out that the atomic energy find: an immense use for peaceful purposes; but we can have atomic energy either for peace or for war and not for both. He says:

"If the major part of the scientific and technical effort available for atomic energy continues to be directed towards the production of more and better bombs, there will be insufficient raw material available to allow the rapid development of the industrial power."

Bertrand Russell was also stressing the need for an international control of the atomic energy, and suggested that the first step in that direction would be the drastic limitation of the national sovereignty.

All sensible people for a few decades past have been talking about the federal world control of the air. of the world police. All of them agreed on the point of drastic limitation of the national sovereignty. But, the whole question is, 'how are we to get them?' The answer that has very often been suggested is, by educating the public opinion.' Alas! the public is very slow at learning. The race of atomic armaments appears to be on the full swing and the public opinion is still far from crystallising in the needed direction in spite of the very gallant efforts made by so many eminent men. The proverbial politician has an infinite capacity to change sides but not to have a change of heart. History shows, if at all it shows anything conclusively, that there is an immense/resistance offered to any drastic changes in behaviour, particularly in a benign direction. The facile hope that the idea of the

enormity of destruction that would ensue as a consequence of atomic warfare would make the nations suddenly develop a friendly feeling for one another has already proved to be unreal by the impasse which is being created by the power-mongering nations. The miracle may still happen, but we cannot rely on the miracles to happen.

Then again, certain scientists feel that science not only brings in the material advantages but also brings along with it a spirit, its own guiding spirit, the spirit that ennobles and enriches life. But, science, instead of infusing its own spirit into the actions of men is getting despirited and denatured at the hands of the ideologists and the politicians. We are well aware of the fact that there is a wide talk about the Soviet science, the American science, the British science, and so on. We have Bourgeois science and the Marxist science as well. There is no reason to believe that the magic words of "atomic energy" will fill the world with the spirit of science; at least, it has not done so far.

Let us look at the problem in terms of realities that exist today instead of the miracles that may happen tomorrow. The one very glaring fact is that Soviet Russia and America are the two outstanding countries today in the world; that the two great powers are striving for supremacy one over the other and that all countries of the world are almost getting aligned behind one or the other of these powers. The war of nerves is afoot and it is felt that the war of arms is a question of time.

On the one hand, America is evidently piling up the atomic bombs; on the other, the Russians claim to have already experimented with their atomic bombs somewhere in Siberia. It may be a bluff; it can as well be a reality. If Russia has not already made the atomic bomb, there is nothing to show that it cannot do so in a short time. That leads us to the conclusion that if another war is to come, the atomic bomb will definitely play an important role either being directly used or being kept ready for usage.

Even though very little is known about the construction of the atomic bomb, we can arrive at certain tentative conclusions about the atomic warfare from the known facts. It is to be remembered that the bomb dropped on Hiroshima completely pulverised an area of which the radius from the point of detonation was about one and one quarter miles; every thing to a radius of two miles was blasted with some burning and between two and three miles the buildings were about half destroyed. Thus the area of total destruction covered about four square miles, and the area of destruction and substantial damage covered about twentyseven square miles. The bomb on Nagasaki was supposed to be more powerful and would have pulverised ten square miles—on the authority of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer-but, it caused less damage because of the physical characteristics of the city. As a matter of fact, there were no ten square miles to be taken out.

Can this destructive radius be still further increased? It is said that the destructive radius of the individual bomb of any type increases with the cube root of the explosive energy. That means in order to increase the destructive radius ten times the weight has to increase a thousand times and the problem of the carrier becomes much more difficult, particularly for long ranges. In the last war, Germans were using rockets capable of 220 miles range and carrying approximately one ton of T.N.T. There is a probability of increasing this range to thousands of miles but the increased weight will be a serious handicap.

Let us also remember that there is no effective defence against atomic bomb. The scientists who could predict the utilisation of atomic energy for warfare are definitely pessimistic about the development of any such defence in the near future. Again, Prof. Robert Oppenheimer says:

"The pattern of the use of the atomic bomb was set at Hiroshima. They are weapons of aggression, of surprise, and of terror . . . The elements of surprise and of terror are as intrinsic to it as are the fissionable nuclei."

The element of terror cannot be removed at present, but the element of surprise can be reduced only one way, and that is by arming oneself to the teeth for retaliation. It is only by the capacity for retaliation that a country can stop the usage of atomic bombs against itself.

The position of the countries that cannot produce the atomic bombs will be quite unenviable in the atomic warfare. If they are involved in the war between Soviet Russia and America there is a possibility of a clean sweep not only of their cities but also of their major population particularly because of the increasing tendency for urbanisation. It is highly probable that both Russia and America will try to enlist as many countries as possible for their support so that the enemy attack may have to be divided over a bigger area and thus their own striking power may be saved. But, from another point of view, there appears to be a greater possibility for countries like India to keep out of war firstly, because the belligerents can attack one another from their own countries without overriding the intervening countries; and, secondly, because they will not be willing to use their weapons against the smaller countries when an all-out effort is required to face the major enemy.

In view of the facts given above, the foreign policy of India as pursued under the able leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is definitely in the best interests of the country. Fortunately or unfortunately, India can start with a clean slate in her international dealings. It is absolutely unnecessary at this stage to join one camp or the other. There are a set of idealogues and fifth columnists who insist that we should join either this camp or the other; the less they are allowed to

influence the public opinion the better for the country. The story of the dwarf and the giant given by Oliver Goldsmith is perfectly pertinent in this connection. "Unequal combinations are always disadvantageous to the weaker side."

Then again, the atomic research should be encouraged in our country. We have good deposits of thorium. The Smyth Report does not say much about thorium excepting that thorium has "no apparent advantages over uranium." It does not speak of any disadvantages, but it is known that thorium is being utilised in Canada for atomic energy. There is an immense use for the atomic energy during peacetime. If humanity develops the requisite goodwill in time and the world is saved from the impending catastrophe, we will have ample choice to use the enormous energy available to us for industrial purposes. If we are unfortunately plunged into the war, the only deterrent for atomic bomb is our capacity to use it in return, and for that purpose also the sooner we initiate our work in that direction the better for us.

From the defence point of view, our industrial planning should be such as not to concentrate all the industries in the major cities. In America today there appears to be a serious contemplation of decentralisation of the industries. For, if all the industries are concentrated in a few cities and the majority of the population swarms round them, it is very easy for the aggressor to dislocate the entire morale and production of the country simply by attacking the major cities. Plans, it appears, are being made for 'linear' or 'ribbon' cities and 'cellular' cities. Since we are just in the planning state and it does not mean undoing something that has been already done, it behoves us to take these facts into consideration.

The linear or ribbon city is a city that is very long and of small width, with its industries and services distributed evenly. The cellular city is the city dispersed into a number of units each separated by four or five miles from the other but having well-knit communications. Considering the enormous cost of the atomic bomb, the enemy cannot afford to use a huge number of bombs required to destroy a cellular or ribbon city; for ia that case, the cost they put in for the bombs will far excel the loss they inflict.

The encouragement of cottage industries, the dispersion of the heavy industries, limiting the growth of the existing cities are needed for a defence in the atomic warfare much more than in the ordinary warfare because of the enormous concentration of the destructive power in the atomic bomb. It appears from the press reports that the Government is planning the expansion of cities like Delhi. From what has been said above, it appears to be a move fraught with dangers. Before making plans for any future constructions and industries we should bear in mind that we have entered the atomic age and its full implications are to be foreseen as realistically as possible.

LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN MANIPUR The Work of a Poet and a Sanskrit Scholar

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (London), F.B.A.S.B.

DURING this first visit of mine to Manipur (Imphal), which I undertook to form contacts with scholars and literary men in the Meithei (Manipuri) language and to see Manipur as a centre of at least one great form of art, namely, that of the dance, what impressed me most was the literary work that has been done and is being done by two eminent sons of Manipur, the late Hijam Anganghal Singh, poet and literary man, and Pandit Sree Atombapu Vidyaratna, Sanskrit scholar and writer in Manipuri. Pandit Vidyaratna fortunately is still with us, but poet Anganghal passed away in 1943 aged only 49? Pandit Vidyaratna has enriched and is still enriching Manipuri by his translations from Sazzkrit and his editions in Manipuri of some of the most important Sanskrit scriptures, as well as by his learned historical and other essays, concieved, no doubt, in the orthodox Hindu spirit but conveying nevertheless valuable information about the old Hindu culture of Manipur; his work is of first-rate inportance in inducing the historic and philosophic outlook among Manipuri readers, and this should be better known outside the limits of Manipur.

It would appear that the late Anganghal Singh (I speak subject to correction, not knowing Manipuri myself) is the greatest writer Manipur so far has produced; the extent of his compositions is astounding for a modern He can, through his great work the Khamba-Thoibi-Shoireng, be described as the national Poet of the Meithei (Manipuri)-speaking people. This great poem, running up to over 39,000 lines (his MS, runs up to over 1300 pages with 30 lines in each page) embodies the most romantic story, about the love of Khamba and Thoibi, which this Eastern Frontier of India has produced. Ballads about Khamba and Thoibi are still widely sung in Manipur, but our poet has taken up the old story and has composed a new poem (in long lines of 14 syllables, with a pause after the 7th,-a metre which is eminently suitable for epic narration) which is true in both spirit and diction and in story-content to the old ballads on the subject. I have heard the poem enthusiastically praised by young Manipuris. So far, the poet's son has brought out about one-eighth of the poem, but I think the entire work should be published without delay, and that will at once raise the prestige and dignity of Manipuri literature; and an abstract of the poem in English, with translations of typical passages and a critical study of it, will be a desideratum in Indian literature bringing home to the rest of India and to the world what important things—important from the point of view of voicing the aspirations, the ideals and the social and cultural milieu of a whole people—are being done in this distant corner of India.

The late Anganghal Singh's other romantic poem, named Singel-Indu with its 8,000 lines, has already been exhausted in its first edition of 1000, and this is quite remarkable considering that the Manipuri reading public is not large and only two years were needed to make a second edition necessary. The poet has left two volumes of short poems, and he also wrote one social novel and three dramas, which have been widely read and appreciated in MS. and are waiting publication. A volume of literary essays, which are quite charming in their thought and style (so far my Manipuri friends assure me), has also seen the light of the day.

I would not insist upon a comparison, as I do not know the Manipuri language and am not in a position to judge either the subject and thought-content or the beauty of language and expression in the original writings of the late Anganghal Singh; but it would appear from the views of certain of my Manipuri friends that the position of our poet is comparable to that of Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali and Modern Indo-Aryan literature.

When I think of the extent and comprehensive character of the Khamba-Thoibi-Shoireng, I am reminded of the Shah-nama, the national epic of Persia by Firdausi, and the Kalevala, the national epic of Finland which was woven out of songs and ballads about the ancient heroes current among the Finnish people by Elias Loenvrot who collected them, on the one hand, and of artistic epics like the Latin Aeneid of Virgil and the English Sigurd the Volsung by William Morris on the other. I am convinced this single work will considerably raise the value of Manipuri among the languages of India and the world. I hope that those who are in a position to do so will exert themselves to the utmost to get the entire works of the late Anganghal Singh in print, for the glory of Manipuri and Indian literature.

8th December, 1947.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newsdapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA STATE MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY, Vol. III, Part I, (Aug. 1945 to January 1946), pp. 1-80 and pp. 8 (illustrations). DO, Vol. III, Part II, (February-July 1946), pp. 1-91 and pp. 9 (illustrations). Edited by II. Govetz, Baroda. 1947 and 1948.

Though belated in their publication, these successive issues of the Bulletins of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery maintain the high standard of scholarship that we have learnt to associate with the able editorship of Dr. H. Goetz, the accomplished Curator of the Museum. The first issue opens with a highly thought-provoking essay (accompanied with a map) from the pen of H. Goetz, entitled The Role of Gujarat in Indian Art History. "Gujarat," he concludes, "has been the link between the Middle Ages before the chaos of the Muslim invasions and the Indian renaissance following on them. She has been the mother of three styles of later India, the revivalist Hindu Renaissance, the early Rajput and Gujarati folk styles; one of the parents of Mughal Art under Akbar and Jahangir, of the Basohli School of Himalayan Rajput painting and of Maratha, house architecture; and she has influenced the textile art of the Muslim countries beyond the sea." The other papers are likewise the work of specialists. An Early Indo-Scythian Monument by H. Goetz and A Unique Bronze Figurine by O. C. Gangoly are of great interest to students of Indo-Scythian history. The former deals with a small stela representing a tree flanked on either side by a fantastic animal, which the author believes to be "the earliest so far known monument of the Indo-Scythians." The latter describes a small bronze figurine of a girl holding with upturned arms the ends of pieces of foliage falling down from a vase, which is taken by its author to be a work of the Kushan period from Mathura. Iconography is well represented by the papers Siddha Chakra by U. P. Shah and A Cunda Image in the Baroda Museum by B. Bhattacharyya. An Early Mughal Portrait of Sultan Abdullah Qutb-shah of Golconda and An Early Basohli-Chamba Rumal by H. Goetz form a pair of important contributions to the study of Mughal and Rajput paintings respectively. An interesting general account of European tapeatry weaving is the prelude to H. Goetz's paper on Some French Tapestries in the Collection of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. The account of a Special Exhibition of Paintings by Nicholas and Svetoslav Roerich held at Baroda in January, 1946, is preceded by a critical appreciation of the art of both these well-known painters written by H. Goets.

In the second issue the account of a small bronze jug in the State Museum with the face of a woman ("Astarte in her incarnation as the Dove, or in her Cypriotic-Greek variety, Aphrodite Urania") on its

rim gives the occasion for H. Goetz's elaborate and learned essay on the cult of this deity (and her parallels) in Europe and Asia. Among other topics iconography is represented by H. Goetz's paper on a statuette of the Gandhara school belonging to the end of the second century A.D. according to its author and B. Bhattacharyya's well-documented paper on Dhyani Buddha Images in the Baroda Museum. In the former paper we are told that the statuette in question may be regarded "as an exceptional form of (the Buddhist deity) Panchika," but more probably it "represents the Sun-god Mihira in a transitional iconographic aspect intermediate between that of the Kushana coins on the one side and that of the Bamiyan frescoes and of the European St. Michael and St. George figures on the other." In another paper H. Goetz gives us a historical and critical account of "Hindu renaissances" in the Muslim period (matching the Italian renaissance) as a prelude to his study of a late 18th century image in the Baroda Museum. On the subject of Mediacval Hindu painting we have instructive papers on A Jaina Vijnantipatra by U. P. Shah as well as A Muslim Painting of the Kangra School and The Modern Indian Picture Gallery by H. Goetz. In the branch of numismatics we have a paper on Gold Coins in the Baroda State Museum by B. L. Mankad, while that of Anthropology is represented by a too short account of a predatory tribe called the Vaghers, written by V. L. Devkar.

We have noticed a few inaccuracies. In Vol. III, Part I, p. 1, the well-known art-critic's name is wrongly printed as A. C. Coomaraswamy. In Vol. III, Part II, p. 55, the mention of references to "Karshapanas, Nishkas, etc." in "the Puranas, Jatakas, etc." as "vory old" cannot but be regarded as a most unfortunate slip.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ON TO DELHI: Edited by G. C. Jain_Published by Saraswati Pustak Mandir, Jogiwara, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 156. Price Rs. 3-8.

NETAJI SPEAKS: Compiled by Sati Kumar Nag. Chayanika Publishing House, 42 Sitaram Ghose Street, Calcutta. First edition. 1946. Pp. 86. Price Rs. 2-4.

Both the books are a collection of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's writings and speeches delivered from abroad during the second World War. The speeches are noble and inspiring and reveal the true state of affairs that prevailed then in East Asia and the indomitable spirit under which he organised the I. N. A. and carried on his march On to Delhi. These reflect also the foresight of a spirited political thinker. Couched in chiselled words and embalmed with finer sentiment and flourishes of oratory the speeches of the Great Patriot have become classic. Every Indian youth, we wish, should imbibe the spirit of the Beloved Hero and devote him-

self to the task of making Mother India really great and noble—the task that has devloved upon his countrymen.

Notan Speaks contains Bose's presidential address at the Haripura Congress and an introduction by the compiler. Both the books, especially On to Delhi, are well-got up and illustrated.

NABAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

THE PATHANS: By Ghani Khan. Published by N. I. P., Bombay. 1947. Pp. 58. Price Rs. 2-4.

Ghani Khan, son of the Frontier Gandhi, is an entertaining story-teller, and here he gives us by means of a few anecdotes an interesting peep into some aspects of Pathan life. He speaks of the Pathan's love of freedom and addiction to feud, his Spartan hardihood and simplicity, his craze for the rifle and the situr and of his keen sensitiveness to feminine grace and beauty. For the general notion of the Pathan's instinct for violence and lawlessness, Ghan Khan does not offer any plea, but his narrative is so woven and designed that in the setting of the rugged and mountainous country they become a necessary part of the Pathan's living. The Pathan's great sport is fighting and sensuous enjoyment of the woman who is a pretty toy, a phantom of delight with him made for his gratification.

The monograph concludes with a sketch of Abdul Ghaffur Khan and a few words on the "Red Shirts." The author uses a facile pen and we look forward to an account of the Red Shirt movement from him in the near future.

N. B. Roy

THE PRINCE OF AYODHYA: By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 385. Price, board Rs. 4, calico Rs. 6.

The learned author, who is an emeritus professor and the present principal of the Vivekananda College, Madras needs no introduction to the reading public. His popular manuals on Hinduism, and particularly his magnum opus, Renaissance of Hinduism, an outstanding publications of the Benares Hindu University, have brought him all-India reputation. In the book under review, he makes a purely literary approach to the Ramayana and gives a fairly comprehensive summary of its story for the benefit of the young.

For convenience of narration the author has divided the whole story into three parts and calls them respectively a tragedy, a romance and an epic. The first part, covering the Bala-Kanda and the Ayodhya-Kanda, is an intensely human tragedy full of pathetic situations that rend our hearts. The second part dealing with the Aranya-Kanda, the Kishkindha-Kanda and the Sundara-Kanda is a long romance The third part summarising the Yuddha-Kanda is an epic that describes a colossal conflict between Rama and Ravana, the two greatest Puwers of the then world. The description is so vivid, and the style so flowery that the book reads like a novel from beginning to end. The story of the Ramayana seems to have never been better told than this in English.

The author rightly traces the story of the Ramayana to the Vedic traditions, and observes that the conflict between Rama and Ravana is not so much between two races as between two civilizations, between two ideals of life. According to the thoughtful author, the central purpose of Valmiki's poem is perhaps to show that the true progress of humanity consists in moral evolution and not in material development. Materially Guha, Hanuman, Jatayu and Jamvaban were primitive

and backward, but morally they were far superior to the materially advanced Ravana and Rakshasas. The Ramayana uphelds the Indian ideal that a man wearing a rough loin-cloth, living in a small hut, travelling in a country cart and eating coarse food may be far more developed morally and spiritually than a man who travels by aeroplane, drives a Rolls-Royce and listens through a radio-set to the music of the Antipodes. The book deserves to be perused by the young men and women of Free India.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDIA IN REVOLT (1942), Vol. I. (Bengal and Assam): Edited by Tarini Sankar Chakravarty. 85 Joy Mitter's Street, Calcutta. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 3.

This was the first book in English that was published in India in 1946 on the Revolt against British imperialism that burst over the country on the wake of Congress resolution passed on the 8th August, 1942. The call to "do or die" had gone from Gandhiji but the British bureaucracy tried to forestal him by arresting him and other top leaders of the Congress in all the Indian provinces and putting them behind prison bars and keeping them there for about three years. The writer had an ambitious project to collect and collate all the reports of the activities that symbolized this mass awakening robbed of Congress leadership. In the present volume (reprint, 1947) he has tried to give a history of this movement as it developed in Bengal and Assam. And though there are many links missing, the book is certainly self-sufficient considering the time when the Muslim League held the reins of power in Bengal under the superintendence of the British bureaucracy. A fuller all-India history of this Revolt has yet to appear. And though "British control" has been withdrawn from India, the story of this unplanned Revolt occupies a distinct place in the last of the outbursts that precipitated the developments of June 3, 1947.

We hope the author will be able to divert his attention to this work.

THE METAPHYSICS OF IQBAL: By Dr. Ishrat Hasan Enver. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. 1944. Pp. 91. Price Rs. 3.

In the Foreward to the book, Dr. S. Z. Hasan has rightly observed, "Iqbal has been a great force in India for the last quarter of a century and the mind of the present-day Indian Muslim can not be grasped without a deep study of Iqbal." Iqbal was a poet, a philosopher and a patriot. He loved India as any patriotic Indian and he loved Islam too. At one time he, no doubt, inclined towards Pan-Islamism; but it can not be said that he gave up India of his birth. We may remember in this connection his famous song, "In this whole world, our Hindusthan," etc. But Iqbal was a philosopher also. All great poets ultimately reach philosophy. So did Goethe, so did Tagore. And we have an account of Iqbal's philosophy in this book. Iqbal was an Intuitionist and so has many points in common with Bergson. He also believed in the reality of the self, the world and God.

The summary of Iqbal's philosophical thought attempted in this book has been a good one. Iqbal properly understood may yet be a cementing force between the warring communities—Muslim and non-Muslim—in India. We wish the author success. But we also wish that Iqbal be presented to the Indian reader in languages other than Urdu and English so that non-Muslim India may appreciate him. A great

thinker is a property of the world, belongs to the whole world, and should not be cold-storaged within a limited circle.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

VARSHAPHAL OR THE HINDU PROGRESSIVE HOROSCOPE (Fourth Edition): By B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S. Raman Publications, P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore, Price Rs. 3.

Mr. Raman, the efficient editor of the Astrological Magazine, has been rendering valuable services to the cause of Hindu Astrology for some decades. His organ has been intrumental in popularising and raising the standard of Hindu Astrology not only all over India but also in Western countries. He is the author of a good many astrological works which will, it is sure, stand the test of time. His present work is a new venture in the realm of 'Hindu' Astrology because the long-neglected Tajaka system has, for the first time, been explained in this book in a most rational and There are three main systems of scientific manner. Hindu Astrology, i.e. (1) Parasara, (2) Jaimini, (3) Tajaka. The last-mentioned system, which is a distinct departure from the other two systems is of later origin. It was pursued by many astrologers amongst whom the works of Nilkantha and Kesava are regarded to be authentic. One who masters this system can predict annual results from a subject horoscope with wonderful accuracy. It should be remembered that 'Varshaphal' or annual results cannot be forecast with the help of any other method except the Tajaka system which is being popularised through Mr. Raman's present work that has passed through several editions within a decade.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON NATIONAL AND LOCAL FINANCE: By Bimala Kanta Sarkar. Published by the author from 29-B Bakulbayan Road, Calcutta. Pages 140. Price Rs. 2-8.

As the name implies this is a treatise on taxation as studied from the local and national points of view. The problem is of special significance now when the Indian Union shall have to revise the entire schedule to give maximum benefit to the masses. The author makes a comparative study of conditions prevailing in England, Germany, France and U.S.A. College students will find this book useful as the author has made a comparison and analysis of various opinions of the European and American authorities on the subject. The book abounds in mistakes in printing, which the author regrets and promises to rectify in a future edition.

A. B. DUTTA

RURAL PROBLEMS IN MADRAS: Monograph by S. Y. Krishnaswami, O.B.E., I.C.S. Government Press, Madras. 1947. Pp. 545. Price Rs. 5.

This is an exceedingly well-written monograph on the rural problems of Madras. It is rarely that a reviewer has the pleasure of unreservedly commending a Government publication. Sri Krishnaswami has treated his subject in thirteen chapters covering 'General aspects, Population, Land tenure, Irrigation, Agriculture and its technological improvements, Livestock, Rural industries, Marketing of the products, Development of co-operatives, Education, Health and Hygienc.' It ends with conclusions drawn from subjective and objective analyses, of the village problems in Madras. There are four maps devoted to Topography, Rainfall, Soil and Population and a number of illustrations too. One would however wish that a map showing physical features including the drainage of the area would be

provided in the next edition. We congratulate the author and the Government for bringing out such an excellent monograph.

KANANGOPAL BACCHI

HINDI

MUKTIDUTA: By Virendra Kumar Jain. Bharatiya Gnanapith, Durgakund Road, Benares. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 4-12.

The young novelist, who is already on his way to fulfilment and fame, has woven, with the aid of vivid imagination and a style which has in it the movement and music of the wave, into a romance the Puranic tale of Anjana and Pavanjaya. Some of his descriptions have a haunting beauty, while his analysis of the ever-clusive emotion of love is marked by a pleasing as well as profound insight. At places, however, he is submerged under the crescendo of his own creation!

PRAKRITIK CHIKITSAK: By Ramnarain Dube. Prakritik Arogyashrama, Benares. Pp. 562. Price Rs. 7-8.

A handy and useful Nature-Cure physician in your own home! As such, the book deserves to be in every family. The "prescriptions" for the various diseases, however, still need to be further simplified before they can commend themselves to the common man.

JEEVAN-VIHAR: By Kaka Kalelkar. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers, Ltd., Bombay 2. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 2.

The author is an original thinker as well as an erudite scholar, besides being a man of action. Therefore, his thoughts on the many facets of literature, with which the present volume (which is a translation into Hindi by Shripad Joshi from the author's original, in Gujarati, Jeevan-Bharati) deals, have an inspiring all-sidedness. Literature, according to him, is a lamp as well as a lever; it should not be an inhabitant of the ivory-tower; its legitimate, native place is the life of truth and the truth of life (which is, by the bye, a totally different thing from the "eye-witness" account of life). Therefore, a votary of literature is a well-wisher of humanity as well as its sign-post towards archetypal perfection and infinite probity.

G. M.

K. M. J.

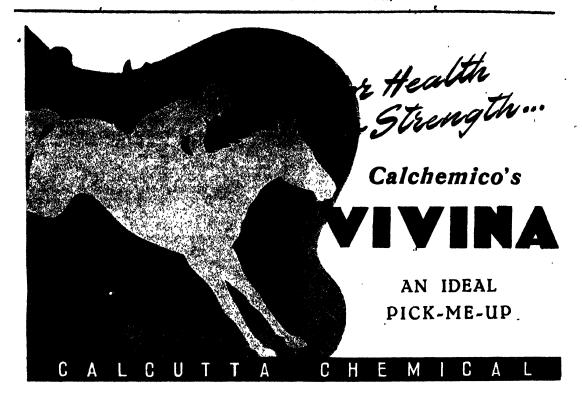
KAVYANGANA: By Jatil (Jatilraj) Keshavlal Vyas, B.A. Porbandar. Thick card-board, 1945, Pp. 92. Price Re. 1-8.

GUJARATI

A collection of 66 poems on various subjects, ably handled by the young rising poet, has its value enhanced by the analytical introduction contributed by the well-known Professor of Gujarati, Mr. R. M. Joshi, of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar.

ARVACHINA: By Dhansukhlal Mehta and Avinash Vyas. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 70. Price Re. 1.

Mr. Dhansukhlal Mehta, an established writer of numerous works, along with Avinash Vyas, has hit off a step, which is meant to present a picture of the modern (Arvachin) young society of both sexes consisting of college students. How superficiality and jollity have worked into their hearts and how they influence their lives, is shown here in as clear a manner as possible. The idea behind the caustic humour is self-apparent. When being acted on the stage, it is sure to please the audience at one moment and set them thinking at the other, as to what phase of life our society is undergoing. There is much that is hidden behind this light play.





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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Re-making of Higher Studies in Economics, Commerce, Politics and Sociology for Dominion India

Prof. Benoy Sarkar writes in The Calcutta Review:

The Dominion Freedom of India since August, 1947, has placed her in the arena of world-competition in a manner undreamt of three decades ago at the end of World-War I. The educational institutions of the Indian people have therefore need to be re-made with a view to the new demands for competency and the new urges for self-assertion by the international standard.

Dominion India requires new branches of knowledge to be cultivated by her scholars. She requires also new methods and techniques for cultivating the arts and sciences,

both old and new.

A short memorandum is being placed before the educators of India today with a few suggestions in regard to some of the more important items associated with the higher teaching of economics, commerce, politics and sociology. For certain purposes it may be taken to be a continuation of the memo, submitted by the present writer twenty-two years ago in August, 1926. These suggestions are based on a hypothesis with regard to educational, socio-philosophical and cultural reconstruction. It runs to the effect that persons with pre-1947 mentalities and/or equipment will find themselves utterly helpless in regard to the management of Indian affairs from 1950 on,

In order to render the teaching of economics, commerce, political science, and sociology somewhat more practical, businesslike and uptodate the following resolutions may be placed before the Inter-University Board's meeting as well as the Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities to be held at Madras in December, 1948. The resolutions have been so worded that underlying

reasons should appear to be obvious.

1. Measures be adopted by every University such as may enable at least one teacher of economics to be equipped with a general knowledge of goods as well as engineering, productional and technological subjects. The deputation of certain members of the teaching staff in economics and commerce to educational institutions like (1) the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.), Cambridge (U.S.A.), for familiarity with the courses in business and engineering administration as well as in industrial economics, and (2) the New York State College Agriculture (Cornell University, Ithaca, U.S.A.) for familiarity with the courses is farm management, agricultural engineering, animal husbandry, rural sociology, etc., for a year or two is likely to be helpful in this regard.

is likely to be helpful in this regard.

2. Measures he adopted by every University such as may enable at least one teacher of economics to be equipped with the latest economic theories as well as methods of economic analysis. The deputation of certain teachers, strong in mathematics and statistics, to the University of Cambridge or to Harvard University (U.S.A.) for a year

or two is recommended for this purpose,

3. Statistics be rendered compulsory for every M.A. student of economics and commerce.

4. Statistics be rendered an integral part in I.A. for the Civics papers by the incorporation of a definite number of pages dealing with some of the most important figures available in Census Reports and other Government publications.

With this object in view 20 per cent, of the marks in I.A. Civies may be ear-marked for questions bearing on des-

criptive statistics.

5. Statistics be likewise rendered an integral part in B.A. for the Economics papers by the prescription of a text-hook on elementary (and somewhat non mathematical) statistics.

This object may be realized by the rule that 20 per cent. of the marks in B.A. Economics be alloted to statistics.

6. Insurance (life and general) be rendered compul-

sory for every student of commerce in M.A.

7. Transportation (inland, maritime, and aerial) be

 Transportation (inland, maritime, and aerial) be rendered compulsory for every student of commerce in M.A.

8. Measures be adopted by every University for enabling the teachers of political science to be equipped with a general knowledge of races and tribes. mental traits, group morality, caste patterns, as well as economic development, and industrial relations. The deputation of certain teachers to Columbia University (New York) and the Universities of Paris, Cologne, Prague, Stockholm, Zurich, etc., for a year or two with a view to orientations in anthropological, psychological and sociological sciences as well as world-economy is likely to be useful in this field.

9. Measures be adopted for providing every University with a teacher of diplomacy, international relations and consular service. The deputation of certain teachers of political science to Indonesia, China, Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, U.K., France and the U.S.A. for researches and investi-

gations is recommended for this purpose.

10. Measures be adopted for providing every University with a teacher of municipal administration and constitutional law. The deputation of certain teachers of political science to Sweden, Holland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, U. K., France, Canada, the U.S.A., Australia, etc., for researches and investigations is recommended for this purpose.

11. Measures be adopted for rendering sociology an independent branch of instruction and research at every University and placing it on the same level with econo-

mics and political science,

12. Measures be adopted for equipping the existing arrangements for the teaching of sociology with persons strong in four different disciplines, e.g., anthropology, psychology, social work, and contemporary sociological theories.

theories.

13. The science of population (with public health and eugenics) be rendered popular in all Universities by being admitted as an optional subject in the department of sociology, economics or political science. For proper equipment teachers may be deputed to the Population Institutes of Rome, Paris, Munich, Stockholm, London, and New York.

14. The science of criminology (comprising penclogy) be rendered popular in all Universities by being admitted as an optional subject in the department of sociology or political science. The deputation of teachers to the Criminological Institutes of Italy, France, Germany, Sweden, England and the U.S.A. for researches and investigations may be suggested as a necessity for the commencement of adequate courses in criminology.

15. Journalism be admitted as an optional subject in the department of political science or sociology. The deputation of certain teachers to the College of Journalism at Wisconsin University and to those at Columbia, California, Illinois, North-western Ohio, Syracuse and other Universities of the U.S.A. in order to acquire the methods

of teaching would be a necessity.

16. Social work be recognised an an optional subject of the same level as other optional subjects in the department of political science or sociology. For experience in the methods of teaching and research the New York School of Social Work, the Smith College School of Social Work (Northampton), as well as the Social Welfare or Social Service Colleges of Chicago, Western Reserve, California and other Universities in the U.S.A. may be recommended as venues for certain teachers of political and social sciences.

17. For post-M.A. students at every University a two-year course be instituted for doctorate, and arrangements of the Seminar pattern be made for regular and systematic teaching as well as training in research under

competent instructors.

18. Every seminar in every University be provided with financial facilities for publishing a quarterly journal furnished mainly with papers contributed by the teach-

ing staff.

19. Industrial concerns, banks, export-import houses, chambers of commerce, insurance companies, railways, port authorities and so forth be requested to permit batches of University students to visit their officies, laboratories and workshops under proper guidance.

20. The departments of public administration (central, local and municipal) be requested to permit batches of University students to get acquainted with the practical working of the governmental machinery under proper

guidance.

21. The ability to utilize books and journals in two of the following European languages,—French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish,—be regularly announced as a desired qualification for prospective teachers of economics, commerce, political science and sociology.

22. For prospective teachers of international law, diplomacy, consular service and contemporary history the ability to utilize books and journals in one of the following Asian languages,—Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, Malayan, Javanese, Indo-Chinese and Japanese,—in addition to one of the European languages mentioned above be regularly announced as a desired qualification.

23. Several Institutes of Modern Languages (Asian

23. Several Institutes of Modern Languages (Asian and European as well as Indian) be organized under the auspices of Indian Universities for the benefit of students, teachers, administrators, consular and diplomatic officials,

journalists and businessmen.

Up till now the word "plan" or "planning" has been carefully avoided. But the most important feature of a plan is ubiquitous in the above resolutions. It is impossible to hide the reality that Rupecs-annas-pies in thousands are involved in the implementation of any one of these suggestions, if they are not to remain pious wishes. And so we are finally landed in an educational planning for certain branches of social science.



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Significant Features of Indian **Education Today**

An outline summary of the features of Indian Education today as prepared by Mr. E. W. Franklin for The National Christian Council **Review** is given below:

1. CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

This is the most authoritative body in India composed as it is of Education Ministers, Directors of Public Instruction and prominent educationists. Its last meeting was at Delhi in January, 1948. This was the first meeting of the Board in free India. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his opening speech laid stress on the following points:

1. Educational progress should be accellerated. We cannot wait for 40 years as planned by the Sargent Report.

- 2. Without religious influences people become overrationalistic. The solution lies not in rejecting religious instruction in elementary stages, but in imparting sound and healthy religious education under our direct supervision.
- 3. The change of medium of instruction should be gradual and not sudden. So far as higher education is concerned, status quo may be preserved for five years.

4. Shall we have a common language for University education or regional languages?

5. Adult education should be intensified.

- The Board was inaugurated by Pandit Jawaharlah Nehru who laid stress on:
- 1. Education to be reorganized in relation to social and economic life of tomorrow.

2. Education must be given top priority.

- 3. The tepmo of reorganization must be increased. A. The Board decided that:
- 1. Adult education should be promoted vigorously. In regard to finance there should be a 50: 50 basis for provincial and central contributions.

2. The period of compulsory basic education should be reduced for the present to five years.

3. Double shift system may be introduced to economise on buildings.

4. To agree with the Hon'ble the Minister's view in regard to the medium of instruction, viz., (a) that Indian languages should be used up to secondary schools with English as an optional language; (b) that in Universities there should be status quo for next five years.

5. Development plans of provinces should be subsidised by the centre by a system of block grants at a percentage which is equal to that which the expenditure on education bears to the total expenditure of a province.

6. There should be an Indian Cultural Trust with provincial cultural academies.

7. Social Services organization and training of personnel should be intensified.

8. A National Commission of the UNESCO should be

9. High Grade Technological Institutes should be established near Calcutta and Bombay.

10. There should be a secondary Schools Examinations Council.

B. The Board appointed the following Committees:

1. Adult Education.

Secondary Education. Ways and Means (Finance). 3.

4. Medium of Instruction.

Since this paper was written, the Government of India have accepted the recommendation of the Committee on Medium of Instruction, and have advised Provincial Governments and Universities to gradually replace English by the mother-tongue as medium of instruction and introduce a compulsory test in the federal language. The federal language is yet to be decided by the Constituent Assembly.

The meeting of the Board was followed by a conference of Directors of Public Instruction, Ministers of Education and Vice-Chancellors. The decisions of the Board were confirmed by this conference.

II. EDUCATION AND THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Education is mentioned in articles 22, 23, 32, 36, 37 and 298. The first two (22 and 23) occur in Part III which deals with the fundamental rights, while the next three are in Part IV which lays down the directive policy of the State. Article 298 deals with Anglo-Indian Education, and states that institutions meant for Anglo-Indians will not receive state aid unless they admit at least 40 per cent of pupils from other communities.

The other relevant articles are as follows:

A. Rights relating to Religion:

1. "No religious instruction shall be provided by the State in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds, provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State, but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

2. "No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving any aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in any institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person, or if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

3. "Nothing in this article shall prevent any community or denomination from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in an educational institution outside its working hours,

B. Cultural and Educational Rights:

- 1. "Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.
- 2. "No minority whether based on religion community or language shall be discriminated against in regard to the admission of any person belonging to such minority into any educational institution maintained by the State.
 - 3. (a) "All minorities whether based on religion, community or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice,
 - (b) "The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority whether based on religion, community or language."



Legislative Work

The New Review observes:

The autumn session of India's Parliament is over, There was hardly any formal Opposition, and no fear of any adverse vote; in spite of it, or because of it, criticism was frank and widespread. Embarrassing questions were put on the emoluments of governor-general and ambasadors, recruitment to the Foreign Services, sterling balances, monetary inflation, etc. In twenty-three sessions more than thirty laws were passed on the Territorial Army, the Resettlement of Displaced Persons, the Nationalisation of the Reserve Bank, the Electricity system, etc. The Hindu Code Bill was held over as some of its clauses call for elucidation; measures against inflation were discussed but the Government have not yet framed a comprehensive policy.

The bill on the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank was passed in first reading as a matter-of-course. Such legislation has become fashionable. In 1935 there were eleven countries with a state bank; four more (Canada, Denmark, New-Zealand, Paraguay) were added before the war, nine more since 1945 (Brazil, Rumania, the Netherlands, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, France and even England). Popular opinion has it that since a Reserve Bank is the bank for all people, it should be managed by the people's representatives, it being taken for granted that political representatives really represent the economic man. It is to be expected that further measures will be brought forward for nationalising the whole banking system. Nobody would deny that banks need control and reforms. All over the world, bank-concentration has grown alarmingly.

"It is patent that in our days alone is wealth accumulated but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners but only the trustees and directors of invested funds who administer them at

their good pleasure.

*This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying so to speak the lifeblood to the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production so that no one dare breathe against their will. This concentration of power has led to a threefold struggle for domination. First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself; then there is the fierce battle to acquire control of the state so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic struggle. Finally, there is the clash between states themselves."

The above is an excerpt from an Encyclical of Pope Pius XI who stresses the extreme dangers of economic liberalism. Yet one should be careful not to rush away from one danger into another and entrust the whole credit system of a country to a bureaucracy subservient to politicians. Economic power should not be monopolised by any cancus, and is most beneficent when widely distributed. The vital problem of credit control would be best solved along the lines indicated by the Hungarian law of 1916.

This law created a co-operative society of banks (Penzintezeti Kozpont) which had 'to promote, and watch the financial interests of the land.' Each bank subscribed to an extent proportional to its capital, and the state to the rest. The banks were divided into three groups according to their size and each group elected representatives to the Board of Directors, which had a majority of Government nominees. Thus the credit system of the country was entrusted to a professional association of banking experts taken from all the banking strata and personally interested

in running their credit institutions along sound lines. The co-operative worked quite well until a red regime swept it saide. The failure of banks in India calls for bank-re-forms and the example of Hungary invites close study.

Magnesium—The Ultra Modern Metal

Industry, so long dominated by steel, is gradually realizing the advantages of light weight as a means of increasing efficiency in movement, whether in handling, transport, or workshop operations. P. N. Gandhy writes in Science and Culture:

Magnesium when substituted for iron and steel saves 75 per cent dead weight. The two light metals, aluminium and magnesium, in collaboration are proving how far engineering design can be carried without recourse to heavy metals. The development of magnesium alloys in Germany, Britain, and United States began only some 25 years ago, but intense research has resulted in remarkable progress, further stimulated by World War II.

Sources of Magnesium

Although the metal magnesium, in its different compounds, is widely distributed throughout the earth's crust, the raw materials of commercial importance are three, viz., magnesite, dolomite and carnallite. Magnesite, the carbonate of magnesium, is the most important source of metal, and has the advantage that pure magnesia (magnesium oxide) can be prepared from it by a "dry" process with the minimum chemical treatment. Dolomite has all the advantages of magnesite except for the necessity of separating the lime. Isolation of magnesium from sea or salt water has been practised for the past 25 years. Magnesium occurs as chloride dissolved in sea-water together with salts of sodium, potassium, and bromine. About 770 lbs. of brine produce 1 lb. of metal.

EXTRACTION OF MAGNESIUM

Now-a-days the production of magnesium on an industrial scale is based almost exclusively on the electrolytic process, which consists in the electrolysis of fused magnesium salts, particularly magnesium chloride. This process bears some resemblance to the electrolytic extraction of aluminium from alumina, but the cell design is a little different. The electrodes are arranged vertically and opposite to each other in the cell, the cathode consisting of iron and the anode of carbon or graphite. The electrolyte consists of a salt mixture of suitable conductivity, viscosity, and specific gravity. Power consumption of 9 K.W.II. per pound of magnesium is necessary in present practice.



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A new thermal method using dolomite and ferro-silicon has been developed lately in Canada. A mixture of the two, in the form of briquettes, is charged into tubular steel retorts, which are then closed and evacuated. On heating in a furnace, magnesium in the form of vapour is liberated and condensed in a removeable sleeve fitted to the throat of the retort: 2(MgO, CaO+Si=2 Mg+2CaO,

ALLOYING

The tensile strength of pure cast magnesium is only 7 tons per sq. inch, while in the extruded condition it is about 13 tons per sq. inch. But if suitable alloying elements are added these values can be trebled for cast and doubled for wrought alloys. Aluminium is the metal most commonly added to increase the strength of industrial alloys. Zinc is also used in many alloys, and manganese is useful for increasing resistance to corrosion. In standard casting alloys, aluminium is added from 6 to 11 per cent, zinc from 0 to 3.5 per cent, and manganese from 0.5 to 2.5 per cent. Alloys with cadmium, calcium, cerium, nickel, etc. are in course of development and wood help to open up new fields of applications of magnesium

MELTING AND CASTING

Magnesium alloy melting requires a specialized technique. This is made necessary by (a) the extremely low density of the alloys, (b) the strong affinity for oxygen causing "burning" and necessitating use of suitable fluxes, (c) the explosive reaction of molten alloy with water, necessitating use of inhibitors in mounding sand. Mostly steel crucible furnaces are used for melting, fired by gas or oil. The successful handling of magnesium depends upon the proper use of fluxes which have magnesium chloride base. Grain-refining by super-heating is another phenomenon peculiar to magnesium melting. Moisture in moulding sand must be kept to a minimum and even this minimum must be prevented from reacting. To this end, chemicals such as sulphur, boric acid, or ammonium hydrogen fluoride are mixed with the sand which must be of an "open" nature. Die casting is also applicable.

Hot Working

Magnesium and its alloys may be extruded, press-forged, and rolled if the temperature is kept high enough and the rate of working is slow. The best working range of temperature is between 260 degrees and 360 degreesC. By extrusion the relatively coarse-grained cast structure of the billet is changed into a fine-grained fibrous structure and both the tensile strength and elongation values are thereby improved. Magnesium alloys are extensively rolled into sheets and strips in mills essentially similar to those used for steel rolling. Commonly, the initial material used in rolling is extruded slabs, but cast slabs are also employed. The hexagonal crystal structure of magnesium does not permit cold rolling to any great extent but by frequent process annealing some cold working is not impossible.

Corrosion

There is *perhaps, more misunderstanding about the corrosion stability of magnesium than any other property. It can be agreed that magnesium is chemically active but its position at the active end of the electro-chemical series has unduly prejudiced the minds of engineers. In the average rural and industrial atmosphere, magnesium is very stable. However, contact with other metals, either externally or internally as impurities, gives rise to serious trouble. But modern high-purity magnesium and alloys show only surface attack after 6 years in 3 per cent NaCl solution. Effective means have been developed for treating the surface of magnesium alloys by which atmospheric and particularly marine conditions can be withspood.

In the years prior to 1939, magnesium alloys were fairly extensively used in the construction of aircraft and acro-engine, for such parts as crank-cases, landing wheels, cowlings, and airframe parts. The maximum possible use of magnesium ultra-light alloys in aircraft is now the general policy in Europe and America. Applications in the heavy vehicle industry have been expanding. Other successful applications have been for binoculars, book covers, scientific instruments, drills, road rammers, and in reciprocating and rotating machines, such as compressors, pumps, textile machines, etc. World War II has brought about important changes in the production position and plenty of magnesium is now available. It is obvious that there is a very great field for increased magnesium alloy applications based on the wider and more imaginative use of the existing alloys. It is hoped that India will soon be developing her own magnesium industry for which she possesses the necessary raw materials,

The Culture of Maharashtra

With all its provincial distinctiveness the culture of Maharashtra was Indian and therefore truly universal. Prof. S. R. Sharma writes in The Aryan Path:

Indian culture is a product of Indian history. All the people and provinces of this great country have made it what it is. In this brief article we shall try to ascertain the contributions made by Maharashtra to its enrichment. It is needless to point out that, like all other constituents of our country and civilization, Maharashtra has many things in common with the rest, as well as certain things which may be considered distinctive. It is for us to remember the one without being forgetful of the other, because it has been the eternal quest of India to find Unity in the midst of diversity. The culture of Maharashtra with all its distinctive features is essentially en rapport with the spirit and trends of Indian culture taken as a whole. Popular impressions of Maratha history and culture may seem to contradict this characterization, inasmuch as Maratha history was a history of revolt and not submission. But a closer examination and acquaintance will show that what we have said is also true.

The character and outlook of a people are well reflected in their religious ideas and institutions, their literature and art, no less than by their political history.

In order to appreciate the culture of Maharashtra we have to look not only at the significance of its outer history, but also into the inner

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and more intimate life of its people through the centuries.

Before proceeding to do this, we might correct a popular misconception about the nature of Maratha history. The Marathas waged war against the Mughal Empire, not because it was Muslim but because it interfered with their independence. Shivaji's toleration of Islam has been acknowledged by the imperial historian Khasi Khan: he protected the Quran, Muslim places of worship and Muslim women; Muslims were also entertained in his services. He fought against Aurangzeb, but fraternized wih the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda for the common defence of the Deccan. The Peshwas, too, co-operated with the Mughal emperors in their moments of crisis, and the latter looked to the Marathas whenever India was invaded by foreigners. Though Nadir Shah left before Baji Rao got news of his danger, the Marathas fell to fighting against Abdali in the defence of our common Motherland. In the great rising of 1857 the Hindus and Muslims made common cause under the joint leadership of the Mughals and the Marathas. The Maratha struggle was therefore, political and not religious in the sense of opposition to Islam. It was certainly religious in the sense of standing out for religious liberty against aggressive interference from outside.

An intense cultural movement was the bedrock on which the Maratha political activity rested.

From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, it was also fundamentally a religious and social movement. Before its political leaders like Shivaji and his coadjutors and successors appeared on the scene to give it a permanent shape and direction, in the form of a Maratha Empire, its creative leadership was in the hands of the saints and singers of Maharashtra. These were as often drawn from the masses who were ignorant of politics as from the classes.

The first and the most essential service rendered to popular culture in Maharashtra by the saints was to use the language of the people as the vehicle of the highest thoughts. The Mahanubhavas had done this to a certain extent, but the most monumental work was achieved by Dnaneshwar who wrote his immortal Bhavartha-Dipika—popularly called the Dnaneshwari—in the Marathi dialect spoken in his time (§ e1, at the close of the thirteenth century). He could not have chosen a better work to comment upon than the Bhagavad-Gita which contains the quintessence of Indian philosophy. He did this in something like 10,000 ovis or verses which, like the abhangas, constitute a special feature of Marathi literature. To use a Marathi idiom, the result was that "sugar was added to milk"; such is the delicious effect of reading the teachings of the Gita in the Dnaneshwari.

Like the late Lokamanya Tilak—the most recent among the great Marathi commentators on the Gita—Dnaneshwar, too, laid stress on action.

Those that followed Dnaneshwar also composed in Marathi, thereby swelling the great stream of popular enlightenment into a mighty flood. Namdev, Ekanath, Tukaram and Ramdas may be mentioned as the most outstanding, though the number of the Jesser lights is legion. They produced a symphony which is unique in several respects, together contributing to the great revival which bore Shivaji on its crest. From the point of view of purely political literature, Shivaji's time produced two important works, vis., the Rajevyavahara-kosha and the

Adnapatra, the fermer a dictionary of political terms and the latter a work on state-craft like Chanakya's Artharhastra, but more severely practical than theoretical. On the secular side, we may also state in passing, the Marathas produced a vast historical literature in their chronicles. They created the povada or popular ballad which is peculiar to Marathi and discharged a very effective role in spreading important news as well as inspiring the Marathas with martial ardour. Indeed, the spiritual and political spirit of Maharashtra may be said to have been sustained, respectively, by the abhangas and the povadas which were unique and powerful vehicles of popular instruction. Few other peoples can point to so many and such effective media for the dissemination of national ideas, sentiments, institutions, movements and culture as the Marathas.

In both respects—religious and political—the Maratha movement was a mass movement.

There were in it people drawn from all ranks and classes. The saints included farmers, tailors, gardeners, petty traders, maid-servants, mahars and even prostitutes who had repented of their evil profession. The bhajans, kirtans, and pilgrimages en masse to Pandharpur and other holy places, produced a volume of national activity rarely met with in other parts of India. Reading about all this, one would imagine that the people were obsessed with religion and neglectful of the practical problems of this world. Yet, side by side with the tinkling of temple bells and bhajan-cymbals we witness the forging of arms and armour, strenuous activity in building forts-which stud the whole of Maharashtra even to this day-and the creation of a fleet of fighting and trading ships. These do not indicate that the people were preoccupied with mysticism and metaphysics to the exclusion of all other interests.

The spirit of synthesis is also displayed in Maharashtra in the creation of that splendid trinity of Dattatreya, composed of Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara, which is one of the favourite deities of this province. Hence the sectarianism which tore the people of other parts of India into warring factions, found no foothold in Maharashtra. This may have been the result of the essential rationalism which characterized the teachings of most of the saints,

In short, the culture of Maharashtra was activistic without being unspiritual, religious without being sectarian, and popular without falling from the great heights attained by Hindu philosophers in all ages.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Forests and Forest Resources of India

In the following paper read before The Royal Society of Arts, and as published in its Journal, June, 1947 Sir Herbert Howard observes:

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

In any given country the vegetation—and that means here the forests and forest resources—depends on the temperature and rainfall, the soil and past treatment. With a given temperature, moisture (and ultimately that is rainfall) is the main general deciding factor of the type of forest produced. Important though the soil is, it only influences the type of forest within the limits set by the climate, which is determined largely by temperature and rainfall. Whatever the general type may be in a given locality as determined by the interaction of temperature, rainfall and soil, the past treatment will decide the actual state of the forest.

India, including both British India and the Indian States, presents practically all variations of climate. Temperatures rise as high as 120 degrees in the shade for considerable periods, for example, in places like Multan or Jacobabad, while there are regions of perpetual snow above about 16,000 ft, in the Himalayas. Rainfall varies from under 5 in, per annum in places in the Sind desert to the highest rainfall in the world at Cherrapunji, with an average of 450 in, per annum and a record of over 900 in. Without going into details of all the many varieties of soil in India, it may be said that they include all types from pure sand to the stiffest clay. With such a wide range of conditions, the forests of India naturally

supplying all the ordinary needs of the population.

But apart from the influence of altitude in lowering temperature, which for practical purposes means the mountains on the Western Border, the Himalayas and the Nilgiris, India as a whole is mostly tropical. The result of all this is that for practical purposes the distribution of types of forests over most of the area of India is governed

contain a very large variety, both of types and species,

sufficient in kind to make its forest resources capable of

by the rainfall, influenced locally by soil.

If a rainfall map of India be examined it will be seen that, very roughly speaking, the rainfall is lowest in the west in Sind and the Punjah, increasing as one proceeds eastwards towards Bengal and Assam. Beginning with a low rainfall of under 5 in. in Sind itself, it rises to considerably more than 100 in. the extreme east. On the west coast of Madras there is a strip of very heavy rainfall between the coast and the Nilgiris with over 200 in., decreasing spidly as one proceeds eastwards till the rainfall rises again owing to the influence of the north-east monsoon.

Approximately the types of forest follow those variations in rainfall. Thus in the extreme west in the Sind desert there is practically no vegetation except scattered trees of Prosopis spicigera, Capparis aphylla, Salvadora oleoides, Salvadora persica, Tamarix articulata, etc.

Slightly to the east of this is a belt of tropical thorn forest with various species such as Prosopis spicigera, Capparis aphylla, Balanites roxburghii, Zizyphus jujuba, Salvadora oleoides, Acacia leucophloca, Acacia arabica, Carissa spinarum, Adhatoda vasica, etc.

Further east again is a large area of dry deciduous forest with such species as Anogeissus latifolia, Acacia catechu, Buchanania latifolia, Terminalia komentosa, Bauhinia variegator, Kydia calycina, Shorae robusta (sal), Boswellia serrata. Phyllanthus emblica, Grewia vestita, Ougenia dalbergioiodes, Dendrocalamus strictus (bamboo), Stereospermum suaveolens, Bombax malabaricum, Lannea grandis, Garuga pinnata, Stephygyne parviflora, Pterocarpus marsupium, Terminalia chebula, Dalbergia sissoo and many others. The sal occurs in large gregarious masses.

East of this again is a moist deciduous forest containing principally Shorea robusta in gregarious masses and forming the most valuable forests of North India, and further east again a tripical semi-evergreen and wet evergreen forest with such species as Dipterocarpus pilosus, Artocarpus chaplasha, Artocarpus integrifolia, Shorea assamica, Cinnamomum cecicodaphne, Dysoxylon binectariferum, Altingia excelsa. Messua Terrea. Eugenia spp., Sterculia alata. Michelia champaca, Amoora wallichii, Garcinia spp., Aquilaria agallocha, Cedrela toona, Ficus spp., Phoche hainesiana. Vatica lanceaefolia, Dehdrocalamus hamiltonii. Teinostachyum dullooa, Bambusa pallida Terminalia myriocarpa, Bischoffia javanica.

The boundaries of these zones do not run north and south, but are roughly triangular with the apex of the triangle to the east. Thus the tropical dry deciduous extends as far west as longitude 72 in the south and 76 in the north, but between these two the tropical dry thorn forest extends nearly as far cast as longitude 80, while the tropical dry deciduous itself extends in a long tongue right down the Ganges almost to longitude 88 and in another tongue below the Central Provinces as far as longitude 84. In other words, to repeat, the forest distribution follows the rainfall distribution.

There are exceptions. Thus all through the Gangetic plain the well-defined cane brakes fringe many of the more sluggish streams. In Bombay and Hyderabad there is a belt of tropical dry deciduous and tropical thorn forest in a temperature and rainfall which would ordinarily produce a moister type of forest, but which is caused by the exceedingly dry type of soil which occurs there. Right



down the west coast from Bombay to Cape Comoria is a belt of tropical wet evergreen and tropical semi-evergreen, and another belt of tropical wet evergreen in the cast of Assam towards the Burmere border. There is also the mangrove forest in the Sundarbans.

The Himalayas have a zoning of their own running from, roughly, west to east in a semi-circle, the zoning depending mainly on altitude, though rainfall plays an important part as one proceeds east. Thus, all along the lower Himalayas occur the sub-tropical pine forest of Pinus longifolia, above those the moist temperate forests of deodar, blue pine (Pinus excelsa), silver fir and apruce, above those are the dry temperate oak forests and above those again the alpine forests. In the eastern Himalayas the rainfall alters this so that in the lower altitude occur the sub-tropical wet forests and higher up the wet temperate forests.

This description does not give any detail of the south Indian forests which contain many valuable species. Worth mentioning are the teak forests of Malabar, Bombay and the Central Provinces, the valuable Hopea forests, the eucalyptus forests of the Nilgiris, the sandalwood areas and the peculiar dry evergreen with such species as Mimusops, Diospyros chenum, Strycnos nux vomica, etc.

The above is a very brief description of the types of forests and the species which occur; but, brief though it is, it does bring out the fact that every type exists, from wet evergreen to desert and from tropical forest to alpine.

FOREST ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

While the forest resources of India are more than adequate in variety they are no longer adequate in quantity. Many uncultivated parts of India at present are almost devoid of tree growth or are covered with a useless scrub where at one time were magnificent forests. There are records which show that the Gangetic plain was once a vast forest with an equable climate. At the present day the forest is in scattered patches and the climate is anything but equable. The Emperor Babar hunted rhinoceros in sal forest where at present there are only the Etawah ravines. In the Gorakhpur district there are only patches of sal forest remaining. Even those patches only remain by a lucky chance. To open up the country, the Government granted lands to settlers on condition that they cleared the jungle. If the jungle was not cleared by a certain time the area was to revert to Government. The few patches of sal forest which remains in the Gorakhpur district are those areas which the grantees failed to convert to agricultural land. Surrounded by a dense population with an unlimited demand for all forest produce, they are to-day the most valuable forests in India, where even the sweepings of the leaves which remain after a felling can be sold at a profit. The ruin of the forests was so extensive that

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KUNDU CHEMICAL WORKS, CALCUTTA. (Cf. Distributors: M/S. MEDICO SUPPLY CORP.) 146. Amherst Street, Calcutta-9 Government was forced to take notice of it. Somewhere about 1955 a Forcet Department was formed. Its task was to rescue the comparatively few remaining forcets, preserve them, nurse them back to health and put them under systematic forcet management.

The Government of India, on the advice of its experts, adopted a forest policy which even to-day stands as an example and has formed the basis of policies in other parts of the Empire. I have no record of exactly when this policy was first reduced to writing but, at any rate, in 1894 in Circular 22 F, dated October 19, 1894, the policy,

which in fact had guided the Forest Department since its

inception, was issued formally. That policy classifies Government forests into:

 (a) those necessary on climatic or physical grounds (prevention of floods, erosion or desiccation) i.e., protection forests;

(b) timber forests (principally for timber supplies and revenue):

(c) minor forests (principally to supply local needs), and

(d) pasture forests.

Without going into the details of the whole forest policy, its outstanding principles may be summed up as:

(a) the preservation of the climate and physical conditions of the country comes before everything else (even before agriculture);

(b) the preservation of the minimum amount of forest necessary for the general well-being of the country is second only to (a) above.

After the above two conditions are fulfilled then:

(c) agriculture comes before forestry;

(d) the satisfaction of the wants of the local population free or at non-competitive rates comes before revenue, and

(e) after all the above are satisfied, the realisation of revenue to the greatest possible extent is permitted.

Nothing is actually said in the written policy about the principle of the sustained annual yield, that is to say, that the annual amount of forest produce does not decrease from year to year, that it is approximately equal each year, and that the yearly amount rises gradually until the maximum possible yield from the soil is obtained. But Government has always recognised the principle—for instance, in its F. 56-3|35-F. dated January § 1936, Government said:

"It is inadvisable to permit a departure from the principle of sustained annual yield which has been the fundamental principle of Indian forestry since the foundation of the Forest Department in India."

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YIELOS

The total yield of the forests of India in the period just proceeding the war was approximately 62 million cubic feet of timber and about 210 million cubic feet of fuel a year.

It would be confusing to attempt to give any idea of all the species which comprised this yield, but a few of the important ones which may be named are Acacia arabica (babul or kikar), a strong durable wood, very popular for all agricultural implements; Bombax malabaricum (semal), used for a large variety of ordinary goods, like matchboxes, match splints, packing cases and in plywood for rather poor tea boxes; Cedrus deodara (deodar), a fine railway eleeper wood; Dalbergia sissoo (sissoo), an excellent cabinet and furniture wood and also a good constructional timber; Morus alba (mulherry) excellent for sports goods; Pinus longifolia (chir pine), a good railway sleeper wood when treated and yielding a valuable resin; Shorea robusta (sal), the most used and best untreated sleeper wood in India—also an excellent constructional wood for rafters, piles, bridging, etc.; Tectona grandis (teak), too well known to need description, and many others.

The woods of India cover almost every commercial use, aeroplanes, agricultural implements, axe and tool handles, bentwood articles, boat and ship building, bobbins, boot lasts, brushes, buildings, carts and carriages, construction and general joinery work, cooperage, electric transmission poles, engraving and printing blocks, floor blocks (parquet), furniture, cabinet making and panelling, marine piles and harbour work, match splints and boxes, mathematical instruments, mine work and pit props, motor bodies, musical instruments, packing cases and boxes, pencils and penholders, picker arms, picture framing, plywood and lamin boards, railway carriages, railway keys and brake blocks, railway sleepers, rifle parts and gun stocks, road paving blocks, shuttles, sports goods, tent poles and tent pegs, turnery, umbrella handles and walking sticks, etc.

Imports of timber into India were small, on the other hand there were practically no exports. I have few figures, but just before the war India imported about 185,000 cubic tons of timber of which, however, 160,000 tons was teak from Burma, an import which, with the rapidly-increasing teak plantations in India, will eventually cease.

Despite the import figures it is not true to say that the forests of India supply the demands of India, but it is probably true to say that the forests of India supply the urban and more valuable demands for timber in India. I mean that the towns. the big manufacturers, factories, railway lines, bridges, etc., in fact, all the more valuable

uses of timber, were fairly adequately supplied before the war. Naturally also, the less valuable demands of villagers living in close proximity to the forests were fully supplied.

Not only were all these normal demands adequately supplied, but the tremendous demands made on Indian forests by the Supply Department during the war were fully met, though not without some difficulty. The demands, through the Supply Department, for war supplies alone rose to approximately a million tons a year, say 50 million cubic feet or, in other words, not very different from the ordinary annual yield of Indian forests. While various other demands were drastically cut, the fact remains that the last figures which I have show an annual timber cut of nearly 90 per cent, above normal.

So effective had been scientific forestry in the preceding seventy-five years that this excessive demand was met without material damage to the forests. It is of course perfectly true that much of the excess fell on the best trees in the best areas and, from the revenue-producing point of view, the forests have been temporarily damaged for a few years. But from the point of view of the general use of the land and the good of the country, the forests have not been damaged seriously as forests. Part of the excess yield came from the use of inferior species, not previously considered of any value, the excessive demand enabled thinnings to be made which would have been too expensive in normal times. Though nobody would pretend that the war fellings had not been harmful, they were not an unmitigated evil. Their harm is only temporary and only from the revenue-producing point of view has any harm been done at all. Moreover, the final effects of the past eighty years of scientific management have not yet been fully felt. It will not be for another twenty years, or a little more, that the first forest regenerated under the care of the Forest Department will attain maturity, and the increase in yield which will then take place will be something far greater than anything which has been obtained in the past.

DISTRIBUTION

So far this paper has shown the great variety of the timber in India's forests, and it has indicated that the ultimate effective forest area, of perhaps 10 to 15 per cent., did in fact supply the general demand for timber in India. But those were the general demands of town dwellers, for building construction, general constructional timber, railway sleepers, etc. Big and important though they are, they all deal with the more valuable classes of timber. A railway sleeper, comparatively speaking, is a fairly expensive item, at any rate, it is expensive compared with the price of fuel. Even fuel that is sold to and used by town dwellers, or by factories as a substitute



for coal, can be sold at a much higher price than the ordinary cultivator, for instance, could afford to pay fer fuel or for the small timber that he needs for his house or for his agricultural implements.

India, however, is not a land of towns. It is a land of villages. It is not yet a land of industry but a land of agriculture. It is not a country of the rich but a

country of the poor and hungry.

If a map of the forests of India be examined, it will be found that except for the Central Provinces, the Bombay Presidency and the Madras Presidency, roughly speaking south of a line from the Gulf of Cambay to Calcutta, the forests under the Forest Department consist of a narrow strip in the north in and along the foot of the Himalayas, the forests in the east of Assam, the Sunderbans, and a few odd patches down the Indus, in the south of the United Provinces and in Bihar and Orissa (see Figs. 2 and 3). Though the data are insufficient to deal here with the forests of Indian States in detail, it will be found that a large part of 'them fall somewhere within this area, including the immense tract of Rajputana, and over those areas the forests are small, scattered and deteriorating. Over all this immense area the vast village population cannot get sufficient wood for its needs. The villagers have no wood from which to make their houses, the pasture is too scanty to feed their miserable cattle, the people are poor and hungry, and their standard of living is deplorable.

It is here that the poor distribution of the forests of India does so much harm. Although in the Himalayas and, until the war in many of the plains—forests as well, large quantities of good fuel and small poles were left to rot on the ground, the villager over all the plains of North India could not get the fuel and small timber that he needed, because the cost of carriage, even if the quantity had been available, would have made delivery impossible. In fact, if the demand had been effective, the forest area would have been found far too small to supply it, and the only reason fuel was left to rot in the forests was because

the demand was not effective.

The result of this is that the villagers, unable to obtain any other form of fuel, burn cowdung, and thus deprive the soil of the only source of manure which is available and which they understand. It has been calculated that in British India the cartle population is over 200 million and the cow dung of perhaps 85 million is burnt. This probably represents 60 million tans of dry manure per year, capable of producing somewhere about 345,000 tons of nitrogen, or sufficient to manure 13 per cent, of the whole of India's cultivation.

These astronomical figures mean little and no one would claim that they are accurate. But they are useful merely to show the magnitude of the destruction involved. If any method could be found to avoid this destruction, it could alter the whole economy of India's diages, whether the real figure represents the adequate majoring of 13 percent, of the total cultivated area or whether it represents

very much less. Instead of the present burning of cowdung, inadequately manured fields, poor yields, poor pastures and poor cattle and a general downward spiral of poverty, there would be manure for the crops; better yields, increased lead, better cattle and a general upward spiral of prosperity.

The forest problem of India is not the supply of the more expensive forms of timber, but the adequate supply to the villager on his doorstep of fuel and small timber

to avoid this burning of cow-dung,

The provision of this supply is the crux of the problem of the forest resources of India. Adequate though they are in variety, in quality and even in quantity for the better demand, they completely fail in the more important matter of supplying village demand.

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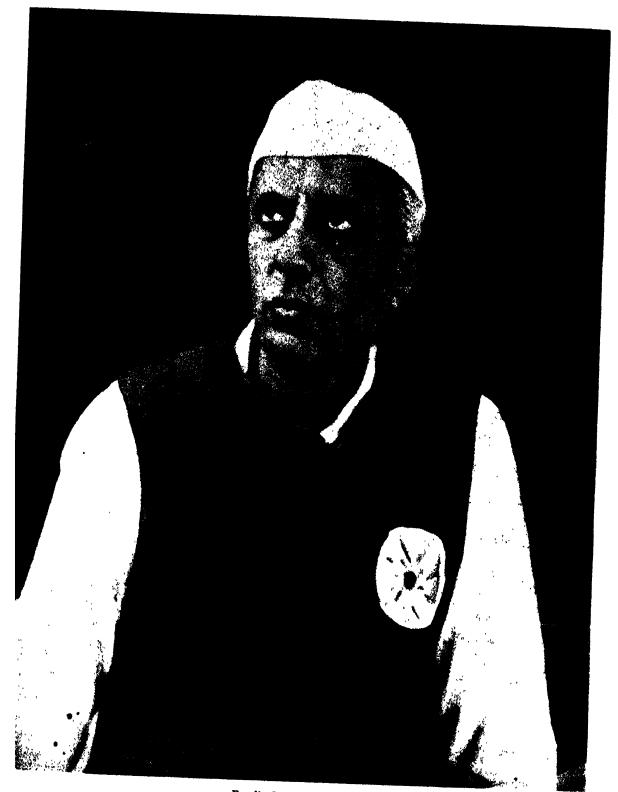
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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1948

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NOTES

Indian Inhibitions and Pakistan Propaganda

The character and quality of Pakistan propaganda, as spouted forth by its mouthpieces, should be quite familiar to the World by now. Arrogant, mendacious and brazen to the limit, it is seldom based on reality, and in the matter of protestations of good faith and promise of humane equity and benevolence, the actual performance bears no relation to the spoken word. Indeed, the critical mind would be hard put to it to equate Truth and Justice as practised in Pakistan with its accepted values in the democratic world. For obvious reasons such propaganda paid dividends in the days of British domination and the Moslem League. But the reason, as to why such propaganda should still bear fruit at all after the Partition of India, is difficult to find, unless we seek for it in the field of the political psychology of those who hold the helm of the State in the Indian Union.

The puny new-born State of Israel has proved before the astonished and unbelieving eyes of the World that a determined and "forlorn hope" stand by a mere million can set at naught all the plans and resolutions of the Western Democracies. More than that, it can defy the onslaughts of the Arab League successfully despite the latter's thirty-fold numerical supremacy. The leaders of Israel never paused to think about "International repercussions" nor did they quake at the possibility of the "Big Brothers" of the Arab League launching into armed intervention, Vigilance and action were their watchwords in justifying their claim to a homeland. And the blazing flame of their patriotic zeal was fiery enough to enable them to "damn the consequences." Here we are three hundred millions and more, and there is no question about Truth and Justice being on our side. And yet we debate and waver and waver and debate, while there soon is Aashmir and Pakistan in Pakistan aggre attrition in Rest Bengal I is time that we got rid of all false hopes and figments of mind. Realities have

to be faced with firmness if the Union is to survive.

Ambedkar on Draft Constitution

In the Constituent Assembly Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, gave an exhaustive review of the draft.

Stating that the Draft Constitution was workable and flexible Dr. Ambedkar said, "It is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time. Indeed, if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad constitution, what we will have to say is, that man was vile."

"India will have a federation and at the same time will have uniformity in all basic matters which are essential to maintain the unity of the country. The means adopted by the constitution are three: A single judiciary, uniformity in fundamental laws, civil and criminal, and a common all-India Civil Service to man important posts."

Referring to the constitutional position of the American President and the President of the Indian Republic envisaged in the constitution. Dr. Ambedkar said that the Draft Constitution did not recognise the doctrine whereby the President and his secretaries in the U.S.A. could not be members of Congress. The Ministers under the Indian Union were members of Parliament and had the same rights as other members of Parliament. Dr. Ambedkar explained that a democratic executive must satisfy two conditions, firstly, it must be a stable executive and secondly, it must be a responsible executive. It was not possible to ensure a system which could ensure both in equal degree. The daily assessment of responsibility was not available under the American system which was far more effective than "the periodic assessment" and far more necessary in a country like India. The Draft Constitution in recommending the parliamentary system of executive had preferred more responsibility to more stability.

Speaking on the "form of the constitution," Dr. Ambedkar said that the Draft Constitution was a federal constitution and not a unitary one. The two essential characteristics of a unitary constitution were: the supremacy of the central polity and the absence of subsidiary sovereign polities. On the other hand, a federal constitution was

marked by the existence of a Central polity and subsidiary polities side by side and by each being sovereign in the field assigned to it. In other words, federation meant the establishment of a dual polity consisting of the Union and the States, which had a nearer likeness to the American polity. Under the American constitution the federal Government was not a mere league of States, nor were the States administrative units or agencies of the federal Government. In the same way the Indian Union proposed in the Draft Constitution was not a league of States. The main point of difference, however, between the American federation and the Indian federation was in regard to citizenship. In the U.S.A. the dual polity was followed by dual citizenship even though this was assured by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States which prohibited the States from taking away the rights, privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States.

Dr. Ambedkar explained that in certain political matters, including the right to vote and to hold public office, the States in U.S.A. might discriminate in favour of their own citizens. But the proposed Indian Constitution is a dual polity with a single citizenship. "There is only one citizenship for the whole of India" Dr. Ambedkar said, and added, "it is Indian citizenship. There is no State citizenship. Every Indian has the same rights of citizenship, no matter in what state he resides."

Dr. Ambedkar went on to explain that the Draft Constitution could be both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it was framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it was so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system. Once the president issued a proclamation, which he was authorised to do under the provisions of Article 275, the whole scene became transformed and the State became unitary. The Union could claim, if it required the power to legislate upon any subject although it might be in the State list, the power to give directions to the State as to how they should exercise their executive authority in matters which were within their charge and the power to vest authority for any purpose in any officer. Such a power of converting itself into a unitary state no other federation possessed. Dr. Ambedkar added.

Dr. Ambedkar contended that the proposed Indian federation would not suffer from the faults of rigidity of legalism. Its distinguishing feature was that it was a flexible federation.

In assuaging the rigour of rigidity and legalism, the Draft Constitution followed the Australian plan on a far more extensive scale than had been done in Australia. Like the Australian constitution it had a long list of subjects for concurrent powers of legislation. The biggest advance made by the Draft Constitution over the Australian Constitution was in the matter of exclusive powers of legislation vested in Parliament. While the exclusive authority of the Australian Parliament to legislate extended only to about three matters, the authorities of the Indian Parliament as proposed in the Draft would extend to 91

matters. In this way the draft had secured the greatest possible elasticity in its federalism.

Referring to the criticism that there was nothing new in the Draft and that about half of it had been capital out of the Government of India Act of 1935 and the rest of it had been borrowed from the Constitutions of other countries, Dr. Ambedkar asked whether there could be anything new in a constitution framed at this hour in the history of the world. More than 100 years had rolled over when the first constitution was drafted. It had been followed by many countries reducing their constitutions to writing. What the scope of a constitution should be had been settled long ago. The fundamentals of a constitution were also well-recognised. Given these facts, all constitutions in their main provisions must look similar. The only new things, if there could be any, in a constitution framed so late in the day were the variations made to remove the faults and to accommodate it to the needs of the country.

Nobody held any patent rights in the fundamental ideas of a constitution. What Dr. Ambedkar was sorry about was that the provisions taken from the Government of India Act, 1935, related mostly to details of administration. He agreed that administrative details should have no place in the constitution and wished very much that the Drafting Committee could see its way to avoid their inclusion in the constitution but nonetheless he recognised the justification for their inclusion. The form of administration had a close connection with the form of the constitution. There was also the possibility of perverting the constitution.

It was only where people were saturated with constitutional morality that one could take the risk of omitting from the constitution details of administration and leaving it to the legislature to prescribe them.

The question was: Could we presume such a diffusion of the constitutional morality? That morality was not a natural sentiment but had to be cultivated. "We must realize", Dr. Ambedkar said, "that our people have yet to learn it."

"Democracy in India is only a top dressing on the Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic. In these circumstances, it is wiser not to trust the legislatures to prescribe forms of administration. This is the justification for incorporating them in the constitution."

Referring to another criticism against the Draft that no part of it represented the ancient polity of India and that it should have been drafted on the ancient Hindu model built upon village Panchayats and district Panchayats, Dr. Ambedkar said the part of the villages in the destiny of the country had been well described by Metcalfe who had said: "Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, Revolution succeeds to revolution. Hindu, Pathan, Mogul, Maharatta, Sikh, English, all are masters in turn but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they go and fortify themselves. A hostile army passes through the country. The village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass upprovoked."

Such was the part, Dr. Ambedkar argued, which the



village communities hade played in the history of their and to the Governors of the colonies and to those of India by country. 'Knowing this," he asked, "what pride can one feel in them? That they have survived through all vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. The question is, on what plane they have survived? on a low selfish level.

"I hold that these village republics have been the ruination of India. I am, therefore, surprised that those who condemn provincialism and communalism should come forward as champions of the village. What is the village but a stink of localism and a den of ignorance, narrowmindedness and communalism. I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit."

On the criticism of the provision of safeguards for minorities, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Drafting Committee had no responsibility in the matter. It followed in this respect the decisions of the Constituent Assembly,

Speaking for himself Dr. Ambedkar had no doubt that the Constituent Assembly had done wisely in providing safeguards for minorities. He asserted that in this country both the minorities and the majorities had followed a wrong path. It was wrong for the majority to deny the existence of minorities and it was equally wrong for the minorities to perpetuate themselves. A solution must be found which would serve a double purpose. The solution proposed by the Constituent Assembly was to be welcomed because it was a solution which served that two-fold purpose. To the dichard who had developed a kind of fanaticism against minority protection, he would like to say two things. One was that the minorities were an explosive force which, if it crupted, could blow up the whole State. The history of Europe bore ample and appalling testimony to this fact. The other was that minorities in India had agreed to place their existence in the hands of the majority. They had loyally accepted the rule of the majority. It was for the majority to realise its duty not to discriminate against the minorities.

Whether minorities will continue or will vanish Dr. Ambedkar said, must depend upon this habit of the majority. "The moment the majority loses the habit of discriminating against the minority, the minorities can have no ground to exist. They will vanish. But that depends entirely upon the attitude of the majority."

Dealing with the criticism of Article 13 of the Draft defending fundamental rights-that it was riddled with so many exceptions -Dr. Ambedkar explained that what the Draft had done was that instead of formulating fundamental rights in absolute terms and depending upon our Supreme Court to come to the rescue of Parliament by inventing the doctrine of police power it permitted the State directly to impose limitations upon those rights.

In the Draft Constitution the fundamental rights were followed by what were called 'directive principles.' It was a novel feature in a constitution framed for parliamentary democracy. The only other constitution which embodied such principles was that of the Irish Free State.

The directive principles were like the instrument of instructions which were issued to the Governor-General the British Government under the 1935 Act. Under the Draft Constitution it was proposed to issue such instruments to the President and to the Governors. The only difference was that they were instructions to the legislature and the executive. Such a thing was to be welcomed. Wherever there was a grant of power in general terms for peace, order and good government, it was necessary that it should be accompanied by instructions regulating

The inclusion of such instructions in a constitution became justifiable for another reason. The Draft Constitution as framed, he said, only provided a machinery for the Government of the country. 'It is not a contrivance to install any particular party in power as has been done in some countries. Who should be in power is left to be determined by the people, as it must be. Whoever captures power will have to respect these instruments of instructions which are called directive principles. He cannot ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a court of law. But, he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time. What great value these directive principles possess will be realised better when the forces of right contrive to capture power."

On the controversy that the Centre was too strong or it ought to be stronger, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Draft had struck a balance. However much they might deny powers to the Centre it was difficult to prevent the Centre from becoming strong. Conditions in the modern world were such that centralisation of powers was inevitable. At the same time they must resist the tendency to make it stronger. It should not chew more than it could digest. Its strength should be commensurate with its weight.

Referring to the differences in the constitutional relations between the Centre and the Provinces and as between the Centre and the Indian States, Dr. Ambedkar said that this was unfortunate. The Indian States were not bound to accept the whole list of subjects included in the Union list but only those which came under Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. They were not bound to accept those included in the concurrent list.

They were free to create their own Constituent Assemblies and to frame their own constitutions. All this. of course, was very unfortunate and quite indefensible. This disparity might even prove dangerous to the efficiency of the State. For, power was no power if it could not be exercised in all cases and in all places. In a situation such as might be created by war, such limitations on the exercise of vital powers in some areas might bring the whole life of the State in complete joepardy. What was worse was that the Indian States under the Draft Constitution were permitted to maintain their own armies. He regarded this as a most retrograde and harmful provision which might lead to the break-up of the unity of India and overthrow of the Central Government.

The Drafting Committee was not happy over this matter. They wished very much that there was uniformity between the Provinces and the Indian States in their constitutional relationship with the Centre. Unfortunately they could do nothing to improve matters. They were bound by the decisions of the Constituent Assembly and the Assembly in its turn was bound by the agreement arrived at between the two negotiating committees.

In this connection Dr. Ambedkar cited the example of the German Empire. In 1870 it was a composite State consisting of 28 units of which 25 were monarchical and three were republican City States. This distinction disappeared in course of time and Germany became one land with one people living under one constitction. process of the amalgamation of the Indian States was going to be much quicker than it had been in Germany. On August 15, 1947 there were 600 Indian States. Today by the integration of the Indian States with Indian provinces or mreger among themselves or by the Centre having taken some of them as centrally administered areas, there remained some 20 to 30 staff as viable States. This was a rapid action. "I appeal to those States," Dr. Ambedkar said, "that remain to fall in line with the Indian provinces and to become full units of the Indian Union on the same terms as the Indian provinces. They will thereby give the Indian Union strength. It will save them the botheration of starting their own Constituent Assemblies and drafting their own separate constitutions and they will lose nothing that is of value to them. I feel hopeful that my appeal will not go in vain and that before the Constitution is passed, we shall be able to wipe off the differences between the provinces and the Indian States." In conclusion, Dr. Ambedkar replied to criticism of the provisions relating to amendment of the Constitution. Unlike the American and Australian consti tutions, the present Draft had eliminated the elaborate and difficult procedures laid for amending the Constitution. Except in regard to two specific matters where the ratification of the States legislature was required, all other Articles of the constitution could be amended by Parliament with two-thirds majority in each House.

Dr. Ambedkar explained the difference between the present Constituent Assembly and the future Parliament. The Constituent Assembly in making a constitution had no partisan motive. Beyond securing a good and workable constitution it had no axe to grind. Parliament would have an axe to grind while the Constituent Assembly had none. That explained why the Constituent Assembly though elected on limited franchise could be trusted to pass the constitution by simple majority and why the Parliament though elected on adult suffrage could not be trusted with power to amend it by the same means.

Village Panchayat

On the first day of the resumed sitting of the Constituent Assembly of India (November 4, 1948) the Law Minister and Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. Bhinwao Ambedkar, managed to draw on his head a horners' nest by tilting at one of the creeds of politicians nurtured under the Gandhi inspiration. Referring to the criticism that in the Draft prepared by his Committee no part of it

represented "the ancient polity of India," and that it should have been inspired by the "ancient Hindu model" based on Village Panchayats, Dr. Ambedkar rubbed his fellow-members of the Constituent Assembly in the wrong way by poking fun at the "love of Indian intellectuals for the village community" which appeared to be "infinite if not pathetic."

Quoting Sir John Metcalfe who admired the survival value of these village republics which had outstayed the Hindu, Pathan, Moghul. Marhatta, Sikh and British regimes, Dr. Ambedkar asked, what pride can one feel in them? "That they have survived through the vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. The question is on what plane they have survived. Surely, on a low selfish level."

This frontal attack on one of Gandhiji's conceptions of better life, on Swaraj of his dreams, appeared to have ruffled many tempers in the Constituent Assembly. And these had their "revenge" on the Law Minister, to quote a Calcutta English-language daily, when he was forced to accept a new directive principle of India's constitution that the "State should take steps to organize Village Panchayats and give them the necessary power to function as units of self-government."

But this yielding on Dr. Ambedkar's part has not settled the controversy. India's present Law Minister is in distinguished company in holding and giving expression to the opinion in disparagement of the role of Village Panchayats in India's historic development. The founder of the Communist philosophy, Karl Marx, expressed the same opinion in almost the same words in course of one of his series of articles on India in the New York Dady Tribune in 1853. He appreciated the value of their self-sufficient economy but castigated them for their blindness to the revolutionary changes about themselves, their ostrichlike attitude towards political convulsions—evidence of a smallness of spirit characteristic of a "home-keeping" existence.

And as something more than debating points is involved in this controversy, we should like the constitution-makers of free India to apply their minds to it. There is the danger of an atomization of a country's life in this conception of village republics which in crises of national life seldom respond to the call of danger. Sri Aurobindo in discussing the philosophy of organization that Hindu polity sought to give shape to in practical life said that "a very complex communal freedom and self-determination" lay at its back; that each group unit of the community had been "set off from the rest by a natural demarcation of its field and limits but connected with the whole by well-understood relations." But Indian history bears testimony to the fact that this "self-determination" led to forgetfulness of its duty to the whole, and the State, the instrument of co-ordination, failed to assert its authority over the indifferent units. Those our constitution-makers who swear by Gandhiji's name will have to show that they are prepared to face the consequences, one of which—the atomization of social life—has been indicated above.

India and the Commonwealth

The London representative of the Hindustan Standard cables that reports from New Delhi in the British press have confirmed the belief in London that India's Commonwealth tie would be reciprocal representation between the future President of Republican India and the King of the United Kingdom. Lord Chancellor Jowitt is playing an important part in the question of new Commonwealth relationship and has been conducting along with the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Noel Baker, negotiations with the Foreign Minister of Eire, Mr. Scan MacBride. Although Lord Jowitt has avoided making any open comment on the latest developments in India and Eire, the Hindusthan Standard correspondent claims that he got the impression from lobby talks in the Houses of Parliament that the Lord Chancellor was well aware of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's formula for Commonwealth link and would support it as 'practical politics' to readjust Indo-British relations.

Before he left London to attend the historic session of the Dublin Parliament in connection with the repeal of Ene's last link with the British Crown, Mr. De Valera was understood to have 'greatly appreciated' India's determination to be on an equal status constitutionally with United Kingdom. It is further understood that he also thought that the Indian formula might be 'attractive' to some Irish legislators in Dublin.

The new Republican status of Eire would hasten the reunion with northern Ireland—Mr. De Valera was understood to hold this view strongly. This is a significant pointer regarding India in relation to Pakistan, as Pakistan—unlike India—wishes to remain completely under the British Crown.

International Behaviour

By 22-21 votes and 11 abstentions the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly rejected India's proposal to request the South African Government "not to proceed with the measures amounting to the integration of South-West Africa into the Union of South Africa and to send a Committee of Inquiry to study the conditions in the formerly mandated territory," and decided to stop South Africa from going ahead with measures intended to associate South-West Africa more closely with the Union.

The Anglo-American bloc and Pakistan voted against the Indian proposal.

Two days before the voting, Reuter cabled that Indian delegates to the United Nations were commenting on the "lukewarm" attitude of the Muslim countries towards the future of South-West Africa which India demanded should be placed under United Nations Trusteeship! Fears were expressed that this

attitude of the Muslim countries may seriously affect, as it actually did, the result of voting on the combined Indian-Cuban resolution. An Indian spokesman said, "The attitude of the Muslim countries—the Arab States, Pakistan and Afghanistan—had changed significantly during the last week."

The biggest surprise was however sprung by the last minute defection of Cuba, which was a joint signatory to India's resolution. On November 18, Reuter cabled, "The Philippines, Siam, Burma and many of the leading Latin American countries, particularly Cuba and Mexico, are strong supporters of India's case against South Africa." But just after the proceedings opened on November 20, an early sensation was caused when Cuba announced the withdrawal of its amendment which had been strongly supported by India.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit told Reuter: "We do not mind the defeat of our amendments so much as the absence of some of those who had promised us their support, and the abstention of a number of others who, we know, feel as keenly anxious about the future of South-West Africa as we do.

"It is not a good thing for the United Nations that we should be so half-hearted in our championship of the freedom and integri'y of the coloured peoples—especially those who are not represented in this organisation and who have no other way of seeking justice."

Just after the proceedings opened an early sensation was caused when Cuba announced the withdrawal of its amendment which had been strongly supported by India.

This amendment inter alia requested South Africa to submit annually to the United Nations for examination a report on the administration of South-West Africa, to designate a special representative to be present during the examination of each such report and to forward to the United Nations for its considerations petitions submitted by the inhabitants of the territory.

The resolution which was finally adopted by 36 votes to one (South Africa) reads as follows:

"The General Assembly takes note of the observations of the Trusteeship Council on South-West Africa as contained in the Council's report and requests the Secretary-General to transmit these observations to the Government of the Union of South Africa.

"Maintains its recommendations of the 14th December, 1946, and 1st November, 1947, that South-West Africa be placed under the Trusteeship system and notes with regret that these recommendations have not been carried out: takes note of the statement of the representative of the Union of South Africa that it is the intention of the Union Government to continue to administer the territory in the spirit of the mandate: takes note of the assurance given by the representative of the Union of South Africa that

the proposed new arrangement for closer association of South-West Africa with the Union does not mean incorporation and will not mean absorption of the territory by the administering authority.

"Recommends without prejudice to its resolution of 14th December, 1946, and 1st November, 1947, that the Union of South Africa, until agreement is reached with the United Nations regarding the future of South-West Africa, will continue to supply annually information on its administration of South-West Africa, and requests the Trusteeship Council to continue to examine such information and to submit its observations thereon to the General Assembly."

Just before the debats started the Indian and Cuban delegations were seen in conference. It was apparent that a new development was imminent and when the Chairman called the meeting to order he said: "I have just learned that Cuba wants to withdraw its amendment and I believe that the delegate from Cuba wishes to make a statement."

Surprised by the announcement, delegates leaned forward in their seats and all eyes were on Senor P. G. Ecisneros, who began by saying that under the rules of the Charter, resolutions in the General Assembly must have a two-thirds majority if they were to be applied. "We saw yesterday in the General Assembly," he said, "that a small minority had impeded important resolutions on administrative unions.

"A similar minority will be in a position to prevent the adoption of amendments on South-West Africa, as proposed. That is why we consider it would not be helpful to proceed with them, and on behalf of my delegation 1 will withdraw my amendment."

Asked if the Indian delegation had any comments to make on Cuba's withdrawal, Mr. Shiva Rao said he felt that the Committee would sympathise with the position India found herself.

India had withdrawn her earlier resolution in favour of that of Cuba which fully met her needs. He said he would suggest that the two amendments be put separately to the vote.

Countries who voted in favour of India's amendments—defeated by 22 votes to 21—were Brazil, Burma, Byelo-Russia, China, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Haiti, Iran, Liberia, Mexico, Paraguay, Philippines, (Poland), Ukraine, Soviet Russia, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. While Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Sweden, Turkey, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay voted against.

Abstainers were Afghanistan, Bolivia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Siam and Syria.

Colour Question in British Commonwealth

Commander Stephen King-Hall, in an issue of the National News Letter, has discussed the important question of the future role of Asian and African people in the British Commonwealth. He gives a clear analysis of the problem and his suggestion for the appointment of a Royal Commission on a big scale to go deep into the question, specially with reference to a long-term solution of the colour problem in the Commonwealth, deserves particular attention. He writes:

"The Commonwealth used to be all white and shown on the maps as all red. It is now far from being all white and map-makers must be in a quandary at to how to display its combination of variety and diversity. What are we going to do about the colour question in the Commonwealth? Let us consider a few facts.

- (1) If Pakistan stays in the Commonwealth (as she will) and if India stays (as she may) and i Malaya becomes a Dominion and wants to stay, thet there will be many more Asiatics than white men it the Commonwealth.
- (2) The West Indies and West Africa will probably progress towards Dominion Status and wish it stay in the Commonwealth.
- (3) In South Africa the Bantu is becoming politically conscious and the present policy of the N far Government will accelerate that process.
- (4) Membership of the Commonwealth implies of acceptance of certain principles of conduct and racidiscrimination is incompatible with Commonwealth membership.

I approach this problem from a practical poinview and leave on one side for the time being the ethics of the case, 1 do so because people in, say Southern Rhodesia or the Union point out with considerable justice that -ethics apart-there are mapractical difficulties in the way of racial equality. For instance, to take a small example. I understand that in the latest Union Castle liner there is a bathroom for the first class passengers marked "Only for the use of non-Europeans." If this be so, I have no doubt the Company would correctly say that most of their first class passengers do not wish to use a bath in which a Bantu has had a wash and that if the Company did not accept this fact it would lose traffic. That may be all very well so far as, say, a black professor from Cape Town is concerned, but what would happen if Mr. Nehru or Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan wert passengers ?

The answer to that question is involved in the question of power. It is not, for example, a question of whether South Africans like admitting Indians of Pakistanis to equality; the question is whether the South Africans will be able to continue to risk exercising racial discrimination in the years to come. It is not a question as to whether Australians like the idea of allowing Asiatic immigration; the issue is whether they will be strong enough to keep them out.

At the present time those white groups in the Commonwealth who are subjected to colour pressure

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not only feel that they are able to exercise discrimination, but they do so in practice. It is probably that this state of affairs will last for another ten, fifteen, may be twenty years. What then? By that time these non-European groups may be—and I think it probable that some of them will be—very powerful. Are they going to stand for what they consider to be humiliating discrimination? I think not, and if this be so these non-European groups will take steps, perhaps violent steps, to prove to the much weaker European groups that the latter are living in a fool's paradise.

Consider the position of the Bantu in the Union of South Africa. In 1921, the Bantu population was 4½ million; today it is nearly 8 million. On the Rand their numbers have increased from 300,000 in 1921 to about a million today. This influx to the towns has been largely due to the demands by the mines and all the ancillary industries for labour. If the natives walked out of Johannesburg, the place would collapse.

Mr. Eric Louw has recently been making speeches in defence of Dr. Malan's policy of segregation of 'area heid." This policy—on any long-term view—is one of suicide for the white people in the Union.

Now what is to be done about this great problem? I suggest that as a first stage it should be examined in a big way by a Royal Commission to which members should be appointed by Great Britain, Canada. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan and India. Its terms of reference might be: "To examine at 1 ceport on the economic, political and social problems which arise from the existence in the Commonweach of Nations or varying racial origin, and to take recommendations."

Kashmir

Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Minister Zafrullah Khan as raised the cry, "Help, murder!" in front of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. There is nothing clever or original in such an outcry. wen the light-fingered gentry resort to it, raise a hue nd cry with a view to divert attention from their ctivities. Mr. Zafrullah Khan appears to be worried hat India should try to secure "a military decision a Kashmir." This apprehension of his justifies the ortention that we have been pressing forward since ne beginning of the war in Kashmir, and we would be lad to be assured that the Government of India have t long last decided to give up its defensive tactics. le have reasons to believe that the military chiefs India have been against this defence role forced on cm by the policy of their Government. If the reports Indian reinforcements, as given in Mr. Zafrullah's tter, be true, and if these press home the advantage ined by them over the Pakistani hordes, we can pect a solution of the Kashmir difficulty in the near

This will be possible, and can be made possible, ly if the Indian Government can remain steadfast in their political stand. The Kashmir National Conference have declared in their resolution passed at a specially-convened session that Kashmir's place is with India; Kashmir's Prime Minister, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and her Deputy Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, have been making declarations that they abide by this decision and will see to it that Kashmir holds fast to her moorings. India's Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, has declared that India will stand by Kashmir. These declarations, if rightly made effective, will be justifying the sacrifice of Indian lives and Indian money on the snow-capped battle-lines of Kashmir.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan says that the "object" of Indian forces' "all-out offensive" is to get "possession of western Kashmir, including Mirpur and the whole of Poonch." The latest reports from the front says that considerable success is being gained in this area. We can, therefore, leave to India's military formations to reach their campaign's objective. But from the political front there is news not as good. A Calcutta English-language daily publishes on the authority of its London office news that talks about Kashmir partition are being revived, that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, is being required to lend a hand in this matter. India should resent such an interference. The British have done more than enough mischief with our affairs. They should now cease if they expect India's help for the renovation of their position in world affairs. They should make their choice-India or Pakistan.

Indian Delegations to U. N. O.

Indian correspondents reporting United Nations Organization men and matters appear to be critical of their country's delegations. We noticed in previous issues their dissatisfaction with the handling of Kashmir reference to the U.N.O. In a recent issue of the Indian News Chronicle, Mr. Iqbal Singh reverts to the same topic, and sharply criticises the "ambiguous" attitude of the Indian delegation. He thinks that this reflects the mind of the Indian Government whose anxiety to remain neutral betrays a timid and uncertain mind. Mr. Singh's analysis of the resultant hesitancy will be found in the lines below:

The problem is really more fundamental than just a passing phase of misapprehension on the part of international opinion regarding India's position on a specific question. It is rooted in the policy itself within which our delegation is trying to function. To put it mildly, it no longer possesses any sharpness of definition or positive purpose. It often tends to be ambiguous, diffuse and lacking in emphasis. More than that, Although it is claimed that we are trying to steer a middle course in order to reduce the existing international tensions, there are signs that this middle path is deviating increasingly towards a point where it will be indistinguishable from the policies of the Western Powers and their camp-followers. This reorientation is taking place by an almost sub-conscious process, and the

danger is that one day we will suddenly wake up to find that our neutrality has become non-belligerency—to invoke a parallel of the Second World War—in the 'Cold War' against Russia.

Mr. Singh wants India's public opinion to assert itself "if the voice of India is to be heard in international affairs—and heard to some purpose." But before that can happen India must prove its strength.

"Empire" or Commonwealth

We have often asked ourselves whether or not Winston Churchill is being punished for his past folly and arrogance by being made to witness the "liquidation" of the British empire. In an angry speech delivered in the House of Commons on October 28 last this die-hard Conservative declared that he and his party "will resist any attempt to destroy the expression British Empire or to abandon the constitutional term Dominion or to abolish the word British from our collective designation." But all these three abominations have happened, and Winston Churchill is a helpless witness to this outrage on his feelings.

Even Conservative papers in Britain are found accepting this change. The Yorkshire Post, the organ of Mr. Anthony Eden, the Conservative Party's deputy leader in the House of Commons, regards the London Conference decision as "a deliberate and considered change of terminology," it registered the transformation that had been slowly but surely arriving. The change in the title of the Dominion Secretary to Commonwealth Secretary was a sign-post; another was the adoption of the term "Commonwealth citizen" as an alternative to "British citizen." Allegiance to the Crown has not produced any common policy; South Africa's racial discrimination is a case in point.

The British Press has, therefore, generally welcomed the change. The Manchester Guardian has been effusive in praise of India's Prime Minister. The "role he played was not altogether expected." He confounded Winston Churchill's prediction that he would be intensely bitter considering that 15 years of his life were passed in prisons under British orders. But instead he came "not to destroy the Commonwealth but to rejuvenate it."

Since then Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has declared that it is possible to inveat or discover a device that would link the "independent sovereign republic" of India with the (British) Commonwealth. Eire has gone her own way. But the real problem that will continue to worry our people is whether or not this device will throw us into the quarrel between Anglo-Saxondom and Slav Communism. We can have no interest in their wranglings. Neither can we remain neutral. This is a dilemma that will continue to harass us till we are strong and organized in the modern sense of the words.

South Africa in the Dock

The South Africa Union, the white rulers of South Africa, have been brought before the bar of

world opinion since 1946 when on the initiative of India their policy of racial discrimination and segregation has been subjected to scrutiny. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been the leader of the Indian Delegation on these occasions of argument and controversy. At the Paris session of the United Nations Organization's General Assembly, holding its meetings since last week of September last, it has been her privilege to lead the assault on racial arrogance and white colour conceit. On the present occasion she renewed the request that the South African Union do submit to the Trustceship Committee or Charter of Trust or "Trusteeship Agreement" in respect of the "mandated" territory of South-West Africa recognising the general superintendence and "supervisory" right of the U. N. O.

Mr. Eric Louw, leader of the South African Delegation, has been instructed by his Government "to decline to place the territory under the authority of the U. N. O. on the plea that his Government "recognized no legal or moral obligation to submit a Trusteeship Agreement." The Chinese delegate, Mr. Liu Chieh, challenged this plea by saying that under the U. N. O. Charter, the obligations of member-States are "clear," unless "the S. A. Government intended to defy the majority decision of the General Assembly" repeated again and again—in 1946, in 1947 and on the present occasion.

Mrs. Pandit has been upheld by delegates of the Soviet Union, of Uruguay, the Philippine Republic and Brazil. The summary of their speeches that has appeared in the Indian Press give us the idea that the Trusteeship Council has been finding itself in "a difficult position as to what to do in the face of South Africa's persistent refusal to meet the wishes of the General Assembly," to use the words of Salvador Lopez, the Philippine delegate, "It is inconceivable that a minority of one of the Mandatory Powers should consider itself to be in the right and reject the principles embodied in the Charter," said the same speaker thus bringing out the fact that the South Africa Government represents only 25 per cent of her population usurping power on the strength of cannon and rifle; the ruling junta of whitemen have had no mandate from more than 80 lakks of non-white population. The Soviet delegate, Semyon Tsarapkin, charged South Africa's Government with "flagrant racial discrimination", with maintaining a "policy based on the supremacy of the white man." Hector Gerona of Uruguay maintained that "there was an obligation on South Africa to give to the United Nations an account of how they were carrying the Mandate the League of Nations gave them." Dr. B. Mai of Brazil stressed the point that "no assurance had been given them by South Africa that it . . . would recognize the authority and supervisory functions of the United Nations."

As against these arguments, South Africa's delegate, Eric Louw, stood on his country's legal right. South Africa had received the Mandate for S.-W. Africa from the League of Nations; the latter did not make the U. N. O. its "heir" in this respect; the League had all along known that South Africa maintained its attitude of "not entering into Trusteeship Agreements," that the U. N. O. had been encroaching on the sovereignty of a member-State by thus poking into her internal affairs. Since this discussion was held Paris despatches have told us that the General Assembly has held fast to her contention that South Africa is under obligation, if not legal, to submit draft of a Trusteeship Agreement in her relation with S.-W. Africa. We can well imagine what the reaction of South Africa will be to this U. N. O. insistence. It will be a flat refusal. And confronted by it what will the U. N. O. do?

But before the U. N. O. decide to take any positive or drastic step, it will have to take stock of the whole position. And on the fore-front of it will appear the words of racial arrogance blazoned in the Charter of the Transyaal Church that

"In Church and State there cannot be any equality between the white and the non-white."

South African whites would not have dared outrage the collective conscience of the world, if they were not convinced that they had at their beck and call the white Powers and their citizens who have been dominating over world affairs for about 200 years. The British Empire had been built on this belief in white superiority; in the economy of the United States the words of Transvaal Church's Charter hold sway and influence the conduct of the ruling classes; the work of Abraham Lincoln, the Liberator of the Negroes, has been nullified by the defeated States of the Republic. Taking these things into consideration, we can say that it will require more struggle before the U. N. O. can transform her aspirations into realities of social justice, of equality between peoples of diverse creeds and colours. Till then South Africa will continue to strut before the world.

Gidwani on Pakistan Ordinances

Dr. Choitram Gidwani, former President of the Surat Provincial Congress Committee and President of the All-India Refugee Association, has issued the following statement:

"The campaign to drive away the last Hindu from Sind has recently been renewed. Respectable persons are being put behind bars and detained under the provisions of the Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance. Even some of the Congressmen, who have remained behind and stuck to Sind to be able to serve, are being harassed and one by one they are being hounded out. There appears to be evidently a definite plan of ousting the entire number of remaining Hindus that their properties could be taken over and the refugees settled thereon.

"One of these Ordinances professes to provide for

the protection and care of the properties of evacuees from Pakistan and the other is said to be aimed at improving the economic structure of Pakistan. The provisions of the second Ordinance lay down that the Special Commissioner appointed in this behalf and also the other officials under him shall have the right to requisition any property for the purpose of rehabilitation of the refugees and that the entire property of Hindus which may be deemed to be necessary for the rehabilitation of refugees, without regard to its remaining in the hands of its rightful owner, could, by an order of the Commissioner, be snatched away.

"Under the provisions of the first Ordinance, custodians of evacuees' property are to be appointed to take over in their charge the custody of evacuees' property which is defined very widely so as to affect almost all the properties abandoned as well as those in charge of the owner whose families may be out of Pakistan or in charge of one or more of the partners, the rest of whom may have migrated to India. The Ordinance further affects retrospectively all deals concluded after August, 1947. They could be declared null and void. For all new sales to properties, the cu-todian is to be satisfied and a permission obtained.

"But in the case of Sind Hindus who are holding their properties, the Government has called upon them to call back their families from India as the Pakistan Government's charge is that with one foot in India and the other in Pakistan, they could not be trusted to be loyal citizens Again those whose properties have been requisitioned and otherwise utilised by the Government or which have been let out or leased to refugees are not getting any rent or compensation. Further the Hindu lessees have also been informed that after the collection of the Kharif Crop all leases obtained after August 1, 1947, shall be deemed to have expired.

"This is the situation of which the Government of India ought to take an immediate note. On the principle of reciprocity, just as, for example, in the matter of trade between the two Dominions, the Government of India should at once declare that the benefits of all evacuees' property shall be collected and attilized for the rehabilitation of refugees in India. The Government ought also to take up the question in respect of other unjust provisions of these two Ordinances with the Government of Pakistan. The inexorable moral learnt by us during the 15 months of our relations with Pakistan is that we have got to stand on the firm grounds of reciprocity for our survival and solution of all our difficult problems."

British Conservatives in Pakistan

The attitude of the British Conservatives towards Pakistan has remained an object of suspicion in India. Sir Percival Griffiths, former leader of the European Group in the Central Legislative Assembly of prepartition India, is one of those die-hard Britons who is taking an active interest in strengthening the

economy of Pakistan. Recently, he did a signal service to the cause of Pakistan's industrialisation by declaring, in the course of one of his lectures at Karachi, that Pakistan was the safest place for the investment of foreign capital. This forthright view expressed by him, it is felt at Karachi, has done much to create confidence among foreigners who intend to invest their money in Pakistan, but are hesitant about doing so on account of political and economic uncertainties.

Speaking on the future of "this new but virile State," Sir Percival declared that he was convinced that there was great scope for joint British and Pakistan industrial activity. "This activity," he further declared, "would, in its turn, synchronise with collaboration between the two countries in the widest sphere of politics and this would itself materially strengthen both in their joint fight against the forces of darkness."

Addressing foreign businessmen, mostly British. Sir Percival remarked that, before embarking on largescale ventures, the businessman from abroad must ask himself certain questions. One of these questions, he said, related to the efficiency and stability of the administration. He explained that Pakistan had to start from the beginning in the most disturbed circumstances. When the transfer of power first occurred, people in some quarters failed to understand the essential soundness of Pakistan's national economy. The foreign exchange position of Pakistan, he declared, was good. As regards the Dominion's raw materials, the lack of iron and steel remained a great handicap, although, according to him, such could be largely removed by the great hydro-electric schemes, to which the Government was now giving priority. These schemes gave great satisfaction to foreign businessmen and Sir Percival was proud that British engineers were closely associated with them. He said that the British businessmen and engineers were satisfied with the declared industrial policy of Pakistan and this was one of the reasons why they were today actively participating in the plans for the development of that Dominion.

Mr. Ayyangar on Railway Working

Broadcasting from the Delhi Station of the All-India Radio, India's Transport and Railways Minister, Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, revealed a tremendous increase in both goods traffic and passenger miles on Indian railways.

Mr. Ayyangar revealed: "Compared to 1938-39 which reported 13,456 million passenger miles, the figure for 1947-48 was 30,192 million miles, an increase of 124.4 per cent. The increase in the current year should be even greater."

Turning to the goods traffic, Mr. Ayyangar said: "The tennage of goods lifted in September, 1948, was 5,052,000 tons representing an 18 per cent increase over the last 12 months."

He assured that railwave are preceding as fast as

resources permit in building coaches, and the recent decision of the Government to reduce the number of classes on trains from 4 to 3 is a step taken to ensure the maximum possible use being made of the stock that is available.

"Judged by the sheer volume of transportation handled and its vital significance to the teeming millions of the population of this country," Mr. Ayyangar added, "It is in no exaggeration to say that the efficient working of the railways determines the very tempo and amplitude of our economic life and activity."

He referred to the organisation which has been set up to regulate "what should move and what can wait so long as the demand on the railways is greater than their capacity," and said: "This is what is known as the Priorities Organisation It is regarded by many with suspicion and by some who do not entirely understand its working as an unnecessary bottleneck. So long as the Government have to fulfil their responsibilities equitably by the people of the country, they must have power to determine priorities for rail transport, especially when its capacity is so demonstrably short of demand. Remember, it is only rail transport which can carry the thousands of tons of foodgrains from ports to the hinterland and from one part of the country to another"

"Again, it is only the railways which can carry the thousands of tons of coal required as a vital necessity for industry and trade. Certain minimum transport requirements for essential goods have got to be met in spite of difficulties, and it is only after this has been done that the rest of the traffic capacity available can be distributed amongst others. This quantum being limited, unless there were some regulation, a gre t deal of disorder and dislocation would result. I am personally not enamoured of controls, nor are the Government, but controls when properly administered should be less irksome when they are submitted to willingly under a democratic Government than when they are enforced by an alien administration on the people against their will. As soon as it is practicable for the regulation of priorities for movement to be withdrawn, this will be done. But till then, Government must ask the public to exercise patience, and it is even more important to stand in the queue and not to break the line, as that is often a major cause of confusion and corruption."

Referring to bribery and corruption which were so widespread, he said:

"On the railways, among the station, goods-train and such like staff, the demand and payment and the offer and acceptance of illegal gratification are almost a tradition, deep-rooted and of many decades standing. A determined drive is now on to combat this evil with firmness amounting almost to ruthlessness. Railway administrations are tackling this problem with the help of both the Provincial and the special police.

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guilty of corruption. It is hoped that these efforts on the administrative plan will produce satisfactory results, but the evil cannot be rooted out unless the administrations obtain the co-operation of the public. Particularly would I like to make a special appeal to the manufacturer, the trader, the passenger and all other users of railways to desist from tempting attempts to corrupt the railway staff with whom they come into contact or have to do business."

Mr. Ayyangar would do well to squarely face the fact that the Railway Priority Organisation is one of the greatest sources of corruption. So long as the rolling stock are in short supply, priorities will no doubt have to be operated. But at the same time strict watch ought to be maintained that no favouritism or corruption enters it. Grant of railway priorities has long been a subject of strong criticism by businessmen; it would be good if Mr. Ayyangar can remove the evil. The queue system can be successfully maintained only when the persons standing on it are sure that no violation of it through backdoor arrangements for anybody will be tolerated. Mr. Avyangar seems to be more realistic and more determined to stamp out widespread corruption in the railways. His predecessor Mr. Matthai had side-tracked this burning question by denying its existence. Mr. Ayyangar's attention should also be drawn to the need for an immediate simplification of red tapism in the Railway Department which greatly hampers production and trade and reduces the turn-over capacity of the existing rolling stock.

Central Committee on Fair Wages

The Central Advisory Council today decided to appoint a Central Committee to determine principles on which fair wages should be based and suggest lines on which those principles should be implemented. The Committee is to report by the middle of January next.

The employers' side will be represented on the Committee by Sir Homi Modi, Sir Sree Ram, Sir Padampat Singhania and Sir Biren Mookherjee, the workers' side by Sri Ashok Mehta, Sri Khandhubhai Deshai, Sri B. B. Karnic and Sri Anjan Appa and the Government side by one representative each from the Finance, Industries and Supplies and Labour Ministries.

The personnel and the terms of reference as agreed to by the representatives of both the employers and the workers were announced by Sri S. Lall. Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, at the afternoon sitting of the Council which discussed the question of the determination of the principles of fair wages and statutory machinery required for securing the same for the greater part of the day.

Sri Jagjivan Ram, Indian Labour Minister, intervening in the discussion on the subject at the request of the Council observed that he was anxious that things should be expedited.

He observed, "If the Council agrees we will form a Central Committee here to examine the various principles and determine the ways and means for their implementation. If we constitute provincial committees, it will be delaying matters. Unless we receive the Central Committee's report, we will not be able to arrive at any decision, so long as these provincial committees do not submit their reports." His suggestion was welcomed by all sides of the House.

Sri Jagjivan Ram accepted Sri Ashok Mehta's suggestion that directives should be sent to provinces to finish necessary spadework in the meanwhile so that wage boards could be formed without avoidable delay after enactment of necessary legislation. In course of the general discussion on principles of fair wages, Sir Homi Modi on behalf of the employers declared that the employers believed not only in fair wages but progressively fair wages and wages which might be more than fair but the workers should respond in the same spirit. "We employers and employees alike are all servants of our master, consumer," said Sir Sree Ram.

On behalf of labour, Sri Khandhubhai Desai declared that fair wages should be thought in terms of both commodities and services. Sir Homi Modi urged that the necessity of the labour was not only money but also facilities of housing, education of children, etc. Sti Shib Nath Banerjee emphasised that the wages should be adjusted to the cost of living. Sri Ashok Mehta urged that the conditions should be established to enable labour enter into creative co-partnership in building India of our dreams,

This move of the Central Government, to fix fair wages in joint consultation with the representatives of employers, employees and the state, has been in the right direction. The present unplanned and un-co-ordinated attempts to fix wages merely on the demand of Union labour has brought a good deal of confusion in the production structure of the country. It has benefited none but has contributed to such an increase in cost of production that foreign commodities are now preferred to Swadeshi products and most of the production units are threatened with destruction with the prospect of throwing the labour out of employment. The present mad race between the communist and non-communist labour leaders for killing the goose that lays the golden egg and State's anxiety to gain a cheap but doubtful labour support by placating them should immediately stop both in the ultimate interest of labour and that of the country.

In an effort for fixing a fair scale of wages, close attention should be paid to ascertain the amount of invisible profits made by the Managing Agents who arrogate the largest share of the profits. If the Indian Companies Act be amended along the lines of the present British Companies Act, as enforced since July last, abolishing the Managing Agency system and imposing heavy liabilities on auditors, a clear and heavy margin will be found for enhancing the wages even after paying the normal profit to the shareholder and without increasing the cost of production. Unless an approach to the problem is made from this direction, no amount of Works Committees, Wage Committees, Truce Committees or Profit Sharing Committees will solve the problem. The past fifteen mouths' experience ought to be an eye-opener.

Economy Committee's Recommendations

The recommendations of the Economy Committee, set up by the Government of India, in regard to the ministries which they have already examined, understands the special New Delhi correspondent of Commerce, are fairly drastic. In addition to suggesting considerable reduction in the expenses of various ministries, the Committee is understood to have commented adversely in regard to the manner in which the ministries are functioning. In regard to the Ministry of Information, the Committee have suggested the abolition of the regional offices, the posts of Deputy Principal Officers and of 20 translators now employed. The number of information officers, which are now about 17, it is suggested, should be reduced to four only. The proposals of the Committee amount to a reduction of the Press Information Bureau from its total strength of 464 to 126. It is suggested that the Publications Branch should not only not add to the strength but also reduce its present number from 159 to 85. It has been further suggested that the strength of the Food Ministry should be reduced from 400 to 289. The Ministry of Food has been strongly criticised for its inefficiency in regard to the "Grow More Food" campaign and system of subsidies. Although the Ministry gives a subsidy of Rs. 6 crores a year on food grains, both the quantity and the quality of foodgrains available to the consumer are very poor.

The Committee have criticised the working and suggested reduction in the personnel of Health Ministry, Agriculture Ministry, Ministry of External Affairs, Labour Ministry and the Ministry of Transport. The strength of the Transport Ministry is sought to be reduced from 202 to 66. In regard to the External Affairs Ministry, the Committee have recommended that no more embassies should be opened for at least a period of three years. For the time being there should be no embassies in Rome, Stockholm or The Hague and that the existing or proposed posts of Publicity officers in Paris, Prague, Moscow, Shanghai, Bangkok and Saigon should be abolished.

The said correspondent states that while the Committee have thus suggested reductions, some of the ministries until now, far from being satisfied with the present strength of personnel, are having proposals to increase them very considerably. For instance, in the External Affairs Ministry, 326 new posts are proposed; in the Transport Ministry, there is a proposal to increase the personnel by 132, and the Ministry of Food, it is stated, wants 481 additional appointments. The manner in which the various ministries have been augmenting the strength of their personnel has almost reached the point of a scandal. The Food Ministry is probably the worst villain of the lot.

The reason for this tendency towards an evergrowing expansion of the Departments is the rapid falling off in their efficiency due to jobbery and nepotism and partiality in the matter of posting and promotion. Unless these evils are stamped out and appointments and promotions are made strictly on the basis of qualification and merit, no amount of addition to the number of personnel will bring in efficiency to the administration. The heavy increase in the number of officers in the departments of the Government, where haves and have-nots are clearly divided, have already led to water-tight division of functions to such an extent that it is almost impossible even for an intelligent and well-informed person to find out the exact place where he can get his work done. Unless one can get hold of a liaison-agent, who acts as a go-between for the officer and the bewildered outsider, one is driven from pillar to post and post to pillar till the right place and person can be discovered. This is not only annoying but also it costs a good deal in time and money, and is one of prime reasons for corruption in the offices. The efficiency and morale of an administration can be maintained only through unimpeachable integrity in the matter of making appointments and promotions which removes all heartburning and brings in co-operation among the personnel, and a thorough simplification of office procedure. The Economy Committee seems to have done good work. It is imperative that the recommendation of the Economy Committee should rigidly enforced by the Dominion Parliament, Similar Economy Committees should be set up for the provinces as well.

U. P. Agricultural Income Tax

Agricultural Income Tax has been a subject of study for a pretty long time, but most of the provinces, except a very few, have shown unwillingness to tap it as a source of provincial revenue. Agricultural Income Tax has been imposed in Bengal but the return has been meagre. The experience of Bihar does not also seem to be much encouraging. On the contrary, the cultivators have viewed this tax as a source of oppression rather than one of revenue. With this background and without going deep into the matter, the Government of India, some time back, recommended a levy of agricultural income tax to augment provincial revenues. U. P. followed up this suggestion and an Agricultural Income Tax for that province has now been completed.

The chief feathers of the U. P. measure in short, are (1) the prescription of a minimum exemption limit at Rs. 1500 and the establishment of slab rates of taxation over and above that, ranging from an anna in the rupee to four annas, varying with the size of the income; and (2) the imposition of a super-tax, at varying rates in addition to it, on incomes above Rs. 30,000. The Act is to have retrospective effect from July 1, 1948. The tax may be paid in four equal instalments.

The U. P. Agricultural Income Tax has been criticised on two grounds: first, on the particular aspect of the tax, as it obtains, in the U. P. and secondly, on general grounds In the first place it has not been estimated anywhere as to how much the levy would bring to the Provincial Exchequer, although some reports have it at Rs. 1 crore. The circumstance occasioning the levy is a budget deficit and the function which the tax is to perform is to fill the gan between expenditure and income. If such be the case, one would believe and rightly too, that the tax might net in a huge income. Facts however seem to indicate otherwise. According to Pandit Pant himself, the tax will affect only one per cent of the zemindars and the concessions made to them by the Select Committee will deprive the Government of Rs. 25 lakhs. In consequence it is clear that the tax returns will be smaller than the requirements as originally estimated and the net income, after paying all collection charges will be still less. Again, it is pertinent to ask how the tax is going to be collected. It may be remembered that when the U. P. Zemindary Abolition Committee, presided over by Pandit Pant, decided over the abolition of this age-old system, it put forth the novel suggestion that the panchayets be allowed to gather the rent for the Government. Is it likely that the same source will be asked in the present case also to collect the new tax? If it is a different one, one should know whether it is any existing institution or a new institution to constituted for this purpose specially. It is also not clear on what basis the figures regarding costs of collection have been arrived at.

Secondly, the levy is described as a financial measure rather than as an agrarian one. If it were a financial measure, as it has been characterised to be, its expediency would have to be based on the twofold object of filling the budget deficit and curbing inflation. The first object is doubtful of achievement. As regards the second object of fighting inflation, it is feared that the tax, instead of accomplishing such, may actually accentuate it For, whereas the tax is meant to take off from the pockets of agriculturists a certain slice of income, it will, at the same time, reduce the margin of profit of the ryots and thus act as a deterrent to increased production. So far as we have information, this danger is already evident in Bihar. Thus, if it is conceded that the problem of inflation is as much a problem of production, the effectiveness of the tax would again appear to be doubtful.

Thirdly, in respect of provincial taxes like Agricultural Income Tax, Sales Tax, etc., there has been a growing demand, and a right demand, that there should be a uniform system for all Provinces and States. Regardless of this, however, Provincial Governments seem to be rushing through widely divergent tax measures through their Legislatures.

Such legislation also ignores the existence and work of the Agrarian Reforms Committee set up under Dr. Kumarappa to study agrarian problems with a view to recommending a uniform approach to the provinces in solving them.

The experience gathered in collecting Agricultural Income Tax in Bihar and Assam reveals that practically no cultivator is above the exemption limit and that the number of tax-payers is very small. In Bihar, for instance, only 12,900 persons were assessed to the Central Income Tax in 1939-40 and only 1,372 persons were assessed to Agricultural Income Tax in 1940-41. Thus only about 14,272 persons in all out of a population of 360 lakhs, i.e., only .049 per cent, or in other words about 49 persons in a lakh are usually above the exemption limit which is not much above the subsistence level. In respect of tea and other mixed incomes, the Central Income Tax Department determines the whole income including the agricultural income. The provincial governments take full advantage of it. They simply get a certified copy of the assessment orders and levy a fax on the agricultural portion of the income as determined by the Income Tax authorities. The number of cultivating assessees is negligible outside tea and sugar companies. If the Agricultural Income Tax be confined to such units alone, leaving out the actual tillers of the soil, it will bring in revenue at a minimum possible cost without disturbing agricultural production. Zemindars and other rent-receivers may be left out of consideration because these classes are shortly going to be eliminated.

Economics of Zamindari Abolition

The Government of the Indian Union have announced that they will not be able to share the consequences following the projects of Prohibition and Zamindari Abolition. Almost all the Provincial Ministries have their laws ready-made in this behalf. In Madras, they have gone in for total prohibition; Bihar has passed the law for Zamindari Abolition; the Governor-General's sanction holds up its implementation. Aside from financial losses apprehended from these two measures there are other factors involved that have to be understood before the final step is taken. Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, head of the Faculty of Economics and Sociology in the Lucknow University, brought certain of these out in course of an address delivered to Economics and Sociology Club of the University. Its summary, as it has appeared in the Press, will help to clarify thought, and we desire to share it with our readers. The land reform proposals in the United Provinces have the following satisfactory features: "Restriction of subdivision of holdings below ten acres, the rehabilitation of the village community with its management of pastures, waste lands, wells and markets and of its collective revenue responsibility and the abolition of landlordism."

But the outstanding defect is the neglect of the problem of rehabilitation of 50 lacs of agricultural labourers comprising 20 per cent of the total number of people living on land in the province. The land reform could be regarded as either equitable or final that ignored altogether the existence of this class which was increasing by one lac a year. As a matter of fact, the U. P. Zamindari Abolition Committee's recommendation would aggravate the social conflict and mal-distribution of land in the countryside by contributing towards the ejectment of about 32 lacs shikmis from their holdings. This is a highly retrograde step.

About the social consequences of the Committee's recommendation. Dr. Mukherjee uttered a warning that should be heeded. "The Committee shows a curious obscurantism in repudiating the advantages of mechanised cultivation for improvement of agricultural output in the province which is showing a big food deficit to the extent of five million tons. A virtual peasant proprietorship with rights of transfer would check the indispensable drive towards co-operative and collective farming, perpetuate inefficient cultivation, bring the non-agriculturist moneylender to the land by the back door and start a fresh bitter struggle between the richer and the poorer peasantry, Conservative, retrograde and obscurantist land reform is apt to prepare the seedbed for unpredictable social disturbances as the political consciousness of the peasantry newly aroused and diffused by adult franchise, faces the frustration of an economic defeat."

Sikhs and East Punjab

The only British English-language daily paper in India has been significantly cultivating the Sikhs and giving publicity to their claims and demands that are reminiscent of the spirit of separatism that has disrupted India's unity and integrity. The general body of Indian journalists appear to be trying to minimize the significance of their problem, their difficulties and frustrations, by turning the blind eye on these. As we have seen that Muslim separatism could not be neutralized by a policy of indifference, we have in our own way been trying to understand what the Sikhs feel and think and aspire to. Their material loss of the fertile canal colonies of undivided Punjab, the majority of these falling in Pakistani Punjab today, can be represented by irrigation works fertilizing East Punjab, Delhi, and the western districts of the United Provinces. Their Gurdwaras, associated with the lives and sacrifices of their Gurus, cannot be transferred from Pakistani Punjab; suggestions have been made on their behalf that these, the most sacred of these, be constituted into "Free Cities" just as Pope of Rome's enclave has been recognized by Italy. But this would require reciprocal arrangement in connection with Muslim shrines, the chief of which lie in Ajmere and Sirbind.

But the real grievance that appears to be agitat-

ing the Sikhs does not appear to be concerned with this material and cultural loss. Its nature will be understood from the following list said to have been placed before the Committee appointed by the East with a view to effect a Hindu-Sikh settlement in the province:

- (1) Representation for Sikhs should be on the basis of the 1941 census.
- (2) The Delimitation Committee should include an equal number of representatives of Hindus and Sikhs
- (3) In all provinces other than East Punjab, Sikhs should be given representation by nomination or through reservation.
- (4) The Sikhs should have 5 per cent reservation of seats in the Central Legislature.
- (5) There should be one Sikh Minister and one
- Deputy Minister at the Centre.
 (6) East Punjab's Governor and Premier should be chosen by rotation.
- (7) Equal representation in the East Punjab
- (8) 50 per cent representation for Sikhs in the East Punjab legislature.
- (9) Lohara and Gurgaon should be separated from East Punjab.
- (10) Representation in the services should be: 40 percent Sikhs and 60 per cent Hindus and others.

Public men in India with their recent experience will shy at the spirit behind many of these demands. There is one—Punjabi in Gurumukhi script be recognized as a State language in East Punjab—which does not find a place here. It has our sympathy and support. Of the others we can say that their implementation should not be attempted now when men's minds are rocked on contradictory feelings which should be allowed to settle down.

Mithila and Konkan Provinces

The latest in the field to claim separate provinces for themselves are the Maithili-speaking and Konkanispeaking peoples. Mithila has had a place in India's history that goes back to unremembered centuries Modern Maithil language has as old a record as Bengali and Assamese. But the historic vicissitudes it has passed through during Pathan, Mughal and British periods have made its individuality indistinct. During Akbar's reign Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Thakkur got the grant of Tirhut in 1556-57 and succeeded in founding the Khandavala dynasty which is represented today by the Darbhanga Raj. It came to be attached to Bengal when Clive received the Dewany from the Delhi emperor. In 1911, it went to form part of the Province of Bihar. But all these developments have but intensified Mithila's separateness from the Bhojpuri-speaking people now dominant in the Congress Ministry in Bihar. In a pamphlet entitled Why Mithila a Separate Province? we get certain of the arguments in support of a Maithil Province, Published by the Mithila Mandal Central Committee, Patna, the pamphlet demarcates for the new province the districts of Darbhanga, Musaffarpur, Champaran, North Monghyr, North Bhagalpur and Purnea coverNULES 455

ing an area of about 20,000 sq. miles out of Bihar's more than 64,000 sq. miles.

The Konkani demand a province which will comprise the coastal areas west of the Western Ghats from Daman-Ganga river to Kasaragod in the south; it will consist of the administrative districts of Thana, Kolaba, Bombay, Ratnagiri, Goa, North Kanara and a part of South Kanara with Bombay as capital. The Konkani language is claimed to be spoken by about seven millions of people. This claim is repudinted by the Samyukta Maharashtra and Karnataka Province protagonists; they say that Konkan is a spoken language only, and as such cannot claim a separate distinction. We have heard of Konkanasta and Deshasta differences in Maharashtra, but did not know these that could be made into a platform for a separate province.

But, as we have always been supporters of Linguistic Provinces as necleus of the enrichment of cultural values, we think the ruling authorities of India should divert a little of their attention to this problem. Difficulties there are in the way. But these have to be overcome, and the way we do it will test our capacity. Avoiding them will be a failure of duty.

Mayurbhani and Orissa

We cannot say that we understand the reason or reasons that influenced the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj to refuse to "merge" his State in Orissa during the last December negotiations when 23 of his brother princes of the Orissa States had chosen this path of safety indicated by Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, Neither can we say that we understand him now when he has agreed to "merger." But what is more mysterious appears to be the decision of the Central Government to administer the State themselves "until the question of its merger with a neighbouring province is finally decided," to quote the words of Mr. Regie who was deputed as Chief Commissioner to administer Mayurbhanj on behalf of the Indian Union. The use of the article A in the above quotation appears to be significant to us, as it shows that it is yet uncertain which neighbouring province will have the privilege welcoming this particular State as a family member. There are at present three candidates for this honour -Orissa and Bihar are eager suitors; West Bengil is lukewarm.

So far as we are aware the Raj family of Mayurbhanj has been a pioneer of the Greater Utkal Movement. The father of the present Maharaja, the late Ram Chandra Bhanj Deo, was a fellow-worker in this Movement of the late Madhusudan Das, a Christian Oriya, who may be said from certain points of view, as the morning star of this political integration of Oriya areas dispersed through two or three provinces. The thought-leaders of the Oriya resurgence had been Madhusudan Rao and Gouri Sankar Ray, amongst others.

The claims of Bihar can be traced to 1912 when Orissa and Bihar were separated from Bengal to constitute a new province by Lord Hardinge. In 1937, the former was constituted into a separate province, and Mayurbhanj went with it. During last winter's angry controversy revolving round Seraikela and Kherswan, we heard for the first time that Bihar has ambitions towards Mayurbhani. Adibasi leaders like Mr. Jaipal Singh were, it has been said, influenced o put in claims on behalf of Adibasis who are about 40 per cent of Mayurbhani population. He has done it so that all the Adibasis in the three provinces-Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces-may be kept together to add strength to his Jharkhand Province Movement working for a separate province in the Indian Union.

This analysis shows that something is afoot with regard to Mayurbhanj; the use of an article, referred to above, throws light on it.

Sardar Patel on Bengal •

In his Nagpur speech, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has made a reference to Bengal which has been looked upon in this province as an addition of unwarranted insult to the grievous injuries that she has sustained as a result of the Partition. Sardarii said:

You go to Bengal, it is full of Bihar versus Bengal and Bengal versus Assum controversies. A Sikh taximan is not tolerated and attempts are being made to replace him by a Bengali. Think of what dangers lie ahead in such disputes.

It was in this very speech that Sardarji admitted the growing exodus of East Bengal Hindus to West Bengal and warning Pakistan said that if Pakistan was determined to drive away Hindus from East Bengal, then "Pakistan must agree to give us sufficient land so that we can rehabilitate them." Sardarji, for the present, has ended with this declaration but the poor and maimed province of West Bengal has, for the past fifteen months, been obliged to face the terrible task of rehabilitating these millions. Assistance from the Centre has been insignificant, to say the least, and the Central refugee policy in regard to East Bengal Hindus has been of a rather step-motherly nature, specially when compared to the Punjab side of it. The displaced Bengali population have put the least amount of pressure on the Centre in the matter of rehabilitation and have made the least amount of noise in this respect specially in view of the embarrassing condition of the Government of India. They have tried their level best to squeeze themselves in here and try to find out an employment through their own efforts.

Bihar-Bengal and Bengal-Assam controversies are being carried on under the auspices of the leaders and Governments of Bihar and Assam, and not in Bengal as Sardarji has suggested. If Sardarji finds time to visit any Post Office in Calcutta or its suburbs, he will find rows of Biharis standing before their Money Order and Insurance Registration counters waiting to remit

substantial amounts to their native province. It is a well-known fact that one of the principal incomes of Bihar is remittances from Bengal. The Bengali people have not yet done anything to replace them by their own nationals. The manner in which this generosity is being repaid in Bihar in her treatment of the Bengali-speaking people of Manbhum and Singbhum has been a matter of great resentment in this province. And after all, as all Congressmen know, Congress has repeatedly assured Bengal that these districts would be restored to Bengal the day Congress had the power to do so. Bengal is but asking for the restoration of property pilfered from her by the British and handed over to Bihar without any justification, beyond that of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

As regards Assam, the less said assuredly the better. Bengal's sacrifice in her anti-Partition agitation 1905 saved Assam from becoming a Muslim majority province. Bengal's support to the people of Assam in their stand against the influx of League Muslims into that province, with the help of the Saadullah Government, stemmed this immigration to a very great extent. Bengal's support to Assam in her refusal to sit in Group C under the Cabinet Mission Plan was one of the prime reasons which contributed to the rejection of that plan and brought about the partition of India in which Bengal has been the worst sufferer. Bihar and Assam have both repaid the debt of Bengal through an ill-treatment of a people who did and still does render them signal aid in their economic distress and hours of trial.

Bengal's greatest tragedy is that she has lived for others to her own cost. The Congress was started in Bengal, it gained the greatest momentum in Bengal and in reply she was penalised with the Curzon Partition of 1905. Her Swadeshi Movement led to the establishment of cotton mills at Bombay and Ahmedabad. This movement was the prime cause of British businessmen's vengeful effort to oust Bengali dealers from the jute trade and the consolidation of Marwari capital in the city of Calcutta. This blow at the most vital part of Bengal's trade led to the utter ruin of the Bengali business houses established since the days of the Company and made this province dependent on non-nationals of the province in her food, cloth and cash-crop trade. When the Curzon Partition was annulled. Assam was saved, and the cause of Indian nationalist and Swadeshi movements advanced far, but Bengal had to pay through a dismemberment of her vital mineral areas which were joined to Bihar. Now that freedom has been attained. Bengal stands torn into pieces, East Bengal, West Bengal and the Bengali areas of Bihar and Assam. As for the last statement regarding the Sikhs, we wonder how a province's attempt to man her essential transport service by her own men can be interpreted as an act of provincial narrowness even if what Sardar Patel said were true. We would have ignored it with contempt, had it come from anyone of a lesser standing than the Sardar. We do

not know who is the contemptible person who misinformed the Sardar, but we suspect that it is one of the lot that assiduously licked the boots of the British, in order to share in the loot of Bengal, while the years of futile but fierce campaigns were going on to dragoon the Bengalis into submission. The facts are diametrically opposed to what was stated by him, as the Sardar is well aware of by now. More we need not say but we confess that Bengal was not fully prepared for the kind of "recognition" she has received at Nagpur from Sardar Patel whom she believed to be non-partisan.

Dr. Pattabhi on Linguistic Provinces

The re-distribution of provinces on a rational basis should not be needlessly delayed any further, said the Congress President-elect Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, speaking at a reception held in his honour by the Andbras of Delhi. The demand for linguistic provinces, Dr. Pattabhi said, was a rightful demand and, as such, ought to be conceded. "We must remove the artificial boundaries which the British had laid down by coercion for their own convenience. If Europe can have 28 countries why India cannot have 14 provinces," Dr. Pattabhi asked.

Dr. Sitaramayya has for long been a champion of the demand for the creation of luguistic provinces and he has achieved success so far as his own home province is concerned. But it is also equally patent that he has turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to this rightful demand when it emanated from the Bengalispeaking people. The fact remains that Bengal has so far been unable to secure support from this vociferous champion of linguistic provinces in her effort to get back the Bengali-speaking districts of Eastern Bihar and the just demand of the Bengali-speaking districts of Assam for the creation of a Purbachal Province has been turned down in a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in which Dr. Sitaramayya was present but did not lend his support to the representatives from Purbachal.

India at Columbia University

India was the theme of a public lecture at Columbia University, New York, on the 17th November. This was in connection with the Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture delivered by Prof. R. L. Schuyler. He is an authority on modern constitutions and world politics. The lecture which was entitled "India, the U. S. and the British Commonwealth" is the first of a series inaugurated at Columbia University by the Tarak Nath Das Foundation of New York City. The object of this Foundation is to promote Indian studies and foster cultural relations between India and the U. S. A.

Another National Anthem

Mr. Ravi Sankar Sukla, Premier of Central Province and Berar, has sponsored another national NOTES 437

anthem. In introducing it to the public, he says that it is "an adaptation" of Rabindranath Tagore's Jana-Gana-Mana Adhinayaka song His Home Minister, Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra, has ventured on it at his "request"; he suggests that the new anthem contains "what is best in the two songs"—Rabindranath's and Bankim Chandra's Vande Mataram, and embodies what constitutes the "most cherished heritage of our philosophy and culture." To enable our readers to judge this claim we reproduce below both the Roman character version and the English translation of this new song.

"Jana-Gana-Mana-Adhibasini, Jaya hea Mahimani Bharatmala.

Hyma-Kiritini, Vindhya-Mekheley,
Udadhi-Dhout-pad Kamaley,
Ganga-Yamuna-Rewa-Krishna-Godovari-jalabimaley,
Bibidha tadapi abibhaktey, Shanta,
shakti-sanyunktey, yug-yug abhinav Mata,

shakti-sanyunktey, yug-yug abhinav Mata, Jana-Gana-Klesha-Binashini-Jaya hea Mahimani Bharatamata,

Jaya hea, Jaya hea, Jaya hea, Jaya-Jaya-Jaya-Jaya, Jaya hea.'

"Supreme in the hearts of humanity, Thou radiant jewel on Earth

O Mother India: Be Thou victorious, Thy head crowned by the Himalayan snows,

The Vindhyas girdling thy waist.
Thy Lotus-feet washed by the ocean;

Thy body kept pure by the flowing waters

Of the Ganges, Yamuna, Rewa, Krishna, Godawari. Thou art the indivisible in a seeming diversity; Thou art peaceful yet blessed with unconquerable

strength;
Thou livest ever afresh; ever young in every age.
O radiant jewel on Earth! Mother India!
Thou who conquers all ills of the suffering

Humanity, Be Thou Triumphant.
Be Thou victorious, ever and ever again victorious!"

We know that Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra passed part of his student days in Calcutta, and that he dabbled in numbers because numbers came naturally to him. Since then, he appears to have made a name in the Hindi literary world as author of Krishnayan. Now, he is for a higher flight; he is not satisfied with the role of a maker of laws; he wants to live in the memory of his people as a maker of its songs. We respect his ambition, but we would urge him to realize whether "adaptation" of other's composition is the sure way of reaching this goal. His chief, perhaps unknowingly, gave away the case of his "adaptation" by using the words—"the sole apology for this venture."

Battle of Languages and Scripts

Members of the Constituent Assembly from Tamil Nad, Andhra, and Karnataka are said to have adopted a resolution adopting Hindi in Devnagri script as the official language in the country; they also agreed that English should continue to be recognised as the

official language for the next fifteen years. This shows that Gandhiji's advice that the official language should be Hindustani in two scripts—Devnagri and Urdu is being abandoned. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been appealing for patience, warning against any imposition by force of numbers. The enthusiasts for Hindi appear, however, to be determined to force matters even during the present session of the Constituent Assembly. They have been mobilizing their forces with a view to stampede it into taking the decision determined by them.

And the reactions to these rush tactics cannot but be unfortunate. There has been an anti-Hindi movement in Tamil Nad organized under the leadership of Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker, an old companion-at-arms of the present Governor-General of India during the Non-co-operation Movement days. It has been drawing strength from the Dravidastan Movement inspired by hostility to "Aryanism"-the norms and forms of life represented by Brahmins. It is not non-Brahmins alone of South India who have been organizing opposition to Hindi. During the present session of the Constituent Assembly members representing South India have been raising their voice against forcing Hindi. Mr. Krishnamachari spoke of "Language Imperialism"; Mr. Nagappa requested "members from the North not to impose Hindi at once." These warning voices should be heeded. The arguments indicated above should counsel the policy of "hasten slowly."

Why did They Accept Partition

A coherent picture of the developments which forced Congress leaders to agree to the division of India has yet to appear. We have heard and read that as soon as League nominees entered the Interim Government under false pretences of full co-operation in it and with the work of the Constituent Assembly they started to sabotage the work of the Government. As the Governor-General, Lord Wavell, was a benevolent observer of these antics of his proteges, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, could only make ineffectual protests.

There were other saboteurs at work-the members of the British bureaucracy. Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel in course of his recent Nagpur speech to representatives of the Chattisgarh States, now merged in the Central Provinces, lifted a part of the veil over their activities. He related how when he was entrusted with the States' portfolio in addition to that of Home Affairs he "found that the Political Department, in league with certain Princes, was busy hatching a conspiracy to break up the unity of India." The Bastar State affairs gave him a clue to those nefarious practices. The State has immense natural resources; these were on the point of being mortgaged to Hyderabad by a long lease. Sardar Patel put his foot down on these goings-on. The Political Department at first tried to withhold the relevant papers: ultimately these came. Then the Political Department started to argue that as they were by Law "guardians" of the minor prince, they were competent to enter into the contract for lease. They were bluntly told, however, that "as they were going away," they should not "bother about their wards."

Experiences like these forced on him the urgency of a decision.

It was then that I was made fully conscious of the extent to which our interests were being prejudiced in every way by the machinations of the Political Department and came to the conclusions that the sooner we were rid of these people the better.

I came to the conclusion that the best course was to drive out the foreigners even at the cost of the partition of the country. It was also then that I felt that there was only one way to make the country safe and strong, and that was the unification of the rest of India.

In course of his speech at the Benares Hindu University special convocation conferring on him a doctorate on November 25 last, Sardar Patel referred to this matter again in these words:

I felt that if we did not accept partition, India would be split into many bits and would be completely ruined. My experience of office for one year convinced me that the way we were proceeding we were heading for disaster. We would not have had one Pakistan, but several. We would have had Pakistan cells in every office.

The Muslim League, supported by the British ruling classes, exploited this anxiety. And partition was the way out.

Vacuum in South-East Asia

The Eastern World of London, a year-old monthly journal, in its August-September (1948) Double-Number has articles which are critical of the policy of the United States in East Asia. These leave the impression in the mind that the conductors of the journal are not reconciled to the "policy of scuttle" which Britain's Labour Government has been following, and are not happy that the great Republic across the Atlantic should have succeeded to the British heritage. Through almost all the articles runs a note of steady disapproval of U.S.A.'s acts of omission and commission. This rancour is at variance with the requirements of the camaraderic between these two Anglo-Saxon Powers. The writers have hardly any alternative plans to suggest; the political consequences of the two World Wars of the 20th century appear to have deprived them of that power. As reflecting the British mind this journal has significance as the "candid" friend of the greatest nation of the modern world.

To Indian readers the article entitled as above has a value, because it will enable us to see ourselves as others see us, specially when the opinion is being canvassed amongst us that India has a chance of

stepping into the leadership of Asia. We know that India's Prime Minister disapproves of this ambition. But even Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel has not been able to resist the temptation of appealing to the gallery in this matter. And Major-General Hartwell's article will do us good if we take care to understand its implications. He talks in terms of power-politics; he thinks that the "power vacuum" created by his country's retirement from India and Burma "cannot be filled from within the area" (S.-E. Asia) within a predictable future. In the language of geo-politics, made famous by the German General Hausoffer, "the land mass of India, or alternatively the land mass formed by Burma, Siam, Cochin-China and Malaya . . . is essential to paramountey in the area." And it is also essential that "the latter mass should be under one general control."

Who is to exercise this control now that Britain has withdrawn power from almost the whole of this area? And as India will be "looking inward rather than outward," there is the dread prospect that the Soviet Union may step in to fill up the vacuum. The writer says that "it requires little strategical sense" to see that for Russia, on the top of this land mass, "the physical control of India is a sine qua non unless China can be absorbed." The "obvious danger spots" are, according to him, "some or all of Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Sinkiang, Nepal and Tibet . . . (with Kashmir thrown in)."

Major-General Hartwell may have his own information to be so positive about "danger spots." But to many this prophecy may appear to be Sovietbaiting. We think that Russia will be trying to exploit the success of Chinese Communists. And for this he has found a remedy in a suggestion of Captain Liddel Hart with regard to Germany which can be applied to the other defeated nation—Japan. We will allow the writer to elaborate this Liddel Hart argument:

"... as the situation vis-a-bis Russia has developed, it is essential to drop our pre-conceived ideas on the military revival of Germany, and so far at least as Western Germany is concerned to promote such revival if there is to be any chance of imposing a physical check to Russia... mulatis mulandis may not the same principle be applied to Japan in S.-E. Asia? ... Is not a remilitarized Japan probably essential ...?"

History appears to be repeating itself. The emergence of Hitler was made possible by British encouragement. Fear of the Soviet Union was the driving force then as it is today.

China's Fight Against Communism

The continuing failures of the Chiang Kai-shek
Government of China to stand up against the Chiaese
Communists have pussled and mystified many. And
considering the United States interests involved in
China's fortunes, the world has been unable to underwhy the Trumen Administration should have

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been slack in rendering adequate help to China in her sore trial. But those who remember that in January, 1947, the United States Government withdrew its representatives from the Big Three Committee, established in China on February 9, 1945, to mediate between the Chinese Government and the Communists with a view to end hostilities between the two, can detect some meaning in the Chinese debacle in 1948. General Marshall, the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Truman Administration, was Chairman of this Committee. And in resigning from it he publicly made a stinging criticism of the Chinese parties, mostly supporters of the Kuomintang Government. who had weakened in their revolutionary role in the affairs of the country. The announcement made on January 23, 1947, from Washington further told the world that the U.S. A. Government had decided "to terminate its connection with the Executive Headquarters which was established in Peiping by the Committee of Three for the purposes of supervising in the field of the execution of the agreement for cessation of hostilities and demobilization and reorganization of the armed forces of China."

This episode is recalled today to explain the dissatisfaction of U.S. A. leaders with the Chiang Kaishek Administration. We have seen hints thrown out in that country's press that authoritative quarters at Washington would not be sorry if the Kuomintang Government is ousted from power. Of course, they do not say so in public. This dissatisfaction apart, Communist victory in Manchuria will entail a major shift in the balance of power in East Asia. This diplomatic language can be made intelligible to the general public by saying that without Manchuria's natural resources China cannot be a great Power. It will have more permanent effects. The Western world has to realize that if China falls to Communism, the patient and industrious millions of the country will turn the scale in world affairs; their very numbers soon or late will weigh heavily in favour of Moscow.

The news from Washington that President Truman has been applying his mind to a fresh attempt to understand the riddle of China is significant. But he has to understand that even if his country's resources and capacity and willingness to help were many times greater than what these are, China could not be saved to Democracy if her people did not will it. He has also to realize that the policy of his country with regard to Japan has a great deal to do with Chinese lack of will to fight against Communism. To the Chinese Japan's ambitions and practices are a greater devil than those represented by the Soviet Union. This feeling was given expression to in course of an Open Letter to the U.S. Ambassador addressed by 437 Professors of various Universities in Peiping, "giving chapter and verse in support of their contention that American policy has been effectively rearming Japan, and re-instating many of the former Japanese imperialists," to summarise from articles and statements appearing in an American journal. The Ambassador, Dr. Leighton Stuarts has been an educator of Chinese youth for about 30 years; he was connected with the Yenching University at Peiping. And the Chinese Professors, many of them his students, appear to be justified in their bitter comment that "he has not yet learnt enough about the Chinese" which alone would have enabled him to warn his Government of the danger of their policy. Will they yet reverse it and re-enlist the vital elements in China to fight for Democracy?

Before Pearl Harbour

The United States' version of Japan's entry into the second World War has taught the world to regard the air attack on Pearl Harbour as its beginning in East Asia. The judges of the International Tribunal trying General Hideki Tojo and 24 other Japanese war lords have found, however, that before the U.S.A. ships at Pearl Harbour were destroyed, Japanese warships had attacked Kota Bahru in Malaya's tin district. This particular attack tooks place at 2-40 a.m. (Japanese time) on the 8th December, 1941; this was a hundred minutes before the assault on Pearl Harbour; the Japanese landed troops on the Malayan beaches nearly an hour before the first Japanese planes had appeared over the Pearl Harbour naval base.

In the judgment delivered by the Indian Judge, Dr. Radha Binode Pal, the Japanese war lords were acquitted. As this judgment was not allowed to be read out in Court, the summary that has appeared in the Indian Press leaves the impression in the mind that Dr. Pal held the policy followed by the Euro-American Powers, led by the U.S.A., as really responsible for driving Japan to this war. Before and after the first World War, the Western Powers encouraged Japanese ambitions. The Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902-3 hastened the Russo-Japanese war. The then U. S. A. President, Theodore Roosevelt, is reported to have suggested to Japan that she should declare a "Monroe Doctrine" for East Asia. During the first World War, the U.S. A. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lansing recognised that "Japan had special interests in China particularly in the parts to which her possessions are contiguous." And in 1930, Ambassador Castle declared that "Japan must be and will be the guardian of peace in the Pacific."

These declarations went into Japan's head and inflamed her ambitions. Dr. Pal must have quoted these and others. Why the Western Powers failed to accept the logic of their friendly feelings we do not know from any of their recorded declarations. By opposing Japanese ambitions they created bitterness which sought an outlet in war. Their policy of discrimination against non-white peoples will continue to embitter relations between the coloured and the "colourless" peoples; the word within quotation marks was coined by Mrs. Annie Besant not as a term of compliment,

Truman as U. S. President

Harry Truman has been elected President of the United States falsifying the confident prophecies of politicians and publicists in the United States and of outside. The success of his rival Thomas Dewey was so very assured that a Chicago daily did splash the news of his victory in an early edition of the paper on the day the news was published, and the New York Times, the biggest paper in the United States, gave Dewey three-times more election votes than his rival in course of "a nation-wide election-eve survey." All the wise men and women of America have been repenting of their folly and started to explain the why's and how's of this miracle. We do not know if this wise-after-the-event elucidation will do anybody any good. But as it is in the day's business, we have to tolerate these lucubrations.

By his almost single-handed fight against overwhelming odds even in his own party, Harry Truman has proved that he had unexpected virtues that the world had not bargained for. It had been the habit to treat him as President by courtesy succeeding by an accident the real organiser of the victory in the second World War of the 20th century. As Vice-fresident of the U.S. A. in Franklin Roosevelt's fourth term as President, depending for this post on Roosevelt's choice. Harry Truman became President because under the law of the Republic on the event of the President's death the Vice-President automatically steps into his shoes.

But by his victory in the 1948 election Harry Truman becomes by his own right Chief of the State and Commander-in-Chief of its armed forces. What effect his victory will have on the internal economy of the U. S. A., it is too early to say. Vaguely understanding the aims and objects of Truman's Democratic Party and of Dewcy's Republican Party, we do not propose to venture on an excursion into the meaning of these supposedly conflicting ideas, ideals and practices. Truman has been elected by the last-minute solid support of American Labour, we have been told. What it will mean in the internal polities of the great Republic, time will show.

On international affairs, Truman's victory is not expected to bring any radical change. We have heard so much of the "bi-partisan" policy of the U. S. A., of the two parties being of one mind in the pursuit of foreign aims that we need not expect the new President to make any "new departure" in the line. The world has been told since 1939 that the 20th century is and will continue to be the "American Century", that the American way of life will dominate over world affairs. Harry Truman will be expected to follow the path that consolidates this aspiration. If strife and conflict try to halt or defeat it, Truman will not fail or falter to take up the challenge of the rival. History has pre-

pared this role for the successor of Franklin Roosevelt. He has had no choice in the matter.

Injustice to Indian-owned Collieries

It is a pity that we have to write under the above caption even now in the same manner as we did while there was a hundred per cent British rule in the country. The present Ministers of the Central Cubinet raised some time ago the cry "Produce or Perish." The Indian colliery proprietors, true to their traditions of loyalty to the Congress, carried out the behest and now realize to their cost that "Produce and Perish" would have been the more correct slogan. Of late there has been a remarkable improvement in the supply of wagons in the coalfields but all this has gone to the British-managed collieries of which stocks have been reduced almost to nil. Coal worth about Rs. 6 crores lies and deteriorates as time passes at the Indianowned collieries. Eighty Indian-owned mines have had to close down. Of these forty belong to Bengalees who are backward in trade and industry. A few months ago British-managed jute mills piled up at Bhadreswar a huge stock of coal mostly from British-managed collieries and but for the vigilance of the Press would have appropriated it to their use much beyond the target fixed by the Government. Soft coke used in cooking food was so long the main stay of a large number of Indian-owned collieries raising comparatively inferior coal but recently Britishmanaged mines of first class coal on the B. N. Railway beyond the Damodar river manufactured the domestic fuel and got an extra supply of wagons to despatch it to Calcutta stations. Indian-owned soft coke collieries have thus been deprived of even that poor share of wagon supply which British rulers did not deny them in the past. The same is true of brick-burning coal. Thus Indian-owned collieries have been deprived of two items of wagon supply which have been their close preserve for decades. This is independence with vengeance. British industries in the country buy generally from British-managed mines. Sir Joseph Bhore as Railway Member in the old Viceroy's Council, for the first time, placed the major portion of railway orders with Indian-owned colleries. That system has been reversed this year, British-managed mines getting the lion's share of the Railway custom. According to Dr. Sir Cyril S. Fox and a host of Indian geologists, the stock of metallurgical coal in India will be exhausted in 43 years unless its use for non-metallurgical purposes is stopped immediately. Instead of doing that the Government of India is echoing the cry of the British Managing Agents that with the installation of washing plants or desulphurisation there will be no dearth of metallurgical coal for a long time to come. The Government should have discerned that this is special pleading of devices that remain to be proved in Indian conditions. Why shuold the country imperil its future just to enable foreign capitalists to line their pockets? There is a talk of reducing the total target of coal wagon supply. In that case there is every chance of the Indian section of the coal industry suffering still more.

EASTERN INDIA UNDER THE PALA KINGS

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Rt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE rule of the Pala kings over Bengal and Bihar lasted for four centuries and a half. It began in Bengal about 750 A.D. and soon spread to Bihar. And when the line of 18 kings ended in Bengal about 1160, what was probably a junior branch of the family continued to hold Bihar till the Muslim conquest forty years later. In their best days the Pala kings reached almost imperial grandeur, as their sway extended to the United Provinces, Assam and Orissa, or at least their suzerainty was acknowledged by vassal kings in those provinces.

Vincent Smith rightly praises the Palas as "one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties . . . Dharmapala and Devapala (the second and third of the line) succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India . . . The Pala period was one of marked intellectual and artistic activity."

Tonight I shall not talk of their wars and conquests, internal dissensions and marriage alliances. These things you can find best in Dr. R. C. Majumdar's masterly chapters in the first volume of the Dacca University History of Bengal. I hold that the greatest achievement of the Pala kings was that under them Bengal first took its distinctive shape as a compact separate province, out of a number of alien districts which had before them no bond of union, though geographically adjacent. In the Pala empire, Varendri and Banga, Rarha and the northern Mongoloid fringe, were all welded into one country, one State, by remaining under the same sceptre and being ruled under the same administration for four centuries continuously. Secondly, we have to remember that the Bengali race took its present shape in language, religion, social usages, and mental peculiarities during this dynasty's rule. That shape has been modified only by three later forces, namely, (1) the uniform pattern of the Mughal administration imposed on the province after Akbar's conquest, (2) the rise of a Vaishnav Church under Chaitanya's disciples, and (3) the impact of European trade and capital from the middle of the 17th century. Islam introduced a foreign and unassimilable element into Bengal, no doubt; but the Bengali Muslims have never been apart from their Hindu neighbours and former blood-relations in speech, social usage and favourite literature. Thus, I claim that the Pala period created that composite product, viz., a distinct racial and cultural personality, called the Bengali or Gauria.

A revolutionary change was completed in Bengal during the four centuries of Pala rule. Before the coming of these kings, we see dimly through the mist, only a loose bundle of tribes, migratory bands, and foreign adventurers who had turned Bengal into a fighting arena, the big devouring the small, like fishes, matsya nyaya, as a contemporary inscription rightly describes it. There was, before the Palas, no central ruler for the whole province, no power the enforce justice. But at the end of the Pala period we find that all these groups of men had taken root in the soil, adapted themselves to their neighbours, and all had been fused into one people or nation. The peculiar Bengali racial mould had been prepared and all men had been cast into it.

There was a similar striking change affected in our social organisation. Under the earliest Pala kings Buddhism was the favoured and possibly the prevailing religion; under its influence there was no caste distinction, no food restriction; social usages and religious rites were in a confused or changeful shape, as one would naturally expect in a society convulsed by political turmoil and the anarchy caused by the collapse of the Gupta imperial government. Mixed marriages, and even unions without marriage would be very frequent during such social anarchy. Therefore, just when Pala rule ended and the Sena line began, the Bengalis realized that they had once again gained settled order and peace, and Vallal Sen signalised the end of social anarchy by purifying the castes, as our traditions say. He really reorganised the castes, or rather gave his royal sanction to the grouping and discipline of the social grades that had already taken place silently during the four centuries of settled rule and national prosperity under the Palas.

This new stratification of Bengali Hindu society has lasted down to our own days, and its intellectual basis is the Sanskrit ritualistic and theological literature that grew up under the later Palas and the Senas. The social confusion due to Buddhism and the pre-Pala anarchy ended with the disappearance of Buddhism as the popular religion from Bengal. Our province had now become a Hindu land, with Buddhism lingering here and there in the hills and jungles, or disguised as Dharma Puia.

What form the Bengali language had taken at the end of the Pala period is still unknown for want of any book or inscription in that vernacular. But I make bold to say that our language had by that time advanced very far from the crudities of the Dohas and Charyapadas, which, I maintain, were not the people's speech in 1160, but only the artificial jargon of a saystic and narrow sect. Many Sanskrit works were written at the time by the Bengalis, but they tell us nothing of the actual speech of the people.

In the fine arts, we possess specimens of Pala sculpture, whose unsurpassed excellence proves our forefathers' advance in culture under this dynasty. You will find the best examples of it, both stonecarvings and terra cotta, in the Rajshahi town Museum, at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district, and in very small numbers in the collections of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Calcutta University, and the Indian Museum. Pala art was made famous by the gifted sculptors Dhiman and Vitapala, whom the Tibetan monk-historian praises. Look at the images of the dancing Ganesha and the Ardha-Nara-Nari in the Rajshahi Museum, and you will find the best unswer to those who say that Indian art can be original only by being abnormal or artificial, or a crude monstrosity. Every contortion (however slight) of the limbs and muscles, natural in dancing, is faithfully reproduced in this Ganesha, while the Ardha-Nara-Nari shows exact fidelity to the differences between the male and female countenance and bust. Sister Nivedita used to say that the Tri-murti in the Elephanta Cave is the emblem of the synthesis which is the soul of Hinduism. I have seen both. Call it not my prejudice in favour of my native district, when I tell you that the face of the Ishwara in the Rajshahi Ardha-Nara-Nari is even more sublime than that of Brahma in Elephanta.

I have no time to tell you about the great services of these kings to Buddhistic learning, as represented by the foundation of the Vikramshila University, the restoration of the Nalanda University, and the building of the Sompuri Monastery (i.e., Paharpur). Atisa, the apostle of Buddhistic Tibet, enjoyed Pala patronage. But the dynasty was wonderfully broad-minded, these kings employed Hindus and Buddhists alike among their ministers and officers, and made grants to both religions.

I shall conclude by posing three questions for your investigation, as I wish to stimulate your brains and make you think independently by going against the theories of our orthodox historians.

First question: Did the Palas belong to the Rajbhat or Bhar sub-caste? Dharmapala is described in an old Sanskrit work as Raja-bhatadi-vamsa-patita. There is a large colony of this caste settled in the village of Sakaldiha, the first station from Mughal Serai to Gaya on the chord line, and they call themselves Rajbhant, not Bhar. They now work as coolies and herdsmen, but they had a most glorious past: Beames in his Memoirs of Races, etc., Vol. I, (p. 33) writes:

"The period immediately following the intrads of Mahmud Ghasnavi saw the rise in South Oudh, the Duab, and the country between the Ganges and Malwa, of the short-lived power of the Bhars... Common tradition assigns to them the possession of the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugor (in C. P.)... Many old stone forts, embankments and subterranean caverns in Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilisation."

Read also Martin's Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 493 and the Gazetteer of Oudh, Vol. I, Introduction p. 35.

Was Gopal, the first king of this dynasty, the grandson of a soldier of fortune from South Oudh who had settled as a mercenary captain in some village of Rajshabi as his jagir, during the anarchy following the break-up of the Gupta empire, and whose son and grandson followed the same profession, till rising higher and higher in the third generation Gopal made himself "the hero as king" of all Bengal?

Second question: The Pala army was mainly composed of foreign mercenaries and not exclusively of Bengalis by race. The regular official body of this dynasty included the commanders of Gauda, Malava, Khasa, Huna, Kulika, Karnata, Lata and Choda contingents both regular and temporary (bhat-chat). The copious revenue of fertile Bengal enabled the Pala kings to maintain these mercenaries and with their help conquer Kanauj, Kamrup and Orissa, just as the possession of the rich and soft province of Bengal enabled the English to hire lakhs of Oudh sepoys, Sikhs and Gurkhas and thus conquer the rest of India.

Now, did these foregin mercenary troops cause the disruption of the Pala empire and foment internal revolts when there were no longer warriors like Dharmapala, Devapala and Ramapala on the throne to lead them?

Third question: During the Pala period, Buddhism was swept out of Bengal and Bihar by Hinduism as we know it now-a-days. What was the part of Tantrikism in effecting this change? How did it act as a solvent and precipitating acid in the boiling cauldron of religions in Bengal in that age? What part did the Nath-yogis and the Sahajiyas play in facilitating the transition from decadent Buddhism to modern Puranic Hinduism? How did the Krishnacult illustrated by the plaques at Paharpur differ from the Vaishnavism as taught later by Chaitanya? Can you trace the steps of the change?*

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By PRINCIPAL A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

VI

THE foregoing discussion about citizenship and electoral qualifications naturally brings us to the question of territory of India, because in the ultimate analysis these have some relation to territory. What constitutes the territory of the Indian Union or that of the units is laid down in Part I of the Draft Constitution. Under Section (1) the territory of India is to include (i) the territories of four categories of States, (a) Governors' Provinces in the previous regime, (b) Chief Commissioners' Provinces. (c) those Indian States that have acceded to the Indian Union, and (d) the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and also (2) such other territories as may be acquired later. The door has been kept open for the accession of new States on terms acceptable to the Union (Section 2). Under this section nearly all the States except Hyderabad have already acceded to India and Hyderabad is also well on the way to accession after the recent successful 'police action' by India. The accession of Junagad and Kashmir to India has been disputed by Pakistan and India has agreed to submit the issue to a plebiscite after settled conditions return. Anyway it is hoped that by the time the constitution comes into force all the States within the territorial jurisdiction of what constituted India under the Act of 1935 except those that have fallen within the territorial borders of Pakistan will have acceded to and formed part of the Indian Union. Although mutilated by the secession of areas that now constitute Pakistan, with the above expectatious realised 'India' in the new set-up would still remain a compact and integrated territorial unit. Section (3) provides for territorial re-adjustment as between the units within the Union. Union Parliament has been empowered to enact laws (a) to form a new State by separation of territory from a State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States; (b) to increase the area of any State; (c) to diminish the area of any State; (d) to alter the boundaries of any State; or (e) to alter the name of any State. The Section is qualified by a proviso which we shall discuss later. Such a law for the re-adjustment of boundaries of the units will necessarily contain provisions for the consequential amendment of the First Schedule enumerating the States and territories of India and other incidental and consequential provisions as may be deemed necessary, but such amendments will not be regarded as amendments of the Constitution in the formal sense of the term (Section 4). It is quite in the fitness of things that there should be a provision in the Constitution particularly of a federal type for subsequent territorial re-adjustments of the units specially in view of the fact that existing boundaries

of provinces were determined under British rule simply by administrative needs of foreign rulers instead of any regard for any scientific principles and it is also meet and proper that the power to enact necessary legislation in this behalf should vest in the Centre. So far it is quite all right, but the difficulty begins with the proviso to the section. The proviso falls into two parts. The first part relates to the redrawing of boundaries of what are now Governors' Provinces designated as 'States' as set forth in Part I of the first Schedule to the Draft and the second part relates to proposals for alteration of boundaries of what are now called Indian States whether specified in Part III of the First Schedule of the Draft or others not so specified. The first part of the proviso runs as follows:

"Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either." House of Parliament except by the Government of India and unless—

(a) either (i) a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representations of the territory in the Legislature of the State from which the territory is to be separated or excluded; or

(b) a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislative of any State whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill."

(Italics ours).

Any proposal for the alteration of boundaries of existing units can only be carried out by effecting a territorial loss to some unit and a corresponding gain to some other unit or units. Now it does not stand to reason that a Province would come forward willingly and take the initiative in the matter and that is exactly what is contemplated in the first part of the proviso quoted above. Let us take the concrete case of Bengal-Bihar dispute regarding the Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar which were transferred to Bihar by our imperialistic British masters with a sinister design on the annulment of partition of Bengal and which West Bengal is now very legimately claiming back. Of course, on the basis of a rational and unprejudiced approach to the question solely on its merits there should not have been any difficulty in both the provinces agreeing to the proposed alteration in boundary particularly in view of the fact that the Congress wedded to the policy of creating linguistic provinces as far back as 1911 is in power in both the provinces and perhaps the Drafting Committee relied on such a spirit of sweet reasonableness and broad-minded patriotism animating peoples' approach to such questions instead of narrow provincial and petty jealousies. It is no use however blinking facts, however inconvenient or unpalatable

they may be. From the trend of events so far it would be simply madness to expect that a majority of legislators of Bihar would make a representation to the President to make over a part of their Province to Bengal. It may be contended that failing this, the other alternative provided under sub-clause (ii) may be put into operation, that is, a resolution in this behalf may be passed by the Legislature of the State "whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill." In this particular case the legislature in question may be as much the legislature of West Bengal as that of Bihar, because the boundaries of both would be affected by the proposed change. The West Bengal legislature may be eager to pass the necessary resolution but certainly not the Bihar legislature. What if the West Bengal Legislature adopts a resolution for the change and Bihar Legislature passes a resolution opposing the same? The intentions of the Drafting Committee is not very clear on the point, but certainly the language used in sub-clause (ii) is calculated to render the proposal infructuous. But this is not the only hurdle that has got to be crossed, by a province, in this particular case, West Bengal, in order to get its boundaries altered after the constitution comes into force. Even if it be able to persuade the legislature of Bihar to see the justice of its case and agree to the proposed change, which as we have seen is wellnigh impossible, it has to get the Government of India to take up the matter and introduce the necessary legislation in the Union Parliament, because the initiative in the matter has been vested in the Government of India. Here again the Committee has been inspired by the same spirit of idealism and lack of realistic approach to the matter that is evidenced in the other recommendation in the sub-clauses (i) and (ii) discussed above. It is assumed that the Government of India would take a perfectly dispassionate, nonpartisan and rational view. But this may not necessarily be so. The Province which sponsors the proposal and is likely to be benefited by it may not be wellrepresented in the Central Government or for many other reasons the die may be heavily loaded against the Province and in that event its case may simply go by default. That seems to be at least our unfortunate experience in the present case of Bengal-Bihar dispute. Even men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sri Rajendra Prosad who are directly or indirectly controlling the policy of the Central Government have, to say the least, cold-shouldered the overwhelmingly legitimate claim of West Bengal to the Bengalispeaking tracts of Bihar on some plea or other, not at all convincing. I shall not go here into the details of the arguments put forward on behalf of West Bengal, because these have been repeated ad nauseum in the recent times in the Press and Platform, nor is that quite relevant to our present discussion. I shall only mention four of these, vis., (1) The Congress is very long officially committed to the policy of creating

linguistic provinces, (2) about 75 per cent of the population in the areas in dispute are linguistically, ethonogically and culturally identified with Bengalis, (8) the areas in question were arbitrarily separated from Bengal on the annulment of partition by British imperialists with the same sinister design with which many other administrative units were carved out by them in which the Congress never acquiesced and which they stood pledged to undo after the transfer of power, (4) Congress High Command by agreeing to the partition of Bengal is responsible for the present plight of Bengal reduced to one-third of her former size, denuded of the most fertile parts, with her economy on the brink of ruin by continuous streams of refugees from East Bengal pressing on her slender economic resources and as such is morally bound to give her some relief by giving back what was hers only some years back.

Now shall I go into the ruthless methods which are being employed by the Congress Government of Bihar with the apparent connivance of Congress High Command and even Dr. Rajendra Prasad to suppress this very legitimate demand of West Bengal.

The only point that I want to make here and that is relevant is that Bengal's case for redistribution of territories is a very strong one resting on unassailable grounds and yet it is not likely to be satisfied under the existing provisions of the Draft Constitution. Therefore, less strong cases for redistribution of territories will have hardly any chance of being considered even. That even the authors of the Draft Constitution were conscious of the difficulty of altering Provincial boundaries under article (3) of their Draft is evident from their anxiety to get Andhra Province, for which they appear to have a very soft corner in their hearts, or other such linguistic Provinces created under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the Draft Constitution comes into force. They have themselves stated in a footnote to the First Schedule of the Draft that they anxiously considered the question if Andhra should be specifically mentioned as a separate State in that Schedule along with existing States (Governors' Provinces) and that the Government of India also in a statement on the subject suggested that Andhra could be included among the Provinces in the Constitution as was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Government of India Act, 1935. At one stage they themselves felt inclined to mention Andhra as a distinct State in this Schedule. But on closer thought they discovered some procedural difficulties and changed their mind. We should particularly invite the readers' attention to paragraph 20 of the letter of the Chairman of the Drafting Committee addressed to the President of the Constituent Assembly appended at the beginning of the Draft. Due to its importance bearing on the point we are discussing, we shall perhaps be excused for quoting it in extenso:

"I would invite special attention to Part I of the First Schedule and the footnote thereto. It Andhra or any other linguistic region is to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted, steps will have to be taken immediately to make them into separate Governors' Provinces under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935 before the Draft Constitution is finally passed. Of course, the new Constitution itself contains provisions for the creation of new States, but this will be after the new Constitution comes into operation." (Italics our own). The italicised portion is particularly worth noticing.

In order to satisfy the demands for linguistic regions that had been raised the Committee recommended that

"A Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions, with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new States whose formation it may recommend to be created under Section 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted." (Italics ours). The italicised portion should be specially noted.

The Commission envisaged above has since been appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly but strangely enough the case of West Bengal has not been included within its terms of reference. A memorandum submitted by the members of the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal pleading for inclusion of the case of West Bengal was turned down by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the ground that it was not a case for the creation of a new province and as such does not fall within the scope of the enquiry by the Commission as suggested by the Drafting Committee. But with all deference to Dr. Prasad we venture to suggest that no impartial and unbiassed person would see anything in the language of the recommendation of the Drafting Committee quoted above that prevents the inclusion of the case of West Bengal within the terms of reference of the Commission, Pandit Nehru's logic in cold-shouldering the claim of West Bengal is still more difficult to understand. He dubs it as narrow provincialism and discourages such movements calculated to breed fissiparous and disruptive tendencies when complete unity and solidarity is called for in the context of stupendous problems facing the country at the present moment. It is difficult to understand, however, how the addition of the case of West Bengal to the list will add to the embarrassment of the Government. Is it the contention of Pandit Nehru that the cases of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and others are so very urgent that they cannot wait till after the enforcement of the new constitutions, but Wes; Bengal's case has no such urgency and that in the face of the stupendous problems facing the mained and mutilated province of West Bengal arising out of the partition by which she has perhaps been hit the hardest? This is, however, by the way. But whether West Bengal's case is included within the terms of

enquiry of the said Commission or is equitably and justly settled under Section 290 of the Act of 1935 along with the claim of other linguistic regions or not is not the real issue here. We have referred to the case of West Bengal only to make the point that even such an extremely strong case is very unlikely to get a hearing even, after the Draft Constitution comes into operation, under article (3) of the Draft and that is why not only West Bengal, but all other linguistic regions claiming redistribution of Provincial boundaries are clamouring for such adjustments before the Draft Constitution is put into force. But even if all these claims are satisfactorily settled by the above procedure it will still leave the main problem unsolved. Fresh problems of territorial redistribution may arise in future also. It is necessary to amend the article in question to provide for satisfactory settlement of such questions.

Before we make a suggestion as to the lines on which it should be amended we propose to discuss an amendment adopted recently by the West Bengal Legislature to the article (3) of the Draft. The amendment in question purports to recommend to the Constituent Assembly deletion of the entire proviso to the article (3). If accepted by the Constituent Assembly, its effect would be to vest in the Union Parliament unfettered power to make laws to form new States or to increase or decrease the area of a State or to alter the boundaries or the name of any State. It takes away the initiative from the Central Government and vests it in the members of the Union Legislature, so that any member from a region which demands territorial redistribution can initiate such proposal in the Legislature and can at least force a discussion and consideration of the proposal on its merits whereas under the provisions of the Draft no such proposal can even be raised in that Legislature unless it receives the blessings of the Central Government. It will also transfer the initiative in the matter from the Legislature of the State from which territory is to be separated or included to the State which demands such separation and thus brings the matter within the region of practical politics. Thus while it would mark definite improvement in the existing position it has its defect also. In terms of this amended provision the sole initiative in this matter would be vested in the Central Legislature. A matter like this, of course, naturally falls within the jurisdiction of the Central Legislature but in so far as it involves usually a conflict of interest between two parties-for a redistribution of territorial boundaries means generally gain to one unit at the cost of another—it assumes a quasi-judicial aspect like a dispute between two parties. As such the issue should be decided free from all political considerations and entanglements as are apt to prevail in the legislature and a quasi-judicial procedure like what obtains in England in regard to private bill legislation should be prescribed for the purpose. The initiative should rest with the province

that demands re-radjustment. It should present its case before a Committee of the Central Legislature constituted from a panel of names of members of the legislature. The Committee for the purpose of hearing the case should consist of only such members as have no interest in the issue. It should not include any members of the legislature hailing from any of the provinces affected by the dispute. All the provinces affected by the proposed redistribution should be given a full hearing of their objections to the proposal.

The matter should be proceeded with just like a suit in a court of law, the Committee playing the role of a tribunal. The Committee should ultimately give its verdict in the form of a report to the legislature on the basis of which the necessary legislation should be passed. This will eliminate all possibility of partisan or unjust redistribution tending to foster ill-feeling and bitterness as between the provinces affected.

(Concluded)

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INDIA'S HEMP DRUG POLICY UNDER BRITISH RULE

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-President, Constituent Assembly of India

SUCH evidence as is available tends to show that though the use of narcotics for purely intoxication purposes was not uncommon in ancient India and during Mahomedan rule, the authorities concerned made no attempt to check it through the imposition of taxes. The sporadic efforts made in this direction from time to time found application in very small areas and can, for all practical purposes, be safely ignored.

It was only when the British came to feel that they had more or less firmly established themselves in the soil of India that they turned their attention first, to the taxation of alcohol as a means of realising a revenue and reducing the evils resulting from its use and, after that, took up the question of taxing intoxicating drugs.

The need for a revenue was primarily behind the move, quite natural in the case of the East India Company the authorities of which were quite alive to the revenue-yielding possibilities of the British system of taxation of alcoholic beverages. All that they did was to import it to such parts of India as were under their unchallenged control.

BEGINNINGS OF THE BRITISH EXCISE POLICY

It appears that during the closing years of Muslim rule in India, some system of taxation was sought to be imposed in some of the territories ruled by the Moghul Emperors on distilled but not on fermeated liquors, such as toddy, rice-beer, etc.* The task of collecting these taxes where they could be realised, not always an easy matter, was entrusted to the semindars under the head of sayer revenue. It goes without saying that they were not realised everywhere and also that many semindars who collected them did not always remit the amounts received to their sovereign. This was the system existing at the time when the

country came into the possession of the East India Company.

In 1789, much resentment was expressed against the conduct of the Bengal zemindars who, it was alleged, did not exercise proper control over the manufacture and sale of spirits with the result that drunkenness was spreading rapidly among the poorest classes. It was suggested that the only way to check this evil was for government to bring the collection of these taxes under its direct management and control.

This change in the excise policy was referred to in the following terms on pages 8 and 9 of the Report of the Spirit Commission of Bengal, 1884:

"On the 19th April, 1790, the Government resolved . . . to resume the Abkari sayer without reference to other duties."

This new policy of direct collection of taxes on liquor was put into effect by the Abkari Regulation of January, 1791, under which a tax was levied "on every license granted both to distillers and vendors of spirituous liquors."

Realising the ease with which taxes could be raised from this particular source without running any risk of antagonising their subjects who had come under their rule quite recently, the attention of the East India Company was next turned to the imposition of duties on drugs as a means of securing revenue.

That it was as much the desire to augment the revenues as to discourage the excessive consumption of drink and drugs that lay behind the above steps becomes clear from a passage from Harrington's Analysis, quoted by the Excise Commissioner of Bengal in his memorandum dated the 27th November, 1893, prepared for the Hemp Drugs Commission. He said:

"It will appear from paragraph 1, section 2 of Harrington's Analysis, volume 3rd, 1817, that with a view to check immoderate consumption, and at the saint time to augment the public revenue, it was judged expedient to continue and extend the duties levied on liquors and drugs when the sayer collections were resumed from landholders in the year 1790."

The two things which have to be remembered here are first that in those distant days, there was little, if any, scientific data proving the deleteriousness of drugs and, secondly, that being new to the country and having but little intimate contact with the general mass of the people, the British took it for granted that the consumption of narcotics by Indians was as natural and inevitable as the use of alcoholic drinks in the West.

THE BENGAL ENQUIRY OF 1798

The first definite step in the direction of realising a revenue from narcotics was taken when, on the 16th February, 1798, the Board of Revenue suggested formally to the Governor-General in Council that a duty should be laid on the sale and consumption of the following ten intoxicating articles: opium, madak, ganja, subzi, bhang, majum, banker, charas, tobacco and toddy.

A fact to which the attention of the reader should be drawn is the way in which dangerous drugs or their preparations like charas, ganja, madak, banker and opium are placed in the same category as certainly less injurious substances such as bhang and toddy and the more or less innocuous tobacco especially in the form in which it is smoked in India. This lends at least some support to the view that it was not so much the humanitarian as the revenue motive which was responsible for the move made by the Board of Revenue, the members of which were, at this time, under the necessity of enlarging the revenues of the East India Company.

On the 22nd March, 1798, the Governor-General in Council sent a reply to two extracts from which the attention of the reader is drawn. The first of these important as it proves beyond any doubt that the Governor-General and the members of his Council were aware of the injurious nature of some of these intoxicants. The lines in question read as follows:

"Some of the articles enumerated in your letter, we have reason to believe, are of so noxious a quality, and produce a species of intoxication so extremely violent, that they cannot be used without imminent danger to the individual as well as to the public who may be exposed to the effects of the temporary insanity frequently excited by the use of these drugs."

The equally notable second extract makes it clear that even at that time, the desire to prohibit the consumption of drugs of the above type was professed and it would have been indeed fortunate for India if it had found effective expression in actual practice. Unfortunately for us, the people concerned succumbed to the temptation of realising a revenue from the less deleterious among the ten intoxicants and, at the same

time, of doing something towards the limitation of their consumption. The language used was as follows:

"We are of opinion that the vend of any drugs of this description should be altogether prohibited, and we desire therefore that, after having made an inquiry with a view to ascertain more particularly the nature and effect of them, you will prepare and submit to us a regulation for this purpose, as well as for establishing such duties as may appear to you proper on the sale of such other drugs as may be used without the same pernicious effects."

The conclusion was almost a foregone one. The Board of Revenue after its investigations came to the following conclusion:

"It appears that the original productions are as follows: tobacco, opium, ganja, subzi or bhang, banker and toddy, and that the three remaining articles are for the most part compositions of those here recited, as above-mentioned. With respect to the drugs specified in the foregoing schedule, they are not for the most part represented as producing any very violent or dangerous effects of intoxication except when taken to excess; and, although the operation of them may be more powerful in their compound state, we apprehend it would be difficult to sanction the sale of the original productions, and to prohibit with effect the use of compositions of which they are susceptible; to which may be added that most of these articles, both as original productions and as artificial combinations, appear to be useful either in medicine or otherwise; for these reasons we do not deem it necessary recommend that the sale of any of them be altogether prohibited, but shall proceed to state what appear to us the best means of restricting the use of them, and improving the revenue by the imposition of such taxes as are best adapted to the nature of the case."

It is here that we get the beginnings of the British drug policy based on the assumption that moderate indulgence in drugs is not injurious and that imposition of taxes is the most practical as well as the most satisfactory method of keeping the consumption of these admittedly injurious substances within reasonable limits.

Accordingly, under Regulation VI of 1800, the unlicensed sale of ganja and other intoxicating drugs was stopped and a daily rate of duty on their sale "according to their strength and qualities" imposed on them.

The system of daily taxes lent itself to such abuse that some substitute had to be found for it especially as there was no reduction in the quantities consumed and the revenues were not benefited to the extent anticipated. In 1853, therefore, this system was abolished and in its place, a duty of Re. 1 per seer on ganja and charas was imposed. In 1860, a fixed fee of Rs. 4 per maund was prescribed for each ganja license in addition to the above fixed duty.

ALL-INDIA ENCUIEY OF 1871 AND THE RESOLUTION OF 1873

In a note dated the 15th July, 1870, the then Financial Secretary made an observation to the effect that

"Every lunatic asylum report is full of instances of insanity and crime due to the use of Ganja."

Sir Richard Temple, Financial Member of the Government of India, drew the attention of Government to this note in 1871, with the result that Local Governments were directed to make a careful and detailed enquiry in regard to the effects of "the use or abuse" of different preparations of hemp.

Mr. A. O. Hume, as Secretary to the Government oy India in his letter No. 339, dated the 10th October, 1871, wrote to all Local Governments and Administrations as follows:

"It has frequently been alleged that the abuse of ganja produces insanity and other dangerous effects. The information available in support of these allegations is avowedly imperfect, and it does not appear that the attention of the officers in charge of lunatic asylums has been systematically directed to ascertain the extent to which the use of the drug produces insanity. But as it is desirable to make complete and careful inquiry into the to make complete and careful inquiry into the matter, the Governor-General in Council requests that, with the permission of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, you will be so good as to cause such investigations as are feasible to be carried out in regard to the effects of the use or abuse of the several preparations of hemp. The inquiry should not be simply medical but should include the alleged influence of ganja and bhang in exciting to violent crime.'

The Local Governments to which the abovementioned communication was addressed were asked to give their advice as to the expediency and practicability of restricting the consumption of the hemp drugs by enhancement of duty or limiting or even prohibiting the cultivation of the hemp plant.

After considering the replies received from Local Governments, the central administration embodied its conclusions in the form of Resolution No. 3773 of the Government of India, Finance Department, dated the 17th December, 1873, from which the following lines are taken:

"Upon consideration of all the opinions thus collected, it does not appear to the Governor-General in Council to be specially proved that hemp incites to crime more than other drugs or than spirits. And there is some evidence to show that on rare occasions this drug, usually so noxious, may be usefully taken. There can, however, be no doubt that its habitual use does tend to produce insanity. The total number of cases of insanity is small in proportion of the population, and not large even in proportion to the number of ganja smokers; but of the cases of insanity produced by the excessive use of drugs of spirits, by far the largest number must be attributed to the abuse of hemp."

While it was impossible for Government to deny that hemp drugs cause insanity, the gravity of the situation was sought to be mitigated by referring to the small number of mad folk in India and the small percentage of insanity directly attributable to them. It is surprising that the fundamental unsoundness of this argument practically disowning human values, failed to strike the people concerned. The uncharitable

would suggest that this was so probably because it was felt that the life of an Indian was not such a valuable thing after all in a country where a too rapid increase in the population was gradually growing into a problem.

As all the Local Governments with the exception of Burma and the Central Provinces were against altering the existing arrangements that is those which had come into force in 1860, the India Government was content to maintain it. But, as customary, it saved its face by saying:

"His Excellency in Council, however, trusts that the various Local Governments and Administrations will endeavour, wherever it may be possible, to discourage the consumption of ganja and bhang by placing restrictions on their cultivation, preparation, and retail, and imposing on their use as high a rate of duty as can be levied without inducing illicit practices."

The condition precedent laid down in the last sentence for enhancement of duty put the coping stone on the excise system for, whenever high taxes really began to check consumption, in other words, led to an appreciable reduction in the revenue from this source, it was always open to Government to say that high prices were encouraging illicit production and distribution, thus curtailing the revenue without a corresponding gain in the shape of a reduction in consumption. The next step to this would be a lowering in the duty and increased revenue with, generally, increased consumption.

THE NEW SYSTEM OF 1876

The expression of the pious wish in the Resolution of 1873, that Local Governments should do all they could to discourage the consumption of bhang and ganja did not produce any appreciable result. As addiction to them as measured by the amounts absorbed by the public, grew more extensive especially in the Bengal Presidency which, in those days, included that whole of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam and where the number of shops licensed to sell these drugs showed an alarming increase, Government of India thought it proper to address a letter to the Government of Bengal on the 29th April, 1875, in which it was observed that

"Nothing should be done to place temptations in the way of the people that can possibly be avoided."

This was a very broad hint that the Government of India was not feeling very happy over the growth in the revenue due to larger consumption of bhang and especially ganja. To remove all chances of misunderstanding, it was stated in the third paragraph of the above-mentioned communication that

"His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor may rest assured of receiving the support of the Government of India in any measure that he may adopt for limiting the consumption of ganja, and indeed if the use of the drugs could be altogether suppressed without the fear of leading to its contra-

band use, such a course would be justified by its deleterious effects."

Not content with assuring the Bengal Government of its full support in implementing such steps as might be desirable to cut down the consumption of these hemp drugs, the Government of India introduced with effect from 1876, the system of annually selling the retail license by auction not only because it was likely to yield a larger revenue but also because it would tend to make the drugs more expensive.

B' NGAL ENQUIRY OF 1877 AND THE ACT OF 1881

In 1877, a special officer was appointed by the Bengal Government to make a careful and complete investigation into the details of the cultivation of ganja, the adequacy or otherwise of the then existing safeguards and the advisability of introducing reforms. The conclusions of Sir Ashley Eden, based on the report submitted by this officer, in regard to the effects of addiction to ganja and the policy to be followed, were as follows:

"The Lieutenant-Governor has himself no doubt that the use of ganja in any form is injurious to the consumer, and that it is the duty of Government to make the tax on this article as high as it can possibly bear. Unfortunately it is habitually used by large numbers of the lower classes of the population, who would, if deprived of it altogether, apparently find in the leaves of the wild hemp plant and in other drugs, narcotics and stimulants of equally deleterious character. It does not seem possible, therefore, to stop the cultivation altogether. The policy of Government must be to limit its production and sale by a high rate or daty without placing the drug entirely beyond the reach of those who will insist upon having it."

We have here first, the admission that the consumption of ganja is injurious and second, that, as its consumption cannot be stopped, the next best thing is to reduce it by making the drug as expensive as possible through the imposition of a sufficiently heavy duty on it but, at the same time, not placing it beyond the reach of addicts who, in such a contingency, might be driven to the use of even more injurious substances.

Two years later, Mr. A. C. Hume, Member of the Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, in his review of the Excise Report of 1879, stated that insanity was in many cases due to ganja-smeking and that there was something like a casual connection between it and crime.

It is understood that other British officials occupying high positions in the administrative machinery in different parts of India expressed similar views on the injurious effects of the habitual consumption of hemp drugs on the physical, intellectual and moral faculties of addicts. Realising the force of these objections when they were urged by non-Indian bureaucrats who were not at all likely to exaggerate the damage suffered by habitual users or to criticise the policy of an administration in which all power was enjoyed by them and who again were fully alive to its responsibility as regards its past failure in taking effective

steps to end the hemp drug menace, Government passed an Act (Act XXII of 1881) restricting the use of hemp drugs.

ANTI-GANIA AGITATION IN INDIA AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS (1891-1893)

In the somewhat sketchy description of events leading to the Resolution of 1873, it was stated that the Local Governments of Barma and the Central Provinces only were in favour of putting more stringent restrictions on the manufacture and distribution of hemp drugs than those which had been in force from 1860 downwards. There was, however, an important difference between these two Governments. Burma stood for total prohibition and the Central Provinces for more stringent restrictions.

From about the time of the foundation of the Indian National Congress, the educated and the wellto-do who were either leading it or were strongly attracted by its ideals and objects, began to realise their duty towards our masses and many were the methods adopted for improving their condition through various beneficent institutions financed by them and also by making themselves their cham; ions and placing their guevances before the then allpowerful British administration. Struck by the havoc wrought by stimulants and narcotics especially among the poor, Indian periodicals located in different parts of India began the publication of fairly large numbers of contributions from public-spirited men complaining against the existing drink and drug policy. Some of these drew the attention of the public to the injurious effects of addiction to hemp drugs, criticised the unsatisfactory provisions of the Act of 1881 and suggested the adoption of the system of hemp drug prohibition which had been introduced in Burma with effect from 1873-74 and had proved an outstanding success.

In July, 1891, Mr. Mark Stewart, M.P., drew the attention of the Secretary of State for India to a statement of the above type which had appeared in an Indian periodical and requested him to inquire of the Government of India whether it was not possible to extend the system of ganja prohibition operating in Burma to the other provinces of British India.

Accordingly, the Secretary of State for India in his despatch dated the 6th August, 1891, requested an expression of its views on the effects of ganja which had been specifically mentioned in the Indian periodical and enquired whether the Government of India proposed to take any further steps for reducing its consumption.

The Government of India replied on the 9th August, 1892, stating in the third paragraph of its despatch:

"We are inclined to believe that ganja is the most noxious of all intoxicants now commonly used in India."

The difficulties which stood in the way of adopting prohibition were set forth in the following terms:

"Even if the absolute prohibition of the use of the drug could be enforced, the result might be to induce the use of still more noxious drugs. India abounds with plants growing wild from which drugs can be procured which are more deleterious in their effects than ganja. One such plant is the dhatum (stramonium), the seeds of which are already used to intensify the narcotic effects of bhang, a liquid preparation of hemp leaves, and we apprehend that if the use of ganja were suppressed altogether, dhatura might be largely resorted to by the poorer classes as a means of satisfying their craving for stimulants."

It was added that even if addicts did not take to the use of injurious drugs like dhatura, it would not be very difficult for any addict to grow a plant or two in the enclosure of his own house and in other places safe from observation and risk of detection, securing in this way sufficient to meet his own requirements.

It was also pointed out that after its prohibition in British India, it would not be possible to prevent the smuggling of ganja from the Indian States. The policy proposed to be followed or rather adhered to was described as follows:

"Although we consider it impracticable to enforce the absolute prohibition of the use of ganja, we fully recognise it as our duty to restrict its consumption as far as practicable, and we have distinctly laid down the policy to be pursued in respect of this drug in our Resolution of the 17th December, 1873. The annual reports of Excise Administration show that the subject has since been continually before Local Governments, who are making every possible endeavour to minimise the evils and discourage the use of the drug wherever it is a source of danger to consumers."

It thus appears that though two decades had passed after the acceptance of a more or less defective excise system, the Government of India had not contemplated the idea of making any change in it or the plea that almost insurmountable practical difficulties stood in the way of introducing prohibition of ganja though, at the same time, it was admitted that injury results from indulgence in it.

THE INDIAN HEMP DRUGS COMMISSION, 1893-94

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest there mainly because of the anti-ganja propaganda carried on in India which went on receiving publicity in England through the interest taken in the matter by the leaders of the Temperance Movement in that country.

On the 3rd March, 1893, one of the most prominent of these, Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., asked Lord Kimb r-ley, Secretary of State for India, whether he was prepared to appoint a Commission to conduct an enquiry into the manufacture and distribution of hemp drugs, the effects of their consumption on the social and moral condition of the people and the desirability of prohibiting the cultivation of the hemp plant and the sale of ganja and allied drugs.

This was sgreed to by Lord Kimberley who, in his Despatch No. 36 (Revenue), dated the 16th March,

1803, requested the Government of India to aspoint a Commission for the purposes stated above giving it such instructions, as would insure that the proposed enquiry on an all-India basis would be thorough and complete.

The Commission in question consisting of a European President and six members, of whom three were non-officials including two large zemindars, was appointed on the 3rd July, 1893, and submitted its report in seven volumes including the evidence of 1,193 witnesses on the 6th August, 1894. It is noteworthy that two out of the three non-official members dissented from the main report.

FINDINGS OF THE HEMP DRUGS COMMISSION

From the standpoint of the present discussion, the most important recommendations of the Commission were that a Government monopoly of production and sale was, for practical reasons, undesirable, secondly, that the total prohibition of cultivation and sale of the hemp drugs was "neither necessary nor expedient" and, lastly, that "a policy of control and restriction" was a satisfactory way to meet the hemp drug menace.

The means suggested were adequate taxation, control of production and restrictions on distribution and private possession, detailed information about which appears below.

After a comparison of the methods of production and distribution of the hemp drugs and the taxation methods adopted by different Local Governments, the Commission recommended what, in those days, was called the Bengal system of taxation. This was a combination of a direct fixed duty on the drugs themselves with auction of licenses for the privilege of vend. The auction system by itself was regarded as inadequate as a combination among the vendors or the absence of competition among them is calculated to impair its efficiency as a satisfactory method of keeping high prices with a view to reducing consumption.

It was therefore suggested that the fixed duty should be as high as possible due regard being had to the consideration that it should not be so high as to either encourage smuggling or, by making the drug too expensive, to drive the addict to the consumption of more injurious substances like dhatura, etc.

The beneficial effects of the above system of high taxation in restricting consumption were to be reinforced by limitation of the sources of supply. In the case of ganja, it was felt that this could be best secured by prohibiting the cultivation of the hemp plant except under license and by granting the necessary licenses under such conditions as to ensure supervision and registration of the produce.

In the case of charas, limitation of supply and the fixing of its price in such a manner as to reduce consumption without much chance of encouraging illicit traffic in it, were regarded as practical because almost

the whole of the amount consumed in our motherland is imported and the channels through which it passes can be controlled without much difficulty.

The third method recommended for tightening up the machinery for the reduction of consumption was "to keep the number of licensed shops to the lowest limit compatible with meeting the real demand,"

The object of limiting the amount of hemp drugs, the possession of which would be legal was to discourage smuggling and also to check excess, invariably fostered by the control of a large stock by the addict. As the maximum of legal possession differed in different parts of India, the Commission suggested that it should be the same for the whole of our motherland.

The last important erecommendation was that whenever it was proposed to open new shops, the views of municipal bodies in towns and of respectable and propertied people in rural areas should be ascertained as to whether there existed any necessity for them and whether the location suggested was suitable. It was also stressed that proper consideration should be given to objections when they came from the local people.

It was finally suggested that the methods for control adopted should, as far as possible, be uniform for the whole of British India and that they should be made "systematically applicable" throughout its length and breadth.

EXAMINATION OF COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

The history of the control of the consumption of habit-forming narcotics as well as of alcoholic beverages shows that although our rulers tried their best to check what they called excessive consumption through the adoption of various restrictive measures from time to time, the results achieved in nearly two centuries of effort have not always been satisfactory.

So far as measures aimed at limiting the consumption of hemp drugs, through the imposition of high taxes as an indirect method of making them expensive, are concerned, experience has invariably shown that, generally speaking, the drop in the quantity used has been temporary and that; before long, the addicts have adjusted themselves to the new circumstances and gone back to the consumption of former amounts either by reducing or by totally depriving themselves and their families of some of the necessaries of life. This was proved on pages 392-396 of his Note of Dissent by Lala Nihal Chand, a member of the Hemp Drugs Commission. The reader who feels any doubt about this matter will be able to satisfy himself if he consults the information given about the amounts of hemp drugs consumed and the taxes realised from them appearing in successive volumes of the Statistical Abstract of British India.

The general incorrectness of the opinion expressed shows was sought to be proved by the Hemp Drugs Commission which, on page 134 of its report stated that "the consumption (of ganja) has been stationary during the last 15 years."

An explanation offered for the above fact is that the growing taste for liquor in certain urban areas had the effect of transferring the allegiance of certain people from ganja to liquor.

Another and a quite not unreasonable explanation of the above phenomenon is that the opinion is evidently based on the amounts of recorded sales of ganja, the absence of illicit traffic in it being taken for granted. On pages 391-392 of his Note of Dissent. Lala Nihal Chand proved with the help of extracts from official documents that, during the period referred to, there was little control on the area under the hemp plant, the amount manufactured and made available to the public through legal channels and, lastly, that smuggling was common in practically every part of India.

The most satisfactory proof that high prices lead to reduction would have been a diminution in the amount consumed by the public. In the absence of such evidence, it does not seem proper to accept at its face-value the views of the Commission.

That the keeping down of the number of shops licensed to sell hemp drugs must have some effect in discouraging their consumption cannot be denied. Unfortunately, their revenue-yielding possibilities have, at least occasionally, made Government officers keep them in mind when applications for permis ion to open new shops have been made by interested parties. This neglect of duty on their part was noticed and commented on by the Hemp Drugs Commission when, on page 310 of its report, it was stated that

"The increase of shops or failure to reduce them has often been pointed out as an error committed by individual district officers whose aim was too much to raise revenue. The impropriety of this and its danger cannot be too strongly insisted upon. The matter is one which should be kept constantly in view by the Local Governments and by the Government of India."

The reduction in the number of shops would have been appreciable if only the opinion of the people among whom they are proposed to be located carried any weight with the licensing authorities. The attitude typical of the British official who claimed, not always with justice, to know more and to feel greater concirn about the masses than educated India, is evident from the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Westmacott, Excise Commissioner, Bengal, who said:

"I think it is rubbish consulting local public opinion. It generally means consulting a number of babus who are out of all sympathy with other classes, and utterly ignorant and careless of their requirements. By babus I mean those known in Bengal as the bhadralok, comprising pleaders and schoolmasters in great part. My remarks do not apply to zemindars, who would not come forward and give an opinion in the matter of local option but I should undoubtedly go to them if anxious to find out what the local public opinion was. There would be no difficulty in getting public opinion in

the villages, for it would be ascertained from the pradhans or principal raiyats, but in towns, the division between classes is such that there is no homogeneous public opinion, if I may use the phrase:"

Coming to the question of limitation of possession, the Commission made the definite suggestion that the maximum for ganja and charas should be 5 and for bhang 20 tolas. As each tola is equal to 180 grains and as the hemp drugs do not, according to addicts themselves, produce any injurious results so long as the daily dose is limited to 10 grains or less, the restriction of private possession to the quantities just menti ned does not seem of any use from the standpoint of the discouragement of excess. It has therefore been suggested that the object aimed at can be better secured through a marked reduction in the permitted maximum amount.

ACT XII of 1896

After long and close examination of the recommendations of the Henry Drugs Commission, the India Government took the necessary powers by an Art passed in 1896. Originally applicable to North rn India, the Central Provinces, Coorg and Ajmere-Merwara, it was gradually extended through the whole of British India. The Act in question lays down certain principles of which the most important is that it allows the administration to exercise complete control on the cultivation of the hemp plant and on the manufacture, import, export and transport of drugs produced from it. The Act provides that w'ile the cultivation of the hemp plant is absolutely prohibited elsewhere, it should be allowed under license and proper supervision in certain places only. Under it, the collection of plants growing in a state of nature is put under certain restrictions while import of hemp drugs is prohibited except by certain specified routes. All the products are to be stored in bonded warehouses whence they are to be issued to licensed vendors after payment of adequate duty.

After securing the necessary authority through legislation, the next step taken by the Central Government was to lay down certain principles for the guidance of local governments in the matter of making improvements in their hemp drug excise systems.

In regard to ganja and charas, it was understood that the cultivation of the hemp plant in British India for the production of bhang and ganja should be restricted as soon and as much as possible. Secondly, the production of ganja and the import of charas would be allowed only under proper control and restrictions. Thirdly, all ganja and charas on production or import into any province would be liable to the payment of a direct quantitative duty on issue for distribution to the consumers from bonded warehouses where the drugs are to be stored by the cultivators, dealers or importers. Lastly, the two drugs would, under suitable restrictions, be permitted to be carried

from one bonded warchouse to another in the same or in another province, the duty on them being realised only on issue from the government depot, for retail sale in the province of consumption.

The cultivation of the hemp plant for the production of bhang was to be either prohibited or taxed. Its collection from wild plants by vendors for purposes of sale was to be permitted only under license and its transport carefully regulated and restricted.

The above principles enunciated by the Central Government in their circular letter No. 1925-S.R., dated the 30th April, 1893, were adopted with local and unimportant modifications by all the provinces by 1901. Thereafter, cultivation for the production of ganja and bhang was absolutely prohibited in Assam, the United Provinces and the minor provinces of Delhi, Ajmere-Merwara, Coorg and Baluchistan. It was, however, permitted, generally for the production of ganja, in limited areas and under careful restrictions in Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras. While, practically speaking, the ganja produced in all the areas except the first supplies the provincial needs the main supply comes from a tract in Bengal now forming part of Eastern Pakistan.

It is in Punjab and Madras only that the manufacture of bhang from plants which have been specially cultivated for the purpose is permitted to wholesale dealers under license. The quantity thus obtained is not, however, adequate enough to satisfy the demand which is met from what comes from wild plants.

Machinery controlling the import of charas hagradually been greatly improved thereby ensuring its availability in quantities sufficient to meet the Indian demand for the drug.

LIMITATION OF CULTIVATION

From what has appeared previously, it is clear that the principal features of the hemp drug policy which we have inherited from our old rulers and to which we are still adhering, consist in diminished production through restricted cultivation under State supervision and reduced consumption through payment of a quantitative duty before issue from bonded warehouses, retail sale under license and restriction on private possession.

It cannot, however, be denied that provided the problem of the illicit production and traffic in hemp drugs can be successfully handled, the most effective of all measures for ensuring diminished consumption is a cutting down of the supplies possible only through reduction in the area under the hemp plant. It is also equally true that a steady reduction in the area licensed for the cultivation of the hemp plant by Government is the best possible proof of the sincerity of its desire to stamp out addiction to hemp drugs.

In this connection, the attention of the reader is invited to the following statement taken from the official publication Agricultural Statistics of British India which shows the area in acres under the hemp

plant up to 1934-35. The figures for the other years were supplied to the present writer by the Economic and Statistical Advisor, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

| Year | Area in acres |
|-----------|---------------|
| 1900-1901 | 4,096 |
| 1909-1910 | 1,918 |
| 1919-1920 | 1,740 |
| 1925-1926 | 1,456 |
| 1929-1930 | 1,023 |
| 1931-1932 | 808 |
| 1932-1933 | 1,032 |
| 1934-1935 | 82 3 |
| 1939-1940 | 1.918 |
| 1942-1943 | 1.094 |
| 1943-1944 | 1,368 |
| 1944-1945 | 2,883 |
| 1945-1946 | 1,515 |
| | • |

After an examination of the figures appearing above, it cannot be denied that a successful effort to reduce the area under the hemp plant was made between 1900 to 1932. It cannot, however, be said that this policy was consistently followed in later years.

VARIATIONS, ACCIDENTAL AND DELIBERATE, IN ACREAGE

There are certain factors which account for the variations in the area under the hemp plant. The first of these is that its cultivation is something like a gamble. In addition to the adoption of certain methods carelessness in which means, at the least, partial failure, the cultivator has no remedy against the vagaries of weather which play a larger part in the quantity of the ganja produced than most people are generally aware of.

As regards the first of these, mention should be made of the fact that the operation of eliminating the male plants which has to be conducted by experts before the flowers are developed and when therefore it is difficult to distinguish between the useless male and the remunerative female plant, is always one requiring frequent repetition unless it is done with thoroughness, in the language of an expert, "the presence of a few staminate (i.e., male) plants in the field suffices to injure the entire crop" thereby seriously curtailing the total output.

So far as the effects of adverse weather conditions are concerned, rain in no less than three different stages during the period of cultivation diminishes the yield—at the time of sowing the seeds, during transplantation of the seedlings and when the female plants begin to secrete the narcotic principle.

In the absence of these unfavourable factors, a small area can produce a larger quantity of ganja than a larger area the plants grown on which have to contend against the above-mentioned adverse condition.

It follows therefore that a comparatively small area under the hemp plant is not always a correct indication of a correspondingly smaller output.

It happens, at least occasionally, that the operation of one or other of the factors mentioned above spoils the crop and when figures showing the area under the hemp plant are drawn up, the land unsuccessfully sown for the production of ganja is left out. If large areas are affected, the official statistics show a marked reduction in the hemp plant acreage when, of course, it is accidental.

Experience extending over decades enables the Excise Department to make a fairly correct estimate of the amount of ganja required each year. To be on the safe side, it has to maintain a reserve stock to supplement the amount produced in particularly bad years. It is therefore that acreage is increased when the reserve stock is low and diminished when it is large. When gania produced in a particularly favourable year is much larger in amount than is normally absorbed, the administration, if confident that the excess will retain its potency, reduces the area in the succeeding year, the idea being to have that quantity of the drug in stock for which there is likely to be an effective demand at the particular price fixed, though indirectly by the Excise Department, for retail sale.

In this connection, prohibitionists draw attention to the fact that the figures for the import of charas into our motherland varied roughly between 61,000 and 61,500 seers in the twelve years between 1943 and 1946. This is regarded as the clearest possible evidence that the imports of this drug have been sought to be regulated, generally with a large amount of success, in such a manner, as to meet what we may describe as the fixed demand for this narcotic.

So far as bhang, the major part of which is manufactured from wild plants, is concerned, the effects of various measures adopted from time to time to restrict its availability have not tended to steadily reduce the amount consumed, a fact clearly proved from figures appearing below.

While, from one point of view, it may be argued that the above policy keeps indulgence in hemp drugs within certain bounds, it cannot be denied that it, at least indirectly, encourages habitual indulgence in them, through their easy availability.

WHERE THE SHOE PINCHES

Though there has been a diminution in the total quantity of licit hemp drugs consumed in "British" India, it has not been steady. What is still more regrettable is that it has latterly shown an unmistakable tendency towards increase. This is abundantly clear from the following statement showing the amounts in seers of hemp drugs issued to the public under Government supervision.

| Year | Bhang ' | Ganja | Charas | | |
|---------|-------------------------|---------|---------|------------|--------|
| 1912-13 | 478,465 | 415,537 | 102,731 | | |
| 1933-34 | 289,866 | 162,229 | 58,918 | | |
| 1934-35 | 2 92,1 66 | 162,153 | 61,429 | | |
| 1939-40 | 288,627 | 141,820 | 53,516 | (Estimate | 60,846 |
| 1945-46 | 395,237 | 187,616 | (Estima | te 61,000) | |
| | (Estimate | 221,616 |) | | |

The information for the years 1912-13, 1933-34 and 1934-35 is taken from the *Memorandum on Excise* (*Hemp Drugs*) published by the India Government. The last issue is that for the year 1936-37 which the present writer has so far been unable to secure.

The information for the years 1939-40 and 1945-46 has been supplied by the Central Board of Revenue. It is incomplete because the figures for the consumption of charas for Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, for the year 1939-40 were not available. We, however, find that in 1934-35, the total amount of charas consumed in these areas was 7,375 seers. It does not seem unreasonable, to take 7,300 seers as the amount consumed in 1939-40 in which case the total amount of charas was 60,846 seers.

Similarly, the information for 1945-46 is incomplete because the amount of ganja consumed in Bengal is not included in the figures. In this connection, it should be stated that between 1934-35 and 1939-40, the consumption of licit ganja in Bengal has varied from 34,700 to 35,500 seers. It may therefore be assumed that we are not erring on the side of excess if we assume that Bengal consumed 34,000 seers of ganja in 1945-46. If this is accepted as being, on the whole, a fair approximation of the quantity smoked, it follows that, the total amount of ganja consumed in 1945-46 was 221,616 seers.

So far as the figures for charas are concerned, it does not appear that there was anything like a marked difference either way between the quantities consumed in 1939-40 and 1945-46. In other words, the amount of charas consumed in 1945-46 was round about 61,000 seers.

From the above statement, we are justified in inferring that there was a praiseworthy reduction in the quantity of licit hemp drugs made available to the public in what was, till recently, British India during the years 1912-40.

This, however, is not true for subsequent years as is clearly evident from a comparison of the figures for 1939-40 and 1945-46. On the other hand, it may be argued that there has been a noteworthy increase of more than one lakh seers in the consumption of bhang and also of more than 40,000 seers in the case of ganja while consumption of licit charas has remained more or less steady.

It thus appears that the existing excise policy has not

been successful in steadily bridging down the consumption of licit hemp drugs, which jumps up from time to time. It also shows the mesponsiveness of the administration to the demand for them whenever it manifests itself which is not how prohibition in stages should work.

IMPLICATIONS OF HEMP DRUG POLICY

It is a well-known fact that, broadly speaking, the volume of the sale of any particular article is conditioned by such factors as its availability in a large number of places easily accessible to the buyer, shortage or abundance of supply and the price demanded for it.

As regards the first of these, such information as is available tends to show that there has been a small reduction in the number of shops licensed to sell hemp drugs to the public but, for all practical purposes, only in the less populous areas of consumption. This does not, however, imply any improvement in the situation as has been amply proved in the last section.

As regards the other two points, the aim of the policy so far followed has been to take especial care that the market is never flooded with a larger quantity of the drugs than it can absorb at a price calculated to minimise illicit traffic simultaneously ensuring its discouragement by penalising it.

These explain why the existing policy has proved a failure as a satisfactory method of bringing about a steady reduction in the total amount consumed. This is so because from what has been said elsewhere in regard to the various factors responsible for addiction to hemp drugs, it is abundantly clear that they will continue to operate and addiction will persist as a feature in our life so long as hemp drugs, licit or illicit, are, more or less, easily available.

Our old rulers never made any secret of the fact that it was not their purpose to stamp out addiction to hemp drugs, for the aim of the different restrictive measures adopted so far has, in the language of an official document on the hemp drug policy, been "limiting the production and sale by a high rate of duty without placing the drug entirely beyond the reach of those who will insist upon having it."

The availability of hemp drugs implied in the policy summarised in the above lines certainly constitutes an encouragement, though indirect, of the creation of fresh addicts. Under these circumstances, it cannot be denied that so long as the present situation is permitted to continue, the best that can be hoped for is not the extinction of hemp drug addiction but the continued existence of generation after generation of addicts who, taking the most favourable view of the matter, will, it is hoped, indulge in moderate quantities.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By SUDHANSU SEKHAR MUKHERJI, Advocate, High Court.

THE Constituent Assembly on the basis of the resolution of the 29th August, 1947, appointed the Drafting Committee to draw up a draft of the new Constitution of India. The Committee consisted of persons of great worth who after careful consideration submitted their draft on 21st February, 1948 to the President of the Constituent Assembly. It deals with various subjects and in fact it is an enormous document. I should like to refer to only some of its very important features and offer my suggestions for what they are worth.

POWER RELATING TO ALTERATION OF AREAS OF EXISTING STATES

Under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General may alter the area and the boundaries of an existing province. This power is practically fetterless.

The corresponding provision in the Draft Constitution is to be found in Article 3 and the relevant portion thereof is reproduced herein below

Extracts from Article 3

"Parliament may by law . . . alter the boundaries of any state (i.e., a province) . . . Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced . . . except by the Government of India and unless (a) either

(i) a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representatives of the territory in the Legislature of the State from which the territory is to be separated or excluded or

(ii) a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any state whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill and

CRITICISM OF THE PROVISION

Parliament is thus being bound with so many fetters that the new provision will practically be reduced to a dead letter.

The conditions that have been imposed in this portion of the article can not at all appeal to practical minds. They will give rise to endless complications and are bound to arrest all actions in this behalf.

Sub-clause (a) (i) refers to the condition precedent to separation or exclusion and Sub-clause (a) (ii) deals with the case of alteration of the boundaries. One does not necessarily exclude the other. Does the expression "majority of the representatives of the territory" refer to exactly that piece of territory which

is being excluded or separated? If so, you may get only one representative. It may also be that the particular territory is only a small portion of and not coextensive with the Constituency from which a representative member is elected. Thus, Clause (a) (i) is a mere jumble.

Then, Sub-clause (a) (ii) refers to the state whose boundaries will be "affected" by the proposal to be contained in the Bill. Thus, it refers to the state that gains and also to the state that loses. The resolution that will be passed by the Legislature of the gainer state will support the proposal for inclusion whereas the one that emanates from the Legislature of the loser state may strike a discordant note.

What then is the point in making this conflict a condition precedent to the introduction of a Bill in that behalf?

If the word, "affected" in Sub-clause (a) (ii) refer to only the loser state, can you normally expect that its Legislature will support the proposal for alteration of boundaries which would have the effect of cutting off a piece of its territory? Take, for instance, the case of Manbhum or Singbhum. It was a part of Bengal and by virtue of a British "ukase," it was arbitrarily tacked on to Bihar about 35 years ago. If the restitution of this territory to West Bengal is made dependent on the approval of the Legislature of the State of Bihar, one may have to wait till doomsday and Parliament may get no chance to exercise its power under Article 3. If Bihar adopt a fair attitude, the tangle will, no doubt, be straightened straightaway. But the fact remains that those two Sub-clauses sow the seeds of strife. To ensure integration of the different states, Parliament should possess unfettered powers in this respect and the affected States must not be allowed to offer any impediment.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENT

For the above reasons I would suggest that the portion of Article 3 that comes in after "Provided that . . . Government of India" should be deleted in its entirety.

ARTICLE RELATING TO CITIZENSHIP

The next important article is Article No. 5 which deals with the question of citizenship.

Text of Article 5-

Article 5 of the Draft Constitution reads as follows:

At the date of commencement of this Constitution—

(a) every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was

born in the territory of India as defined in this Constitution and who has not made his permanent abode in any foreign State after the first day of April, 1947; and

(b) every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted), or in Burma, Ceylon or Malaya, and who has his domicile in the territory of India as defined in this Constitution, shall be a citizen of India, provided that he has not acquired the citizenship of any foreign State before the date of commencement of this Constitution.

Explanation.—For the purpose of clause (b) of this article, a person shall be deemed to have his domicile in the territory of India—

> (i) if he would have had his domicile in such territory under Part II of the Indian Succession Act, 1935, had the provisions of that Part been applicable to him, or

Part been applicable to him, or

(ii) if he has, before the date of commencement of this Constitution, deposited in the office of the District Magistrate a declaration in writing of his desire to acquire such domicile and has resided in the territory of India for at least one month before the date of the declaration.

S. 10 of the Indian Succession Act

The Draft makes a reference to Part II of the Indian Succession Act of 1925. Part II contains 16 sections of which S. 10 has a great bearing upon the matter in hand. S. 10 reads as follows:

A man acquires a new domicile by taking up his fixed habitation in a country which is not that of his domicile of origin.

Explanation.—A man is not to be deemed to have taken up his fixed habitation in British India merely by reason of his residing there in His Majesty's civil, military or air force service, or in the exercise of any profession or calling.

COMMENT

Some correspondents have made a great noise about the alleged defects of this definition in various newspapers. The principal complaint seems to be that people who were born in Pakistan or who have a fixed residence in such a place but who on account of their calling reside in "post-partition" India for a long time, do not unfortunately come within the definition. There is also another complaint that if those people do not intend to return to Pakistan they should be treated as citizens of India as a matter of course. I, for one, do not find much merit in either of the two complaints.

The explanation to S. 10 of the Succession Act disposes of the first complaint. If it be their intention not to return to Pakistan, all that is necessary for them to do is to put in an application as stated in Clause (ii) of Article 5 of the Draft. The first illustration of S. 10 of the Indian Succession Act which runs as follows makes the position quite clear:

"A, whose domicile of origin is in England proceeds to British India where he settles as a Barrister or merchant intending to reside there during the remainer of his life. His domicile is now in British India."

My answer to the second complaint is that Article 5 embodies a rule of prudence. Unless they declare in writing their desire to acquire such domicile, nothing can prevent them from running with the hare and hunting with the hound. No State can possibly tolerate this position.

Some objection may, however, legitimately be taken to the reference made in the explanation of Article 5 to the provisions of the Indian Succession Act, 1925. In future the present Succession Act may be repealed or amended and an inquiry may have to be instituted in order to understand the meaning of the word "domicile." The Constitution Act should require nothing from outside. It should be self-contained.

SUGGESTION

The Clause (i) of the Explanation in Article 5 should specifically state the relevant portion of Part II of the Succession Act.

The next article I should like to advert to is Article 11 which abolishes "untouchability" in the following words:

Text of Article 11

"Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

CCMMENT

Every right-thinking man will appreciate the stern measures the Legislature may take in this behalf. But unless the enactment indicates precisely the nature of the evil that has to be tackled, we may not possess what we want. If a judge proceed to grapple with physical uncleanliness, it will be difficult to attribute such a course to pure cussedness though we may guess what the committee really drive at.

SUGGESTION

The Constitution Act should set forth clearly the gist of the offence and should precisely settle its limits so that a citizen may have this assurance that he is not legally bound to exhibit fondness for, say, a leper.

The next article on which I should like to say a word or two is Article 13 which is the Great Charter of personal and political liberty.

Extracts from Article 13(1) *

- ". all citizens shall have the right (a) to freedom of speech and expression
- (b) (c) to form associations or unions
- (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India
- (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India
- (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property
- (g)

Then follow four classes which save the existing law relating to the subjects mentioned in the aforesaid sub-clauses and which also clearly lay down that nothing in the said sub-clauses would "prevent the State from making any law imposing in the interests of the general public or in the interests of public order restrictions on the exercise of the rights conferred by the aforesaid sub-clauses."

COMMENT

Our own people are now in the saddle and we should render all help to enable them to conduct the affairs of the State constitutionally. There are "no flies on" them, but still there is some rub.

If the different States work team-wise, pull together and share alike weal and woe, that will mean millennium. But can we say that fissiparous tendencies are not discernible in different provinces or States within the dominion of India? The expressions "public order" or "interests of general public" were remorselessly laid under contribution whenever "lawless laws" used to be enacted during the British rule to deprive people of their liberty. So the aforesaid turgid language (e.g., public order) may emit foam and froth but it would convey little sense.

SUGGESTION

The clauses that save the power of the State to impose restrictions on the exercise of the rights conferred by the Indian charter of liberty may in fact nullify the charter and as such those clauses must be repealed. Only in emergency Parliament alone should possess the power to impose restrictions on the exercise of fundamental rights of a citizen; otherwise the "Magna Carta" may become a joke.

There are many other clauses in the Draft. But I propose to touch on only two other points, the Judicature and special provisions relating to minorities.

THE FEDERAL JUDICATURE

Chapter IV of the Draft deals with the Federal Judicature.

(i) Age of Retirement

Article 103 (2) states inter alia that a judge of the Supreme Court shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty-five years.

The question is—should he not retire earlier? When the High Courts were first established in British India, Government did not fix any retiring age. But it was latterly considered expedient that some age-limit should be fixed and in the Government of India Act it was laid down that a judge of a High Court "shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty years."

When the Constitution is finally adopted, the authorities should very carefully consider whether a judge in India will be able to discharge his onerous duties efficiently if he be permitted to hold his office until he attains the age of 65 years. (Vide Comment on Article 192).

(ii) Appellate Jurisdiction of Supreme Court

Article 110 allows an appeal to the Supreme Court from any judgment of a High Court in a State, whether in Civil, Criminal or other proceeding, if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution Act.

Article 111 allows an appeal to the Supreme Court from a judgment in a civil proceeding of a High Court under certain conditions even when the case does not involve a question of the interpretation of Constitutional Legislation.

COMMENT

There is no provision for an appeal to the Supreme Court from a High Court's judgment in criminal matters which involve questions other than the interpretation of Constitutional law.

The recent decisions of the Federal Court and of the Privy Council in the cases of Huntley, Gill, B. B. Singh, Zaharuddin, Sudhir Dutta and others reveal that the High Courts committed every serious mistakes on plain questions of fact and law. This is a strong argument in favour of the proposition that in criminal proceedings which involve deprivation of liberty and even capital punishment there should be a right of appeal to the Supreme Court without conditions or upon such conditions as Parliament may be pleased to impose. The very existence of such a right will have a salubrious effect on all concerned in the administration of criminal justice. It is difficult to conceive why it was considered not necessary to enact an article similar to Article 111 with regard to criminal cases. It is still more difficult to conceive that criminal matters affecting a person's liberty and life were considered less important than civil cases affecting & person's claim to property.

SUGGESTION

It is therefore suggested that an article similar to Article 111 should be incorporated in the Constitution Act with regard to criminal cases.

(iii) Time Limit of Argument

Act 121 allows the Supreme Court to make rules with the approval of the President for regulating generally the practice and procedure of the court including amongst other things . . . "(b) rules as to the procedure for hearing appeals . . including . . . the time to be allowed to advocates . . . to make their submissions . . ."

This follows the practice prevalent in the Supreme Court of the United States of America where the advocates are normally allowed only one hour to argue each case, the rest of their submissions being in writing. Sri Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, one of the members of the Committee, does not, however, consider it necessary (as appears from the foot-note of the Draft) to mention this power in this article because in his view the position of the Supreme Court in India, in respect of its general appellate functions,

is different from that of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Moreover, all advocates are not equally brilliant. So the use of the guillotine upon agruments may not always be conducive to administration of justice. Then again the accepted principle is that "it is not enough that justice is done but what is more important, the parties must feel that justice has been done." The use of the guillotine will certainly produce some feeling in the mind of a litigant but it can not be the feeling that justice has been done.

SUGGESTION

For the above-mentioned reasons the time limit portion of clause (b) of Article 121 should be deleted.

THE HIGH COURTS IN THE STATES

(i) Age Limit

Article 193 states that a judge of a High Court shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty years or such higher age not exceeding sixty-five years as may be fixed by the State Legislature.

The Committee state in the foot-note that "the best men from the Bar often refuse appointments on the Bench because under the existing age-limit of 60 years they would not have time to earn a full pension."

COMMENT

It may be submitted that the best men from the Bar often refuse appointments not because they would not earn full pension, but because they are often passed over at the correct time and when a belated discovery is made of their merits, they do not and they can not enter into it with zest. So the reason assigned by the Committee is not at all a strong reason to justify the increase of the retiring age. I am not inclined to believe that the age-limit of 65 years will not impair the efficiency of a judge, in whichever court he may hold office. Even New Delhi's bracing climate can not possibly arrest Nature or nullify the ravages of time.

SUGGESTION

The age-limit of 60 years—as embodied in S. 220 of the Government of India Act—should be retained in our Constitution Act. This should apply to the case of also a judge of the Supreme Court for the simple reason that an office in the Supreme Court can not per se confer on the incumbent greater strength or vigour.

(ii) Appointment of a Judge of a High Court

Article 193 (2) states that a person shall not be qualified for appointment as a judge of a High Court unless he . . . (a) has held for at least 10 years a judicial office in any State . . . or

(b) has been for at least 10 years an Advocate of a High Court.

CRITICISM

This is a highly ticklish subject and requires sareful handling.

If the tradition of a High Court is to remain in fact a High-Court, the right man should be in the right place. Each of the two clauses may include a person who has passed 10 years in some mufassil area. Clause (b) includes also a person, who after being enrolled as an advocate goes into service in some Government office. Some of these people inwardly aspire to be judges of a High Court as their impression is that if they can fish out a useful uncle, they may get it. The President must be strong enough to beat off such inroads and it should never be forgotten that a man who stays away from a High Court can not be familiar with its atmosphere or its elevation.

SUGGESTION

The Article should be amended in such a way that there is no room for any one excepting very competent advocates actually practising in a High Court, otherwise there is no point in pouring contumely on an I.C.S. judge.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO MINORITIES

Part XIV of the Draft deals with those special provisions. Articles 292 and 294 provide for reservation of seats for the Muslims, the Scheduled Tribes and Indian Christians in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assembly of every State. Article 295 makes special provision regarding the representation of the Anglo-Indians in the Legislative Assemblies of the States. Articles 296 and 297 refer to the claims of minority communities to service and posts and Article 298 refers to special provision with regard to educational grants for the benefit of the Anglo-Indian community. Article 10(3) also allows a State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens.

CRITICISM

If these articles are ensconced in the statute, they will not help but will only injure the "backward" communities. This spoon-feeding instead of giving those people an incentive to qualify themselves for open competition will only induce them to concoct various devices to achieve a perpetuation of communal backwardness and it will also tempt many of the "non-backward" communities to "smuggle" them into that advantageous fold. The Britishers purveyed this sort of patronage for their selfish ends but our Government cannot follow suit if they are anxious to prevent disintegration. If you do not nip this evil in the bud, it will take root and you may eradicate it after only reducing your country to a stricken field.

SUGGESTION

These provisions should be deleted altogether so that all communities may stand on their own legs. These legislative crutches will never help them to find their legs. If the suggestion for total repeal is not accepted, an irrevocable time limit must be fixed and there should be no further ministering to this sort of sanctimoniousness.

OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

By JÖGESH C. BAGAL

Our freedom struggle varied in form and substance from time to time. Till the Non-co-operation movement, one of its main planks was the presentation of our demands and grievances before the British public and Parliament through some well-organised agencies in England. Both during the regime of the East India Company and that of the British Crown the necessity of his mode of political agitation was keenly felt. Perhaps it was more so during the latter period when the generality of the Britishers became directly interested in the governance of India.

Up till the third decade of the nineteenth century, political agitation was practically carried on, on our behalf, by the non-official Britons in India and abroad. The speeches of Edmund Burke in connection with the impeachment of Warren Hastings before the House of Lords not only remind us of his ardent love of justice, but also of his deep sympathy for the oppressed Indians. It was in the twenties that Raja Ram Mohun Roy for the first time came forward to protest against the various measures of the Government. In my last, we have seen how Ram Mohun Roy and his associates, among whom Dwarkanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were the most prominent, protested against the Press Regulations of 1823. Three years later, in 1826, the jury system was first introduced in our courts of law. Here was made an invidious distinction by the powers-that-be between Christians and non-Christians. The Christians were eligible to be jurors in all cases, whereas the non-Christians, both Hindus and Mussalmans, could not act as such over the Christians. Ram Mohun fought tooth and nail against this measure. Public mind was so much agitated over it that Hindus and Mussalmans alike joined hands with each other and sent a petition to the Government here as well as in England for either rectification or withdrawal of this ignoble thing. We find for the first time one Mr. John Crawfurd acting as agent of the Indians in England and presenting this case before the Parliament. It was due to the continued agitation in India and abroad that the invidious distinction was removed from the above measure in

Ram Mohun Roy's sojourn in England before the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833 proved very much beneficial to the Indian people. The interested Britons and the Christian missionaries painted a very gloomy picture in their writings of our countrymen whom they regarded as heathens and worshippers of so many idols. Ram Mohun Roy dispelled this wrong idea to a large extent and by his actions and utterances proved that his countrymen were a race, inferior to nobody in culture, religion, intelligence and progressive political outlook. During the discussions over the renewal of the Charter Ram

Mohun placed before responsible persons his views on the various aspects of Indian administration. Rasik Krishna Mallik of Young Bengal fame broached this fact at the first memorial meeting, held after the Raja's death, in Calcutta on April 5, 1834. He said:

"To his going there we are in a great measure indebted for the best clauses in the new Charter, bad and wretched as the Charter is. Though it contains few provisions for the comfort and happiness of the millions that are subject to its sway for the interests of millions were sacrificed to the interests of a few tea-managers—yet bad and wretched as it is, the few provisions that it contains for the good of our countrymen we owe to Ram Mohun Roy."



George Thompson

THE BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY

In the late thirties the utility of starting a regular organisation in England to carry on propaganda on our behalf was felt by the local intelligentsia. Ram Gopal Ghose, another of Young Bengal fame, began conferring with William Adam on this subject in 1838. First of the Serampur Baptist Mission, and afterwards a unitarian, and a friend and follower of Ram Mohun, William Adam was a real well-wisher of India. Ram Gopal Ghose wrote to his friend Gobinda Chandra Basak, then posted at Chittagong in the capacity of a Deputy Collector, a letter indicating the plan, on 12th August, 1838, as follows:

"While upon this subject I may as well tell you of the plans I have lately been maturing in connection with Mr. Adam, or rather under his direction and advice. This gentleman, you are perhaps aware, has gone to America with a view to join his family at Boston, then will go to England where he will probably be settled in London in connection with a press. I had several interviews with him previous to his departure, and his earnest proposal was that we might set about collecting information which should guide the public and public measures."

Petitions and public meetings had been the mode of agitation hitherto followed. And in all these



John Bright

the Europeans used to take a prominent part. But this method now must needs be changed. Ram Gopal also wrote in the above letter:

"Mr. Adam will not lay the information before the English public as his own, but he will distinctly tell how and in what manner it comes to his hand. Petitions and public meetings do not produce their desired effects, only because it is known to be the doings of a few English agitators, but when they will see that the natives themselves are at work, seeking to be relieved from the grievances under which they labour, depend upon it, the attention of the British fublic and consequently of the Parliament will be awakened in such a manner that the reaction upon the local Government will be irresistible. We will then and not till then, see active measures of amelioration put into operation."

After his arrival in England Adam lost no time in introducing himself to the individual gentlemen who had already been serving our cause there. Primarily with the help of Lord Brougham, Sir Charles Forbes and John Crawfurd, he founded the British India Society in London in July, 1839. The Landholders' Society of Calcutta, started also early this year and the only political association of the time, felicitated the organisers of the London Society at a meeting specially convened for the purpose, on November 30, 1839. The first resolution runs thus:

"Resolved that the Society see with extreme satisfaction the formation of the British India Society, and that it is expedient that all persons interested in the prosperity of India should give their hearty co-operation to its objects, in order to identify the interests of this country with those of Britain."

In one resolution the Society emphasised the need of supplying funds from here In the subsequent ones they indicated the nature of their co-operation with the newly-formed body. It may be noted here that the promoters of the Landholders' Society which included both Indians and Europeans, could not think of the interests of India being different from those of Britain. That the interests of both might one day clash with each other and prove a hurdle in the path of India's progress, was beyond their perception at that time.

Even during the first year of its existence, the London Society was able to enlist the active sympathy of such a noted parliamentarian and orator as George Thompson. Thompson had already made a name as a humanitarian worker in the cause of the emancipation of slaves. He along with a few others toured important places of England and delivered in specially organised meetings speeches on various Indian topics. The Society got them printed in book-form for distribution. Sir Charles Forbes, called at the time the "Benevolent Father of India" subscribed five hundred pounds to the Society.

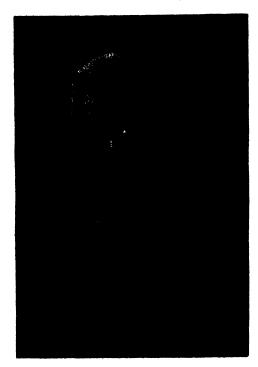
The British India Society celebrated its first anniversary in London on July 5, 1840. The resolutions passed at the meeting indicate the nature and trend of the Society's work. The first resolution reads as follows:

"That the Government and the people of this Empire are responsible to the civilised world for the maintenance and administration of British rule in India, on such principles as should promote the happiness and improvement of the Native population."

The last but not the least, was a very comprehensive resolution; and covered almost all the spheres of Indian administration. It shows how the oppressive measures adopted by Company's government here agitated the minds of our friends in England at the time. I quote this resolution in full below:

"That this meeting is of opinion that the oppressive and fluctuating amount of the land revenue, the general resumption by the Indian Government of demands on lands hitherto held rent-free, the imperfection and corruption in the administration of police and justice, the maintenance of vexatious monopolies, are evils which ought to receive the immediate attention of the Government of this country, as tending to produce discontent

among the native population, to unsettle the tenures of property, and endanger the public peace; to cramp the exertions of industry and the progress of improvement, to lessen the production of exportable commodities, and by necessary consequence, the capacity of extending commercial rela-



Sadabhai Narroji

tions with Great Britain and other nations, and to diminish the forces of the example which England has set by the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and thus perpetuate the existence of slavery in the other parts of the world."*

In 1841, the Society began to publish a monthly journal as its organ, called the British Indian Advocate. under the editorial charge of William Adam. "One of the ends contemplated is," wrote the editor in its very first issue, "to make the journal a medium of communication between the people of England and the people of India, faithfully representing the sentiments of each to the other on all the great questions that affect their rights and interests; . . ."†

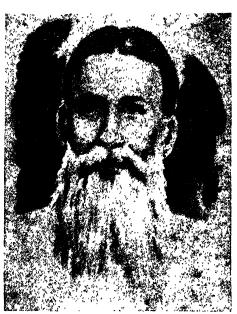
Dwarkanath Tagore's presence in England in 1842 gave a fillip to the cause the British India Society represented. Dwarkanath came into contact with the members of the Society and other leading Britishers

The Friend of India for March 11, 1841, writes: "The British Indian Advocate,—By some mishap we have not received the copy of the British Indian Advocate, which we have no doubt has been sent to us by the Editor, Mr. Adam, and we are unable therefore to effor any remarks "upon fs."

and placed before them the facts about Indian administration. He naturally made acquaintance with George Thompson, an active member of the Society. Thompson was eager to have first-hand knowledge about Indian affairs. While returning home, Dwarkanath brought Thompson with him and, soon after their arrival, introduced him to the leading lights of the Young Bengal. The latter found in Thompson a real well-wisher of India. With his help and advice they founded the Bengal British India Society on April 20, 1843, after the model of the London one. The local Society collected materials from different quarters and supplied them to the London Society to conduct political agitation there.

THE INDIAN REFORM SOCIETY

The Company's Charter was renewed for the last time in 1853. Discussion for and against the renewal of the Charter had continued in the previous years. Both the Bengal British India Society and the Landholders' Society were in a moribund condition. The leaders of both these Societies formed a new organisation in Calcutta called the British Indian Association on October 29, 1851. So far as political agitation was concerned, this Association became a power in the land. And its power was felt even in the first year of its existence. About this time the English friends and supporters of the Indian cause started a society in England under the name of the Indian Reform Society.



W. C. Bonnerjee

Richard Cobden and John Bright, both members of Parliament, were the principal founders of this organisation. The Indians here naturally took great interest in the affairs of the Society formed in London. The Bengali daily Sambad Prabhakar observes in its issue of the 14th July, 1883:

^{*} The Friend of India, October 1, 1840.

[†] Quoted in Reminiscences and Anecdotas of Great Men of India, etc., Vol. II, p. 25.

"With a view to collect funds for the Indian Reform Society of Lendon, the Indians assembled in a meeting at the Hindu Metropolitan College on Sunday, 13th Ashar (June 26). The money collected would be sent to the Society." (Translated from Bengah).

The Indian Reform Society sent Delvy Symur, a member of Parliament, to India. After touring the country he sailed from Bombay early in 1854.



Miss Mary Carpenter

THE INDIA SOCIETY

Hardly a decade had passed before the Society bearing the above name was ushered into existence in London. During these years many changes had taken place in the Government of India. The Sepoy Mutiny was quelled, and the British Crown took over the charge of the Government of India from the hands of the East India Company. The Mutiny so much threatened the latter's sway that stringent administrative measures were adopted after the change-over in order to ensure the safety of the British rule in India. It was due to the spread of English education that a new class of intelligentsia nurtured in the Western thoughts and ideas had been growing up. They were considered the main prop of the British rule in India. The doors of Civil Service had been thrown open to the Indians even before the Charter Act of 1853. For various reasons the Indians could not avail themselves of this opportunity till 1863 when for the first time Satyendra Nath Tagore and Mano Mohun Ghose appeared in the examination. Satyendra Nath succeeded and Mano Mohun was unsuccessful. The success of Satyendra Nath upset the examining authorities and they began changing rules in such a manner that though Mano Mohun sat twice afterwards for the examination, he could not come out successful. The Indians who were then residing in England were rudely shocked at their conduct. Some of them saw through the deep-laid scheme and proposed to form themselves into a committee to move against this most shameless injustice! Thus the India Society was founded.

It should be noted here that W. C. Bonnerjee, the famous Indian Barrister and the First President of the Indian National Congress, then preparing for his law in London, took a very prominent part in establishing this society.* Dadabhai Naoroji of hallowed memory became its president. The Society immediately after its formation sent a memorandum to the Secretary of State against the injustice done in respect of the Indian candidates, present and potential, for the Civil Service examination. But he simply pleaded his inability to intervene in this matter. In this connection it should be mentioned that Mano Mohun Ghose wrote the booklet, The Open-Competition for the Civil Service of India and got it published in London in `366 criticising the policy of the British Government.

THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

The India Society continued for two years. In 1867 some well-meaning Englishmen—members of Parliament and retired officials from India—organised the East India Association. The India Society, satisfied with its objects and programme of work, got itself merged into it. Dadabhai Naoroji, President of the Society, was appointed Secretary.



Keshub Chunder Sen

The East India Association did considerable political work on our behalf in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It began very well. During the

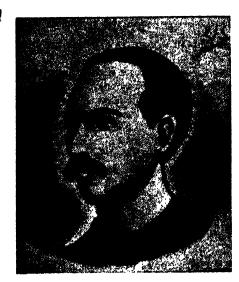
Of the part played by W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naaroji told in the following vein at the time of the funeral of the former in London in 1906:

[&]quot;Speaking with considerable emotion, he recalled the time, more than fifty years ago, when he had just made the acquaintance of Mr. Bonnerjee, then a student preparing for the Bar. His patriotic fervour and zeal in youth (he said) was no less ardent than in later years. One of his earlier attempts to serve his country was the foundation of a London Indian Society, now merged in the East India Association; and on his return to India his career of public usefulness gradually broadened until it washed an appropriate goal in his election as President of the First Indian National Congress."

OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

first year it enlisted sixty-four life members and five hundred and thirty ordinary members. The report of the above year concludes in these shouraging terms:

"The experience of the past leads to the hope that the East India Association has now become an Institution adapted to supply a want long-felt; but the actual co-operation of the members in extending their numbers, and thereby providing the requisite funds is absolutely necessary; and should this result be attained, the Managing Committee are confident that the foundation which has been laid will not only be maintained, but the council to be appointed will find fresh occasions of usefulness and the Association will cement more closely various interests which bind this country to India."



Lal Mohan Ghose

The Association had a quarterly journal of its own. Subjects affecting India were discussed in the articles of this periodical. Proceedings of the Association's meetings were also printed in it.

Amrita Bazar Patrika of September 3, 1868, then exclusively a Bengalee weekly, gave an account of the Association, from which we can make an estimate of its activities in its earlier days. Patrika wrote partly to the following effect:

"A set of English personages have formed the East India Association. The object of the Association is to improve the Indian conditions. There are many Indians among its members. But we are very sorry to say that the majority of them are Englishmen. The Association has been founded for us; so at least three-fourths of its members should have been of our race. To meet the expenses of the Association, every member is required to pay the annual subscription of Rs. 10. For a life-member only a hundred rupees is required, but that should be paid at a time. The speeches delivered before

the Association are printed in book-form every three-month. Members had to pay Rs. 2-8 extra for it annually. When we read the speeches, a thrill passes through our body. We think those who have an iota of patriotism in them, will not fail to help the Association improve by paying this paltry sum of Rs. 10 as yearly subscription."

The Patrika also mentioned the invaluable services Dadabhai Naoroji, W. C. Bonnerjee and Kshetrai mohan Datta were then rendering to this Association.

THE NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Miss Marry Carpenter, a social reformer of Creat Britain and a friend of India, visited the country for four times in the sixtics and seventies of the last century. She had already endeared herself to the educated Indians by her The Last Days in England of the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. After her return from India in 1867 she founded the National Indian Association in London in order to carry on social and political work on our behalf. This Association had its branches in different parts of India, the Secretary of the Calcutta branch being Mano Mohun Ghose. Dadabhai Naoroji used to deliver speeches before the



William Ewart Gladstone

Association. One such was noticed in Amrita Basar Patrika of March 26, 1874. Patrika wrote:

"Dadabhai Naoroji of Bombay gave a lecture at the National Indian Association. He has collected materials from different quarters to shew how the Englishmen indulge in committing wrongs to our countrymen. This lecture has been printed. We fervently hope much good will come out of this outspoken speech."

^{**} The Bengales, April 3, 1869,

[†] Vide the present writer's Bongall book entitled Sharesbarsher Specificates O Angeorg Prasman, p. 139.

ACTIVITIES OF HENRY FAWORT AND KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

Professor Henry Fawcett, a member of Parliament, was a sealous supporter of Indian cause in England. While various Associations placed our demands and grievances before the British public, Professor Fawcett fought for us on the floor of the House of Commons. It was due to his cogently reasoned speeches there that the burden of expenses incurred during the Abyssinian expedition in 1868, which had been completely thrown over our shoulders, got to be shared by the British Government. Fawcett was an economist of the liberal school. His activities in connection with the financial readjustments between India and Great Britain require adequate treatment.



William Wedderburn

We find another propagator of our cause in England in Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sep, preeminently a religious preacher. During his stay there in 1870, he made speeches mainly on religious subjects. But the few that he gave on the nature of the maladministration of India, with special reference to Excise and dispensation of Justice, brought home to the Britishers, the questionable conduct of their compatriots in India. The British papers in India, notorious for their anti-Indian feeling, raised a hue and cry against the utterances of Keshub, but the impression his speeches left on the minds of his audience was not easily to be effaced.

THE INDIAN SOCIETY

Ananda Mohun Bose accompanied Keshub. to
England in 1870. He remained there to complete his

higher studies. While still a student, Ananda Montification participated in political meetings and delivered speeches. One methorable speech of his, during this period, we published in *The Modern Review* for March, 1948. Ananda Mohun himself founded a Society of the above name in 1872. The following account gives an idea of the objects and activities of this Society:

"The Indians who went to England, had no meeting place. They were quite strangers to one another. With some of his friends Ananda Mohun tried to supply this want by organising the Indian Society at his residence. The main object of this society was to unite the people of different provinces at a common place in order to disseminate knowledge as well as to foster and develop the sense of nationalism amongst themselves. At first only the Bengalees joined it, but gradually the people of other provinces also became its membera."

Lal Mohan Ghose and William Ewart Gladstone

During the late seventies clash of interests between the Indians and Englishmen manifested itself in ugly colours. The door of Civil Service was almost barred and bolted through the machinations of the Imperial authorities. The Indian Association of Calcutta (established July 26, 1876) took up this question in right earnest and carried on agitation over it throughout India. The Press Act and the Arms Act of Lord Lytton's Government aimed at nipping in the bud the new political consciousness of the people. To acquaint the British public with this deplorable state of affairs, the Indian Association sent Lal Mohan Ghose, afterwards president of the Indian National Congress, to England in 1879. Lal Mohan delivered speeches before the members of the British Parliament as well as the British public and narrated the various retrograde measures adopted by the authorities in India. Over the very first meeting held before the members of Parliament at Willis's Rooms on July 23, 1879, John Bright presided and made a forceful speech indicting the Indian administration.

Gladstone, the great liberal statesman, and at the time the Leader of Opposition in the House of Commons, spoke vehemently in Parliament as also in his election campaign against the Conservative misrule in India. The Liberal Party won the General Election of 1880, and the speeches of Lal Mohan Ghose and the Liberal leader in this behalf were not a little responsible for their success.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONCRESS

In 1885, various individual and organisational efforts of the Indian provinces were harmonised into a single body, namely, the Indian National Congress. It was now felt that the political agitation, hitherto carried on in England, should be entrusted to an accredited representative body. Dadabhai, Naoreji, a resident in England for the quarter of a century and

^{*} Nobeberehiki (a Benguli Your Book), 1986 B.S.

also an active supporters of the Congress, he being the president of its second session, took upon himself the task of propagating the Congress views and ideals there in 1887. But it was proving too much for a single person, however strong and well-intentioned he might be. One year after, Dadabhai and some friends and well-wishers of India formed themselves into a committee with Sir William Wedderburn as chairman and William Digby, the author of Prosperous British India, as Secretary, and commenced popularising the Congress cause. The Indian National Congress gave its formal sanction to this committee in its annual session in 1889 by the following resolution:

"That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M.P., J. E. Ellis, M.P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India."**

In this way the British committee of the Congress came into being. From this time on, the committee represented the Congress and conducted political propaganda on its behalf. To help the British committee in its work the Congress sent Indian leaders on deputation now and then to England. It also assigned large sums of money every year for the expenses of the British Committee. The Committee started India, a monthly organ, under the editorship of its Secretary William Digby. This journal was transformed into a full-fledged weekly in 1898. In its early years, the members of the British Committee, reinforced by the Congress deputations from India, went considerably shead with their propaganda and publicity work, so much so that Dadabhai Naoroji fought successfully in the General Election of Great Britain in 1892. The electors of Central Finsbury sent him as their representative to the House of Commons.

The British Committee used to publish pamphlets and booklets on Indian subjects. Sir William Wedderburn, as Chairman of the Committee, contributed papers on burning Indian topics to various British journals. He also wrote for the Committee's journal India, which played a considerable part in moulding the public opinion of Great Britain. Romesh Chunder Dutt's contributions to this journal deserve special mention. After retirement he went to England and resided there for about seven years. He naturally allied himself with the British Committee and its organ India. He not only spoke from the platform but also wielded a powerful pen. His deep studies and researches in India's economic system and his personal experience and knowledge of the ruinous policies pursued by the Government made his contributions most authentic as well as authoritative.

When the thinking section of the British public read them in India, they could not but appreciate the justness of the Indian cause. The Indian Parliamentary Committee and the Indian Famine Union, both of which owed their origin te Sir William Wedderburn, acted as auxiliaries to the British Committee and did much for educating the British public opinion on Indian affairs. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 were he less due to the persistent and continuous propaganda carried on in England during the preceding years, through these agencies.



Romesh Chunder Dutt

THE NEW SPIRIT

But some changes had occurred in the outlook of the new generation of Indians. Even in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the utility of the methods followed by the leaders of the Indian National Congress was questioned. The message of self-help and self-reliance that had been inculcated in Bengal even before the advent of the Congress, and which was so beautifully explained in our literature during the last quarter of the century, took a firm root in their minds, and their ideas and aspirations were shaped accordingly. And in this the examples of countries like Ireland struggling for political independence played no small part. Exponents of the New Spirit laid special stress on the introduction of physical culture. revival of indigenous industries, universal use of country-made goods, organisation, of self-contained rural units and inculcation of the ideas of freedom through inspiring articles and treatises.

Among the exponents of the New Spirit the names of Aurobindo Ghose, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarala Devi (later Sarala Devi Chaudhurani). Bepin Chandra

[#] How India Frought for Freedom : By Annie Bernnt, pp. 94-5.

Pal, Sister Nivedita of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda and Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab, as also of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai may be rightly mentioned. The Swadeshi Movement, though started as a protest against the Partition of Bengal in 1905, was really the outward manifestation of the New Spirit, which now for the first time found opportunity to spread far and wide in the country The cult of Indian freedom, independent of British connection, was being preached on the platform and in the press by this new school. Our elders, nurtured in the belief of Indo-British eo-operation for the country's political progress, could not keep pace with this new party. In no time there arose a schism in the ranks of the Congress; the elderly statesmen came to be known as "Moderates" and the new party as "Extremists." The schism was completed in the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. Both the parties then parted ways. And on the parting of their ways, a third one, called the Revolutionary Party, began more frequently than before, to indulge in activities not generally approved by either. One of their main activities was to resort to political assassination with bombs manufactured by themselves. They carried forward their work even in England where they succeeded in putting an end to an official, named Sir Curzon Wylie. There Shyamji Krishnavarma had founded the Indian Home Rule Society as well The Indian Sociologist to carry on the work of the Revolutionary Party. The Moderates were, however, still in the majority in the Congress and held its reins till the Lucknow session in 1916 when the two sections rejoined, only to be separated two years after.

These domestic troubles of the Congress did not fail to have their repercussions on the British Committee. Those at the helm of affairs were mostly Englishmen. They belonged to the old school and

heartily wished to keep intact the Indo-British connection. It was but natural on their part to support
the 'moderate' school of the Congress. The Indian
moderates finally seceded from the Congress in 1918
and formed a separate organisation, called the National
Liberal Federation of India. Previous to the passage
of the Montagu-Chemsford Reforms Act in 1919, this
body sent a deputation to England, as distinct from
that of the Indian National Congress. Sympathy of the
leading members of the British Committee was no
doubt with the Liberal Party. They, therefore, could
not wholeheartedly support the cause the Congress,
as it was then constituted, represented.

Majority of Congress members now being of the forward school, the Congress had undergone considerable change in its outlook by this time; but the advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political arena of India transformed it altogether. The objective of the Congress was changed to "the attainment of Swaraj through legitimate and peaceful means" in its Nagpur session in 1920. It is significant that the word "constitutional" on which the Moderates laid so much emphasis, was altogether left out. The means to attain this objective was the Non-violent Non-co-operation formulated by Gandhiji. It was then considered necessary to devote exclusive attention of the Congress to the political struggles newly launched in India. The British Committee, as has been said before, also could not tune itself to the new mode of work, pursued by the Congress. The Congress stopped supplies to the Committee; and it was discontinued in 1921 along with the India weekly.

Today India is relieved of the British domination. In the history of our freedom struggle, the services rendered by the various associations, societies and the people in England will find a prominent place.

THE PARKS AND GARDENS OF LONDON

0:-

BY E. PRENTICE MAWSON,
Former President of the Royal Horticultural Society

LONDON seen from an aeroplane is lavishly sprinkled with gardens, lawns and green spaces. Scarcely one-fifth of the city is covered by brick and mortar; a thousand squares, parks, and gardens covering 260 square kilometres, and planted with all manner of trees, shrubs, and gay flowers, provide great patches of open country in the very heart of the world's largest city.

Planned in a quieter age, and for a less precarious tomorrow, they form a haven in which the miracle of the seasons still unfolds itself in all the unruffled beauty that no human tempests can upset. Nor can the horror of modern war destroy their glory. For nature soon hides the sears, to send the visitor on his way rejoicing and refreshed.

These early designers indeed possessed a sense of

country beauty. It was their aim to bring the influence of the country right into the city. In the very centre of the metropolis they have somehow caught and held the illusive charm of the open country.

British people who have lived for years in other lands have constantly sent their thoughts back to the glory of our London parks and gardens, lawns like sheets of vivid green velvet, broken with groups of trees piling up their banks of graceful foliage. The whole range of parks and open spaces from the reserves like Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, the Green Park, and Regent's Park in the centre, to the outlying parks of Richmond, Bushey and Hampton Court, are stamped with a character and an individuality of their own.

The oak trees are the essential of Regent's Park ;

whose gnarled, rugged bark and toothed leaves make railings. it one of our most stately London drees. The invitation displayed on the Underground Railway, to wonder at air cannot be appreciated by anyone who walks the

Hyde Park, in the west of London, covers 150 hectares and gives an illusion of the open country

the springtime glory of the horse chestnut at Hampton Court, does not go unanswered; and few who answer it are disappointed.

At Kew and Greenwich, which lie respectively to the west and east of the city, the magnolia blazes in its greatest glory. In Lincoln's Inn, the weeping elms droop their branches above the bomb-pitted walks; and everywhere the plane tree, whose pecling bark and smooth leaves, washed by rain, armour it effectively against the London smoke and soot, proclaims its place as the tree of London trees. With these gardens that art has improved must be reckoned the great natural commons and heaths on the outskirts of the city; the heaths a Hampstead on the north; Epping Forest, a patch of primeval woodland that guards the approach to the city on the east.

Yet for all this wealth of flowers and trees and lawns, there is still a lack of unity and plan that has destroyed much of the effect that could so easily be achieved. Already the last war has broken down many of those barriers, that once confined the open

Greenwich is the home of the Spanish chestnut tree, spaces of London and hedged them behind walls and

Today the multiplicity of gardens seen from the

London streets, for every patch of green is parted from its neighbour by dreary wastes of brick and asphalt. In the new, more splendid London that we shall build, there may be connecting avenue, with trees and open spaces to link up those islands of trees and grass and bowers that are our present gardens. The railings that have gone will not come back; and it may be that we shall keep the stretches of long waving grass that have sprung up where the clipped lawns used to be.

Then we shall have a connected park system in the London of the future that will really impose the country upon the town. So there will be many places for children to play, for young people to recreate themselves, and for the old to take their ease. The



The Serpentine Lake at Hyde Park, a popular bathing and boating place for Londoners

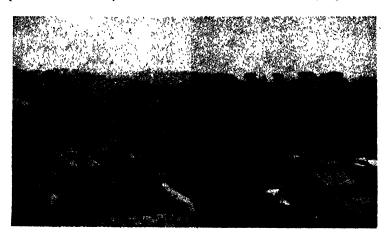
designers of yesterday were for the most part employed in ministering to the comforts of a few fortunate, enlightened patrons. The designers of tomorrow will appreciate their duty to all Londoners, who need the refreshment of body and mind which contact with nature evokes.

IN ROMÉ AS A TOURIST

By INDIRA SARKAR, M.A., Cite Universitaire, Paris

THE FIRST DAY AT ROME

We reached Rome at 6 a.m. (1st April, 1948, Thursday). It was drizzling. We said Arividerei (Au revoir in French), i.e., goodbye to the troops who carried my valise up to the waiting room where we waited until all the others came. The group had been scattered in the train. Everybody had entered wherever one could find a little space. From there Signor Biondini took us down to our hotels which were side by side. Twenty were in one and twenty-five in another. We were put up in Pensione Pavia, via Gaeta 83.



Ruins of the Roman Forum

I had written to Renato Valtan (my mother's sister's son) at Padua from Naples and had asked him to come down to Rome to see me. But I suppose it was not convenient for him to do so only for one day. We had breakfast, which consisted of bread and butter and milk and then I rested on the bed for a few minutes. But I must have fallen asleep because I woke up at 12 o'clock just in time for lunch. I had not slept a moment in the train from Naples to Rome and so I enjoyed the rest. Besides, it was raining and the weather looked dull.

We could not eat in this pensione and had to go down to a Ristorante Economica called O.N.AR.M.A. where the food was cheap and not very good. It was almost as bad as the food at the Maison Internationale of the Cite Universitaire, Paris. It was a big dining hall where a large number of tables for six persons each were laid out. Many Italians came to cat here. One could see very few women. Indeed, they seem to be rare in public cases, bars and restaurants. After lunch, the sun came out and we decided to start our sight-seeing again. With the help of a plan of Rome we traced out a program and commenced "doing" Rome.

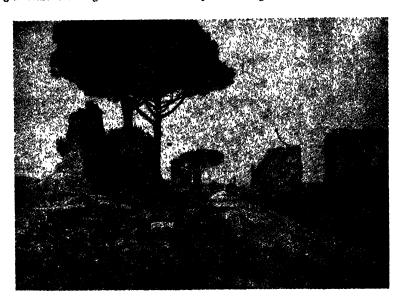
We took a tram and went down to see the church Santa Maria Maggiore. There is a huge marble statue here of a Pope kneeling in prayer in front of the altar. The mosaic paintings on the wall were done by the artist Berni. From there we took another tram down to the Coloseo. We took photos of different views. The Coloseo was built in the year 79. There are many caves in the centre of the arena where wild beasts used to be hunted and killed by the Roman onlookers. It is composed of 8 rows with arched doorways all around. There we happened to meet Springell (English), McKenna (Scottish) and Mourad (Syrian) of our group. So we decided to visit the Foro Romano

(Roman Forum) together. Springell had a guide-book and we followed him in the ruins of the Forum. We saw several important arches beginning with the Arch of Constantine which is situated on the road halfway between the Colosco and the Forum. It was built in 315 in honour of the victories of Constantine. In the Forum we saw the gigantic Basilica of Constantine, the temple of Romulus and Remus, the temple of Saturnus, and the Arches of Titus and Septemus Severus built in honour of their respective victories. Beautiful basreliefs are to be found on its pillars. We saw also the Basilica

of Julia and the Senate. The Forum is the most celebrated place of ancient Rome where meetings, festivals and ceremonies took place. We saw some more excavations including a stadium, an arena and an amphitheatre.

In the grounds of the Forum I managed to lose the rest. I walked about trying to find the group in vain. I waited for them at the gate and as it was getting dark I decided to leave, for I was sure they must have gone. Mourad had not gone to see the Forum and had sat down on a rock. I came to see if he was still there and as he had gone I came to the conclusion that the others had perhaps gone away too. So I left the Forum, came to the street and began to walk towards the Capitol where Julius Caesar was assassinated. At the foot of the huge flight of steps lie two lions of black granite, and upstairs on the landing we have on either side the statues of Castor and Pollux. The square in the centre is remarkable and many tourists were looking at the place. Many important buildings surround the square. The left building is the Museo Capitolino, the right building is the palace of the conservatori and in the centre we have the palace of the senators.

From there I went to see the marble monument of Victor Emmanuel II, which is very stately and pompous in appearance with all its large marble Bernini. On the side-altar there is a beautiful statue columns and numerous flights of steps. In front of this in marble (called La Pieta) by Michelangelo. It is the meaument we have the Square and Palace (Foro di Virgin Mary holding Christ in her lap after he is taken Piazza Venezia), very much noted for its architectural down from the cross. It is a masterpiece. grandeur. Walking down Via dell Impero I caught a



Via Appia, Rome

tram back to the Nuova Stazione Termini. From there the pensione was only a few minutes off. I came home and found nobody in. So I lay down and slept from 6 to 8 and then went to dinner. In the dining hall I met Stein and Salinger and William Willis who invited me later on to join them in an ice-cream bar where we had delicious ice-cream. We came home at about 11 p.m.

ST. PETER'S, VATICAN, SIXTINE, AND PANTHEON

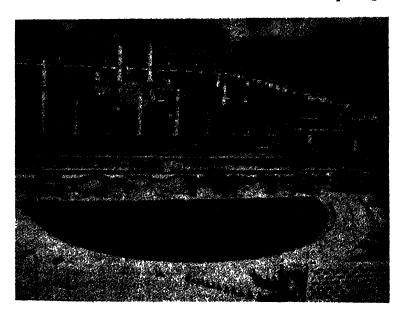
Next day (2nd April, 1948, Friday) again we were ready to set out by 9 a.m. It was a lovely sunny day and we went straight to St. Peter's and the Vatican. We took some snaps and visited the church. There were many foreigners and tourist-cars standing in the courtyard. There is a huge Obelisk in the centre which

is said to contain relics of the real cross of Christ. The colonnades on either side of the yard were constructed by Bernini and two hugo statues of St. Peter and St. Paul decorate the grand flight of steps leading up. The cupola of St. Peter's is as large as that of the Pantheon. All the pictures on the walls are made by

The Church of St. Peter has many domes. The

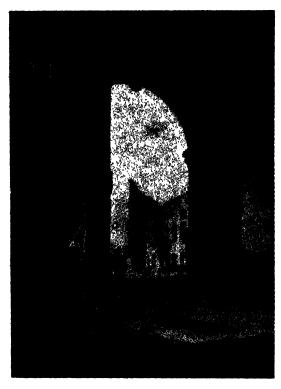
principal dome is known as Cupola which is a masterpiece of art. It is all inlaid with gold and mosaic. The head (front) of the Church has eight smaller domes around the big one, and the body of the Church has ten domes, five on either side. Under each dome there is a side altar and a small chapel. The walls are decorated with mosaic paintings and the magnificent reproduction of the Ascension of Christ by Rafaello is over one of the altars in the side of the head of the Church.

Then we went to see the Vatican and I bought a card and a Vatican stamp in the museum of the Vatican. We went through the Bibliotheque and the Pinacoteca of the Vatican which has a wonderful collection of paintings. Some of the famous paintings we



Ruins of ancient Ostia, the port of Rome

saw were those by Giovanni del Biondo, Sano di Pietro, Maratta, Lorenzo Monaco, Pictro Berettini, Merco Palmezzano, Donata Cretti, Muziano, Gaddi, Melozza da Forli, Taddeo, Rafaello Sanzio, Tito, Lorenzo di Credi, Benevenuto Cellini, and Mancini. Special notice must be made of Botticelli's Madonna del Magnifiat, rich in colour and form. Very realistic and bold were the pictures of La Maddelena and L'Infidelita di Thomas by Francesco Barbieri. Nice representations of Madonne e Bombino were seen in the paintings of Murillo and Bernardino di Mariotto.



The Coloseum seen through the Arc of Triumph

The death of St. Peter by Guido Reni in La Crucifissione di S. Pietro left a deep impression on my mind, especially the sad expression on the face of St. Peter with his head downwards and his feet up. Superb were the works of Michelangelo in Universal Deluge, The Original Sin and the Deposizione dalla Croce.

Several rooms were set aside for paintings belonging to the Scuola (School) Napolitana, Scuola Romana, Scuola Spagnola. Scuola Fiorentina, and other "schools."

Some of the pictures belonging to the Scuola Napolitana portrayed still life, especially huge trays of fruits and vases with flowers. The Scuola Fiorentina deals with the life of Christ and is noted for the gold background in all its pictures. The glue robe of Christ and the pink of Mary offers a peculiar contrast to the yellow background. Portraits are numerous in the Scuola Spagnola (Spanish School).

From the Pinacoteca we went to eat and straight away came back to S. Pietro for a second time and went to see the treasures of the church and the Pope. Amongst other things there were crosses, chalices, trays, keys, Bible-stands, crowns, rings, caskets and incenses all made of pure gold and richly inlaid with costly jewels. The garments and altar cloths of the church too were artistically embroidered with gold threads.

Afterwards we went to see Capella Sistina where many crosses and treasures were to be seen. The Chapel itself is beautiful, the altar is made of finest Carrarra marble, and the ceilings and walls are covered with richly coloured frescoes. The paintings are vivid and look more like sculptures than mere paintings on a flat surface. The effect of the painting is so bold that the figures seem to stand out of the wall like real life. The body of St. Peter is buried in the church of St. Peter.

Then we walked down to the Palazzo di Giustizia (Palace of Justice) which is a large imposing monument, then saw an account castle called Castel S. Angelo, walked by Casa del Mutilato and took a tram to see the church, S. Pietro in Vincoli (St. Peter in Chains).

The famous statue of Moscs by Michelangelo is to be found in this church. Moses is seated on a stool with flowing beard and a mantle thrown over his knees. He is looking towards the left. Every part of the sculpture is so fine that it looks like a real man seated in front of you. The statue is twice the size of a human being and is made of the hardest marble. It is so well-finished that it shines with perfection. One would think Michelangelo has been modelling with soft clay and not hewing every fold and curve out of a block of marble. It is a masterpiece and we sat down on a chair and gazed at it in wonder for ten minutes. Michelangelo is really one of the greatest men ever born. Italy is rich in sculptures, paintings and mosaic patterns. The big statue of Moses is surrounded by two figures on either side, and several others above him, On the top are again three other figures, and right on the summit is St. Joseph carrying Christ on his arms.

As it was tea time we decided to go to Piazza del Popolo and have a cup of hot drink and some cakes. We refreshed ourselves, saw several churches on the way, especially S. Maria Popolo. S. Eustachio and S. Francis of Assissi. Crossing the Popolo Square we walked through the shady gardens of Villa Umberto where the parks and promenades are very beautiful.

Seeing the gardens of Villa Umberto we went to the Pantheon built by Marcus Agrippa in the 3rd century B. C. At first it was a pre-Christian temple, the ceiling of which was open. A huge pink marble table of sacrifice used to stand in the centre of the hall. Sacrifices were made on this table and the open ceiling permitted the smoke to go out freely. The pillars of the Pantheon are old but massive and strong and were built at the time of Emperor Augustus.

There are numerous sculptures in the Pantheon which was later converted and transformed into a Christian Church. A beautiful statue of an angel in marble, St. Anastasia, St. Eurasmus and the columns in the Pantheon were done by Bernini. The figure of St. Anna was modelled by Lorenzo Ottoni, Michelangelo is the maker of the dome as well as of an angelform. Cellini has also done some sculptures, and

Materno is the man who made the Pantheon into a Catholic church. The pre-Christian table of sacrifice was removed from the centre of the room and a Catholic altar erected on the side. Victor Emmanuel the Second is buried here in the Pantheon. When we consider the fact that this old building was built 2500

years ago we cannot help being amazed at the high standard of architectural beauty and merit of ancient times. Recent monuments have fallen to pieces but this huge Pantheon still stands strong. As it was getting late we went to the ristorante for dinner.

A VISIT WITH PROF. GINI

Coming back to the Pension I phoned up Prof. Giuseppe Tileci, the Tibetan scholar, and wanted to give him. my father Prof. Sarkar's greetings. The pension manager spoke in Italian on my behalf. Tucci's son Ananda, was on the phone. He informed us that his father was in India at the time, going to Tibet, but requested me to drop in at his place the next day at 4. I promised to do if I had time but as we were leaving I had to drop the idea.

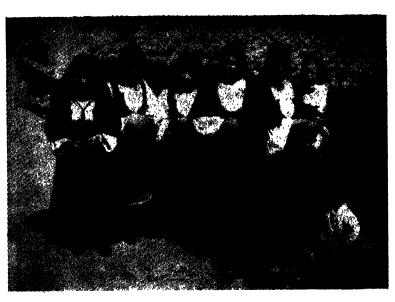
Then in the evening I called on Prof. Corrado Gini, the statistician and population scientist, with Mr. Bhaskar Gokhale (chemist) and brought him greetings from Prof. Sarkar. He is keeping well, looks strong and healthy. His house is nice, and he took us into his study which was covered with stacks of books, papers and files.

We also went to see Familie Pruner (Prof. Sarkar's friends of Levico) but they had left their old residence (in Via Salaria) and no one could inform us about their whereabouts. So I phoned them up after finding their name in the telephone book under a new address. I spoke to Mmc. Pruner in German. She was surprised to hear from me and remembered the little Bibili Sarkar very well, whom she had seen with my father in 1929. Her sons (Guiseppe and Guido) have married and her daughter (Maria) works as she did not get married and lives with them. She also asked me to visit them. But I had no time.

We went home, walking through several lovely residential areas of Rome. We were struck by the fact that at pight there were no Italian women in the streets. Only men were walking about. It seemed almost like in India, cafes were full of men and so were the trams. But there was a complete absence of women in public thoroughfares.

THE CATACOMBS, ST. GIOVANNI AND
SANTA SCALA
Next morning (Saturday, 3rd April, 1948) by 9 a.m.

we left the Pension to see the Catacombs of S. Calista (Callixtus). There we met by chance two American girls, Jane Hetherington and Betty Jack from our group and three American priests. We went down with an Italian guide into the Catacombs, which had been discovered by John Baptist di Rossi. The persecuted



Italian peasants

Christians used to hide themselves in these caves, offer mass and pray, during the reign of the pre-Christian emperors. Many Christians died as martyrs and their bodies were buried here. Fifteen Popes too have their graves in the Catacombs.

We saw the grave of St. Cecelia who was beheaded because she refused to give up her religion. It is said that the Little Flower of Jesus (St. Theresa) came all the way from France to pray at the grave of St. Cecelia and ask her to help her in her good deeds and lead a pure and saintly life. On the wall there were many inscriptions in Greek. Besides, at certain places there were paintings of fish, doves, palms, swastika and Greek crosses on the wall. Many chambers were used as churches and old altars and crosses can still be found. Some crosses are portrayed with anchors at the end which means that the Christian faith is anchored in Christ. We were all given a candle each and walked through the passes and corridors.

Coming out of the Catacombs we met three ladies who approached us and asked us if we were from India. One lady had lived three years in Calcutta in 1920-22 when her husband was doing there some business. She recalled Firpo and Ballygunge and wished us a happy sojourn in Italy.

We went to Mercato Centrale where we bought some bread and apples for lunch. Then we decided to go to S. Paola outside the wall (St. Paul's). We reached there at about 12 noon. We sat underneath the trees

and ate our lunch because we were very hungry. At St. Paul's we met Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Haac (Americans) of our group. After lunch we went inside the church and had a guide to show us round. The church is a fine specimen of Roman architecture with colossal pillars of marble. The hall itself is very large and represents something stately and majestic. The body of St. Paul is buried underneath the altar. There are several side altars and chapels too. The side altar of St. Stephano is very remarkable and striking because it is made of pure green marble slabs. The gold cross on top on the green altar offers a grand spectacle. The paintings on the wall are also beautiful and special note should be made of the funeral procession of Mary. The coffin of Mary is covered with a white shroud. Anywhere you walk you can notice the coffin pointing at you at right angles. This is striking and strange. Behind the church is a cloister built in the Byzantine style. There is an open space, a courtyard with palm trees in the centre of the cloister.



Citta Universitaria (University Town), Rome

Having seen St. Paul we went down by tram to S. Giovanni in Laterano. The church was still closed as it was not quite 3 o'clock. By the fountains near the church I met a group of Italian students who asked us if we wanted any guides. We began to talk to them and in course of conversation they suggested that we should go to see the "singing door" in the Baptistry of S. Giovanni which had inspired Dante so much that he had mentioned it in his Divine Comedy. We went to see it with the boys. It was a huge door made of gold, silver and bronze very difficult to close because of its heaviness. When one closed it tight the door emitted all kinds of harmonious tunes which resembled the notes of a flute, a violin and an organ. We were enchanted by the music of this door which appropriately bears the adjective "singing."

From there we went to see the main church of

S. Giovanni which is another of the 300 churches in Rome. In the main hall on pillars are standing the twelve apostles in marble life-size statues. The side altars too are charming and the paintings magnificent. Each church in Rome is a kind of museum and art gallery.

Then we proceeded to see the Santa Scala, which I climbed up on my knees along with other visitors. Christ is supposed to have trod on these steps and his blood fell on a particular spot which is now covered with a thick glass which everyone kisses after reaching the top. The real ancient steps on which Christ climbed are said to be encased below these present wooden steps.

After that we returned home, went to Piar 3 Colonna, changed 500 francs and got 800 liras for With that money we went to a Patissaria and at some cakes, then we bought 16 white bread semmels and 300 grams of salamne and ham and one kilo (2 lbs.) of apples and oranges and packed them all in a parcel as our provision for 36 hours in the train for

all our means. At 6-30 p.m., the group walked down to the state and caught the 7 p.m. train 1 which there was a tremendous rush. Luckily our compartmental had been reserved for us ahead.

Rome-Genoa-Turin-Paris (36 hours)

We left Rome at 7 p.m. and entered the compartments which had been reserved for us b Mourad. In our compartment were Betty Jack, Betty Recoe, Ann Stopp, Louann Storms, Jaue Hetherington, Gowhale, myself, and a French sculptor. The Americans began to play bridge and a looked out from the corrido window and watched the country side. At 10 p.m. we ate some

bread and ham sandwiches and an apple cach, talked a little with the American girls. At 12 p.m. we turned out the lights and tried to sleep. The train was an international wagon-lit and the third class was as comfortable, well-heated and clean as our Indian first class. But none of us slept well. Every time the train made a halt we tossed about and tried to find a suitable position attempting to sleep afresh.

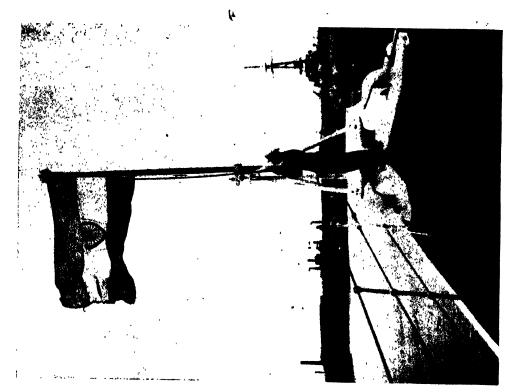
The train continued to pass through Italy (4th April, 1948, Sunday). We had breakfast and lunch and tea in the train which consisted of bread and ham sandwiches, apple and water, and at times we chatted, looked at the landscapes, read, walked in the corridors and played cards. Our train made two halts at Genoa and Turin; at each place we got down and had a look at the city walking down the avenues round about the station. At Genoa, the big ocean liners in the harbour



St. Poter's Cathedral, Rome



Piazza del Popolo Rome





The Indian Tri-colour being hoisted on the 7,030-ton cruiser H.M.I.S. Lette during the handing over ecremony at Chatham Sardar Patel addresses a mammoth mass meeting at Bond to

made me feel homesick for a while. Turin is a very beautiful city, quite modern and up-to-date. Some of its high majestic buildings reminded me of Paris. At Turin we met some Italians who asked us if we were from Ceylon. One of the men had been in Calcutta, Bombay and Bhopal as prisoner of war and could speak a few words of Hindi. He showed us some pictures of his taken in the streets of Bombay near Malabar Hill. He expressed his love for Indian people and said that he used to frequent the home of an Indian family by the name of Patel. I bought one or two post cards from a shop and the Italian came with us back to the station and invited us to visit him if we should again come to Turin. At about 5 p.m. the train was set in motion and once more we were back in our seats.

The Po Valley scenery was very picturesque and so were the snow-capped mountain ranges in the background. The hills reminded me of the Swiss Italian Alps and there was not much difference in landscapes between the Italian and French border-zones. We had dinner at about 10 p.m. and by this time we were so tited that we all slept-very well in spite of want of space. Each one of us stretched out our legs putting them up on the other side of each bench.

At 6 a.m. (on April 5, 1948, Monday) we arrived at Gare de Lyons, Paris. We said goodbye to every one in the group and got into the Metro for the Cite Universitaire. On coming out of the Metro, I met a Hungarian student who carried my valise back to the College Franco-Britannique, and gave me his umbrella because it was raining. As luck would have it, the weather in Paris was not very good. It was raining and damp the whole of that day.

On our return journey we came across an Italian who had an accordian and he came into our compartment and played for us Italian and American tunes in an excellent manner. His friend sang to the accompaniment of his playing. Outside on the corridors we met some Italian young men, who were going to Alessandria to watch a game of football.

The Italians, especially in the Naples region are darker than the French and shorter too in height. But some very blond Italians are to be found in the north. Rome and Florence are clean cities and so is Naples in certain spots. But other parts of Naples and Rome are dirty. Beggars were sitting in the streets and children dressed in rags were seen in Naples.

However, I was born in Realy and cannot help saying I liked Italy very much. But no city can beat or be compared to Paris. I am already quite "Frenchified." To me now-a-days Paris is nonpareil. But Paris owes much of its construction and architecture to Rome, especially as Napoleon was such a deep admirer of Italian art. The quays of the Tiber reminded me of the banks of the Seine. The Italian Pantheon had inspired the making of the French Pantheon.

BANKS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN Some Facts and Figures

By SHIB SANKER DUTT, Southern Bank Ltd., Bongong

The Reserve Bank of India continued to be the State Bank of both the Union of India and Pakistan after the partition of the country up to the 30th of June, 1948. The State Bank of Pakistan began to function from the 1st of July 1948. The Report of the Reserve Bank of India up to the end of June, 1948, has been published in the Gazette of India, dated the 7th of August 1948. Soon it will be published in a book form. We gather and select some facts and figures about banks from the said Report and present them below.

No. of Banks in—
India Pakistar

1. Scheduled Banks 99 1
Financial position in June, 1948
Demand Liabilities Rs. 694 crores Rs. 86 crores

| | | No. of Banks in- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|------------------|-------|-------------|-----|------------|--------|--|
| | | | India | | | Pakistan | | |
| | Time Liabilities | Rs. | 311 | crores | Ra. | 19 | crores | |
| | Cash in hand . | Rs. | 44 | ,, | Rs. | 4 | ,, | |
| | Balance with Reserve | | | | | | | |
| | Bank | Rs. | 103 | ** | Nil | | | |
| | Advance | Re. | 435 | " | Rs. | 3 3 | ,, | |
| | Bills discounted | Rs. | 16 | | Rs. | 0.6 | • | |
| 2. | Non-Scheduled Banks | | 506 | | 1 | 77 | | |
| | Their total demand as | nd | | | - | | | |
| | time liabilities | Ra. | 13.72 | , •, | Rs. | 1.78 | | |

India Pakistan Five banks have been added to the Schedule
99 1 during the year under review in the Union of India.
The only scheduled bank in Pakistan has been added
Rs. 604 crores Rs. 86 crores to the schedule without any inspection.

DEAF-MUTES IN THE SERVICE OF THE COUNTRY

By NRIPENDRA MOHAN MAJUMDAR

In this material world the utility of mechanical handicrafts is vast. The truth of the above remark is readily understood from the fact of our using innumerable such articles for our comforts in our life. We cannot but thank the workers, whose labour and skill are behind it.



Learning the art of a blacksmith

Among them there is a group of workers physically handicapped whose talent and skill really surprises us and in no time removes the wrong ideas we bear about them. They are the most neglected group of



Practising the art of wood-carving

our society, the deaf and dumb. So long we have looked down upon them for their incapacity to hear or speak; moreover we have counted them as burdens on our society. With the progress of science their condition has changed considerably. We should no

longer entertain any mistaken idea about them. Through training they can prove themselves expert hands in mechanical handicrafts. Now-a-days the deafmute workers who are self-dependent are really praiseworthy not only for their working ability but also for the valuable service rendered to the country.



Practising the art of book-binding

With agreeable surprise one finds that these deaf-mutes may hold important positions in our society and thus undertake various responsibilities. Through training



Teaching boys the art of clay-modelling

this physically handicapped section may be transformed into an invaluable treasure of our society.

During the last great war the contributions of the deaf-mutes and their exerting themselves for the sake of their country are also noteworthy. They helped the country in many ways to supply war-materials. Like others they also engaged themselves in the service of the country. These deaf-mutes were employed in different factories and laboured hard and silently. Besides this, the products of the cottage industry in which they were engaged served various needs of the war.

Learning the use of a power-driven lathe and drill in the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School

Many think that they are not fit to work in big factories as they might not turn efficient workmen on account of their being hard of hearing and their lack of quick comprehension. But it is a baseless remark. There is nothing to be afraid of in employing trained deaf-



Learning the art of book-binding

mutes even in heavy industrial workshops. In Western countries a great number of deaf-mutes are being employed in various responsible posts. In the well-known "Ford" motor company of America many deaf-mutes are working like ordinary workers. Henry Ford himself admitted that the deaf workers were cent per cent safe and reliable and did not require any special protection against risk insurance. Many

employers employ them out of pity. But why should they ask for pity? They will prove useful everywhere by dint of their full working capacity.

Congenital deafness causes one to be dumb. The auditory nerve being defective, visual and perceptual

organs of a deaf person becomes exceptionally sharp. By improving these two senses they may be taught to speak from their very childhood. They can show their excellence in mechanical work because their power of imitation is far greater than that of the general run of people. Hence, sometimes the deaf-mutes are found to surpass common people in the matter of skilful work. It is from a wrong and mistaken idea about them that the Government too have prevented them by law to join public service.

Today we have won political independence. In order to bring about economic and above all social independence we cannot forget our deaf-mute friends. In order to make society progressive we should give light physically hardicanned section

and hope to its physically handicapped section neglected so long. We ought to give speech to the speechless so that they may feel that they are brought into this world not to lead a neglected detested life but there is a vast field for them to work.



Working in a printing press

It is a matter of great regret that our national Government seems to be so far totally indifferent in these matters. Through the efforts of a few selfless, self-sacrificing individuals certain organisations have grown up and been dedicated to the service of the innumerable deaf-mutes of India. Compared to the huge number of the deaf-mutes in India, the number of such institutions is quite insufficient.

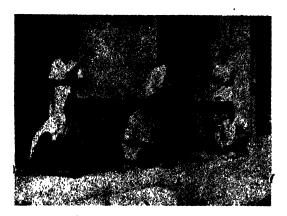
everyone can realise the usefulness of establishing Now-a-days we find many articles made by them for

On an observation of the lives of the trained deafs doll-making, book-binding will fill him with wonder. deaf and dumb schools. In Western countries some of sale in many shops. Besides these, there are many



Sri Rajagopalachariar, the then Governor of West Bengal, inspecting the work of boys in the factory of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School

the deafs have won great name and fame. In our country also a few have been famous in different



Practising the art of carpentry

subjects. Any person visiting a deaf-mute institution will notice with pleasure and astonishment at the way they work there, and their leather-work, carpentry,



Making clay toys

tailoring shops in Calcutta conducted by deaf tailors. Many deafs are competent artists and many work in responsible posts in heavy industrial centres. Indeed. everyone feels glad to see that these wretched deafs are no longer wretched but are educated, dignified, self-dependent citizens of our country. Arrangements should be made so that every one can receive training in mechanical work. Only lip-sympathy and verbal



Learning the art of tailoring

encouragement will not do. Real and patient efforts are required. The national Government has also much to do in this matter.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN The Youthful Revolutionary

By RAMA DATTA

Today, standing on the threshold of a new era, let us pause and pay our respectful homage to those stalwarts of the nineteenth century who lighted the torch of Social Revolution in India.

Youth has ever proved to be the dynamic centre of every national struggle. Even now Young India is trying in a conscious manner to fight against narrow orthodoxy and dogmatism, recreate the social environments and add something new to his inheritance. This awakening in the youth of our country today is due to the pioneers of social reform of the last century led by Raja Rammohun Roy, who, with his brilliant intellect and broad outlook, showed the path of light in a wilderness of social evils. It was, however, Keshub Chunder Sen who wrought the tremendous change in social ideas and ideals that we witness in India today, he being, in the truest sense of the term, a revolutionary.

Keshub's greatness can only be realized by contrasting the present state of the society with that in which he was born. Towards the middle of the last ntury Hindu society in Bengal was a chaos. whole social system lost its energy and life. Graduates coming out of the Hindu College lost all faith in Hindu religion and custom. The State officials, the missionaries and the English educationists influenced greatly the young generation, which lost its national character and drifted aimlessly towards sham Western thought and life. "Education, except in rare instances, neither stimulated the intellect to originality, nor influenced the heart to profound impulse." No doubt, David Hare and the missionaries, with Dr. Alexander Duff at their head, were energetic and philanthropic men, but they were unsympathetic and intolerant towards Hindu religion and custom. The missionaries and the officials generally denounced everything Hindu in violent language, "The young men of the colleges and schools joined in the crusade. The result was the abolition of social discipline and introduction of the European luxuries and drink. Impurity of character among the educated became proverbial."

The Brahmo Samaj, however, set up new ideals of faith and conduct. It was anxious to induce the young generation to join its ranks, but both Christian missionaries and bigoted Pundits tried to overthrow the movement initiated by Raja Rammohun Roy.

"Amidst such an environment, Keshub sprang into public life like a young lion, full of fierce enthusiasm. Keshub's strivings were infinite, Every social, moral, religious want in himself and others, appealed to him. He set fire to whatever he touched. His reforms knew no end"—P. C. Mozoomdar.

It was Keshub who sounded the clarion call to the youth of the country to tell them that the realization of the highest truth is the true measure of greatness in the life of an individual or a nation. He was not a politician in the ordinary acceptance of the term, but he was a patriot of the first order. From the beginning of his youthful career, it was a comprehensive programme of nation-building that he placed before the country.

Indeed, it was a strange passion for serving the nation that seized Keshub even in his teens. As early as 1854, when he was only sixteen, he founded the British India Society, with the object of "the culture of literature and science," religious subjects also being sometimes discussed there. The following year, when seventeen, he established the Colootolah Evening School, where young men of the neighbourhood were gathered and instructed in the general branches of knowledge. There was special study of Shakespeare with the staging of Hamlet. The school continued for about four years. In 1857, he established the "Goodwill Fraternity," composed of young men of about his own age, to whom he preached the two doctrines of "God our Father. Every man our brother."

It was ever a characteristic of Keshub that all his reforms, whether social, moral, educational or religious, went almost side by side. Thus, in 1859, we find him starting the Calcutta Brahmo School (School of Theology), where doctrines and conceptions of Brahmo Theism were discussed and systematized. The following year, 1860, a singular little society was started under the name of Sangat Sabha for religious conversation. The best men of the Brahmo School and the Goodwill Fraternity were its members. Under Keshub's guidance they made remarkable progress in spiritual life. These young men formed the nucleus of an organisation out of which the best materials of Keshub's subsequent movement were supplied. The young reformer gradually realized that, to influence his countrymen in educational, religious and other matters, he must possess a newspaper in English and with this object he started The Indian Mirror in August, 1861, in conjunction with some friends, as a fortnightly journal. The same year, when a terrible famine devastated Upper India, the young men, under Keshub's directions, rendered invaluable help to the distressed. About this time his zeal for the education of the youth led Keshub to begin an agitation for educational reform, his main object being the establishment of colleges and schools more efficient than what the Government provided. Against innumerable odds he was able to establish the Calcutta College in 1862, that being one of the earliest institutions started by our countrymen. In the meantime, he had formed a strong opinion against caste system and he made it one of the main objects of the new movement to break it. In consonance with this, the same year (1862) he solemnized the first intercaste marriage.

This was one of the boldest steps that he ever took. Again, in 1863, the Brahmo Bandhu Sabha was established by him with three main departments, one of these being "education of women at home." This last deserves special mention, for Keshub was specially keen on giving women a social status. It was he who took the mitiative in unlocking the door of the zenana. He devised various means for the education, improvement and welfare of women. But this he wanted to do on national lines, for he did not like to educate women according to Western ideals. All through his life he remained true to the ideal of the education of women in which their spiritual advancement was to be the basis of their social and cultural uplift.

The story of Keshub's youthful activities may appropriately be closed with a reference to the intercaste widow remarriage solemnised by him in 1864, That he looked upon caste system as a cursed barrier to national advancement is evident from his zeal for breaking it and also from his withdrawal from the parent body, which he was obliged to do because of the importance given to Brahmins in conducting divine service there. It is well-known that his difference on this question on caste system with his beloved Guru, Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, compelled him to give a fresh turn to the movement where equality for all would be guaranteed. And all this happened when Keshub was only twenty-six or twenty-seven.

It simply amazes one when one thinks of Keshub's activities as a young man. From the tender age of sixteen, against inconceivable odds, he marched onwards, towards things which were truer, nobler and loftier in life—the things of the spirit. Like a true revolutionary, he tried to revolutionise everythingsociety, education, moral standards of life, status of women and caste system. A strange fire consumed his being and he could not stop till he had reached his goal. In his remarkable spiritual autobiography, Jecuan Veda (the Scripture of Life), Keshub says:

"If I ask myself, 'O my Soul, in what creed wast thou baptised in early life?' the Soul answers, 'In the Baptism of Fire'."

It was a strange sight indeed, that a mere youth could give shape to his ideals in various kinds of reforms and activities, which galvanized the whole land and nation. One could not close this brief account of Keshub, the youthful revolutionary, better than by quoting the words of his biographer:

"Keshub's genius was complicated, profound, restless, God-inspired. It reflected every light, every want, every aspiration of the age. It aimed at removing all darkness, doubt, sorrow. He laboured really, radically to bring the kingdom of heaven on earth . . . With him faith was the profoundest wisdom, and a certainty in everyday life. With him the presence of God was a ready guidance that sufficed for all the intricacies of a unique life of strange trials. He lived and died an intense, burning, restless light, which suddenly went down in its fullness and undimmed lustre."*

. Written on behalf of the Yuva Sanigha-Pruchar Sakha, -:0:-

NIKOLAI VASILIEVICH GOGOL

BY PROF. PHANIBHUSAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.

To one who does not know the language, Russian literature means the Russian story and novel of the 19th century and after. The view is limited on good reason, for the novel and the short story have a wide appeal and cross the frontiers between countries more easily than other forms of literary expression; and the Russian novel is admittedly a very powerful institution. As is observed by a Russian critic of note, things have taken such a shape in Russia that a story becomes one of two things-"either it is rubbish or clse it is the voice of a header ringing through the empire." To this estimate of Rûssian novel we may justifiably add that it is a potent force in other countries also.

Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol is next to Pushkin and Turgenief the most popular of Russian writers. He has decided power of satirical humour and delineation of conventional Russian life. He was born on March 31, 1809. He came of a family of Ukrainian Cossack

and traditions were yet fresh and strong. He was educated at the school at Nieine and had the temperament, imagination and intelligence of a true son of the steppe. He started there a manuscript periodical called The Star and wrote several pieces including a tragedy, The Brigands. He left school in 1828, an enthusiast of the purest romantic cast dreaming of achieving something great for his country. He went to St. Petersburg to try the stage but failed. In 1829 he published anonymously a poem called Italy and under the name of V. Alof, an idyll on the subject of a recent unhappy love affair of his own which was so ridiculed that he bought up all the copies he-could and burnt them. Being disheartened in his literary efforts he thought of emigrating to America and even set out on the journey but thought the better of it later and returned to St. Petersburg where he entered the civil service. Gradually he made his way in literary circles and was received by Pushkin whom he gentry in Poltava where the ancient Cossack legends met in 1831. In this year was published Evenings in

a Farm near Dekanka by Rudy Pinks, a collection of stories and sketches illustrative of the life, customs, beliefs and superstitions of the people of Little Russia. It struck a new note in Russian literature. Its fresh breath of nature, dreamy sadness, weirdness, originality, poetic feeling, sly humour, realistic description based on keen observation struck the literary world into some sort of a stupor. Nothing of the kind had appeared earlier. The Ukraine lived and moved in these stories, calling up a vision at, once wonderfully precise and exquisitely attractive, singing and ringing with a hearty laughter, just touched with a spice of archness, the embodiment of the mirth of Little Russia. It was not, however, as yet, quite a true picture, for Gogol had not yet been able to cast off all his romantic trappings and it lacked 'tears' in it. But close on these Evenings appeared another series— Mirgorod-which continued the picture of the unruly Cossacks, and introduced the immortal Taras Bulba, a prose epic having for its subject the heroic chief of the Zaporogian Cossacks, a work aglow with martial ardour and vivid richness of imagination. In this series we hear the real human laughter of the author who was to write the Dead Souls. It had 'tears' in it and a note of irony. Yet his brilliant success did not satisfy Gogol who was, like Tolstoi in a later age, to cast off the children of his imagination from the heights of his dreamy fancy as unworthy of it. Though the stories were accepted as realism there was an unconscious caricature of his characters. With these Gogol paid farewell to his native region; henceforth he wrote about the capital and Russia itself.

Gogol planned a History of Little Russia and this won for him a chair of history in the University of St. Petersburg in 1834. He resigned this office in the next year as his lectures proved a failure. The years 1834 and 1835 saw the publication of a new series of stories, The Landowners of Old Days, The Quarrel of Ivan Ivanovitch and Ivan Nikitorovitch and the Mantle or Cloak. Very different from their predecessors in their nature, they proved Gogol's possession of a definite form which was to become the form of the later Russian novel. He makes in these a realistic study of Russian provincial life and portrays accurately the monotonous days, narrowly circumscribed selfcentred interests, the humdrum duties and the vanities and prejudices of the landed gentry viewed through a satirical and bantering humour not unmingled with a genuine pathos. In them every detail from the wardrobesof Ivan Nikiforovitch to the foul-smelling boots pub on by the moujiks who stamped up and down the Nevski Prospect, was drawn from nature. Their realism is seasoned more skilfully than were the Evenings with a humour more properly English than Russian in quality. As in Dickens it has an equal mixture of irony and good nature, malice and wide sympathy, sarcasm and intentional moralising. The characters are drawn with an inexorable fidelity to life and strict logical consequence. Gogol does not care

whether the effect produced be good or bad. The Cloak describes the petty miseries of an Ill-paid clerk in a Government office whose great object in life is to get a cloak. The hero is named Akaky Akakyevich Bashmachkin, a name as ridiculous in Russian as in English. It first roused in literature the sentimental and radical sympathy for the oppressed and the humiliated and it was accepted by the reformers of the next decade as a plea for the reform of the living conditions of the poor. It was welcomed as the beginning of a new style of literature and Gogol's popularity for the coming years was ensured thereby.

Gogol's famous comedy The Revizor (English Translation The Government Inspector or The Examiner) was produced in 1836. It is thought by some as the greatest of Russian comedies. It exposed most brilliantly the corruption, dishonesty, hypocrisy, selfsatisfied ignorance and vanity of the administrative officials in a province. Gogol had the suggestion of the subject from Pushkin who had been arrested by an inspector making his rounds while the author was travelling to Orenburgh in search of materials for his history of the rebellion of Pongatchov. It is a vaudeville story on the whole and turns on a very commonplace blunder. Khlestakov arrives at a provincial town with an empty purse and is taken for an inspector whose arrival is awaited with fear even while he is in imminent danger of being sent to the debtors' prison. He receives all the attentions and bribes which are meant to propitiate the much dreaded investigator of abuses. Though admirably drawn, the figures have a tendency to caricature. In it all the officialdom of the period are attacked in a thoroughgoing manner. The Governor with all his reproaches to those who rob above their own rank, was particularly a figure which struck the popular imagination. Gogol, plunged the branding irons of satire into the very quick of the gaping wound of the constitution and the administrative and judiciary ladder. Even the author himself, as he afterwards proved, did not thoroughly realise the scope of his attack. What now strikes us as surprising is that Gogol's operation made no one scream, the public being merely entertained. The Governor and his followers regarded it as only funny. Even Tsar Nicholas who was present at the first performance of it also laughed. The people searcely thought that the order of things represented by them ran contrary to nature. Even new the piece, is frequently staged and raises a laugh. The play is rich in dramatic qualities, Joseph Macleod observes that it "displays that curious combination of realism and exaggeration which is the mark of stage humour." In it the reader meets with a quality which was to become the general feature of the Russian novel and which was "to endue it with a particular and very national character, viz., the satirist's indulgent attitude towards the objects of his satire." It has been called sceptical philosophy or

tender pity and may be attributed to one's being accustomed to the sight of evil.

The effect and enthusiasm produced by the play brought out the mystic side of Gogol's nature to the surface and he felt himself called upon to play the part of a prophet and a preacher. After unsatisfactory trials of official life Gogol left his native land in 1836 and spent some time in Spain and Rome until 1846 when he again settled in Russia.

The first part of Dead Souls was published in 1842. He called it "a poem." The very word proves the unconsciousness of his creative genius. An unwarned reader would surely expect an elegy. It also was suggested by Pushkin and was meant to indicate Gogol's view of the proper path of Russia: The hero of the story is an adventurer, Tchichikov by name. He is a former custom-house official, dismissed for smuggling and plans an enormous swindle to restore his fortunes. The number of serfs owned by a proprietor is found out by means of a periodical census. It is thought to be unchanging between two successive censuses and the souls—that is the heads of slaves tallying with them-are subject to all the usual transactions, such as buying, selling or pawning. Tchichikov's idea is to purchase at a reduced price the names of the serfs who have died between two successive censuses but who are still borne on the official lists and to pawn them to a bank for a large sum of money and then to abscond before the fraud is found

The circumstance is only an excuse for narrating Tchichikov's adventures among the many landowners and officials with whom he is to transact business. The field of observation is widened so as to include the whole of the governing classes and the subject provides apt opportunities for satire. Among the serf-owners are Manilov, a man belonging to no category at all and having no clearly defined moral features, principles or convictions; Nozdriov, a dashing man of pleasure, on the most intimate terms with all, cheating at cards and having his guests thrashed; and Sobakievitch, a substantial man who is not concerned how doubtful a business is so long as it yields him profit. The officials and the middle class people are on a war with this company. Gogol's plan provides the opportunity for a series of unforgettable pictures of the more sordid, degraded and commonplace aspects of the Russian provincial life and types of Russian society who are presented with a force and truth to be met with in Dickens at his best. One feels in it a heavy sadness, a sort of hopeless abandonment of hope, and a melancholy pathos. We enjoy at the same time its humour, stern characterisation and subtle piercing satire. It is an extraordinarily clear and brilliant picture. When he read the book Pushkin cried out, "Heavens! what a dreary place our Russia is!" The frame of the picture was supplied by Cervantes while Dickens helped with the canvas, the

groundwork of cheery good nature, philosophic indulgence and heavy gaiety. One finds in it a trait of the Russian national character, the sentiment of pity for a fallen creature, no matter how deep is the vileness to which his fall may have lowered him.

Gogol the man found himself the hero of the regenerators of Russia and his conviction that he had a mission in life seems to have stifled his genius at this stage. "He allowed his gift for romantic caricature to distort the accuracy of his vision and thus constantly exaggerate every feature." His work endowed him with the part of a public accuser. At first he would have protested against the premature conclusions that were being drawn from his Dead Souls. The work was to consist of three parts and it was unjust to pretend that the first was a complete picture of the country. Other aspects of ideal beauty were yet to follow. But before proceeding any further Gogol wished to have an explanation with his readers and he published extracts from his own correspondence called Letters to My Friends in 1847 which were full of ghostly advice mingled with addresses on literary subjects. The book contained a sort of literary testament. He also announced his decision never to write again because he would henceforth devote himself to the search after truth both for the good of his own soul and for general welfare. Its mystic quality is unmistakable.

In spite of his farewell to literature in the Letters he wrote again the second part of Dead Souls but not being satisfied with it, burnt the manscript. He was now in the most distressful financial straits. In vain he tried fasting and prayer and even a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. More and more he developed a religious mania and a sense of persecution by the Devil. When his definitely reform work, the Letters, was attacked by all parties he felt still more discourgaed and died in a state near insanity on March 3, 1852.

Gogol was the first master of fiction in Russia to go to life for his subjects, leaving the romantic convention. He founded Russian realism and succeeding novelists have owned his primacy though they have far surpassed him. He was and is still a great power, in his work which has always been a favourite and in his effort, not a critically deliberate one though, to pull the novel away from romanticism and identify it with life. Unconsciously he performed a work of revolution in Russian literature. K. Waliszewski, an eminent historian of Russian literature, writing in 1900 sums up his position in these words:

"Gogol did create the Russian novel and that is a sufficient title to glory. In Russia, as a writer of prose and craftsman of style he outdoes Pushkin himself. The Queen of Clubs was written in 1834 and is a trifle. He won the race easily and nobody has equalled him since it was run. Gontcharov and Grigorovitch were his direct heirs in the department of novel writing; Ostrovski was his successor in the drama."

LEGISLATION OR AGRICULTURAL READJUSTMENT?

By Dr. V. V. SAYANNA, M.A., Ph.D.,

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What does agriculture need todays? Mere legislation, or a radical agricultural readjustment? We may have a legislation without seriously attacking the causes of major maladjustments and injustices noticeable in the structure of Indian agriculture which need correction for economic, social, political and various other reasons. Conversely, it may also be possible to bring about some of the necessary changes in agriculture with or without legislation under a given set of conditions. At times, a process of persisting tendencies in agriculture may occasion or be the cause for the enactment of a piece of legislation either to mitigate or render nugatory the painful consequences of those tendencies, or to promote their good effects already getting established. A proper description of the relation between legislation and readjustment is, however, generally one of cause and effect and, in fact, the two are not mutually exclusive. But the question is what types of changes are wise and wholesome, or what types have got to be avoided both from the standpoint of the tiller of the soil and of the national interest and by what kind of legislative action those changes can be accomplished. Legislation by itself means little or nothing and an Act should be judged always from the effects it may produce, or the degree of fulfilment of its declared aims, on its effective working. It is in this light, the Bombay Tenancy Amended Bill, recently introduced in the Legislative Assembly, is examined.

The chief provisions of the Bill are as follows: The Bill while repealing the Bombay Tenancy Act as amended in 1946, retains some of its useful provisions, as for example, regarding tenancies, maximum rent, commutation of crop share rent into cash rent, suspensions or remissions of rent, the rights of tenants against arbitrary ejectment and special privileges of protected tenants for the full benefit of the produce and the wood of trees planted during the period of tenancy, etc., and adequate compensation for improvements made on termination of tenancy. The minimum duration of a lease is fixed as ten years, irrespective of the fact, whether the lessee is a protected tenant or not. Further, the Bill is reinforced with some of the following important additions, pertaining to the right of protected tenants to purchase tenancy land and restriction on the extent of land a person (lessor or tenant) can own and cultivate, prohibition of subdivision, subletting and assignment of tenant's holdings, management of badly managed estates held under any nonryotwari tanurial patterns, imposition of restrictions on transfer of agricultural lands, management of uncultivated lands and acquisition of estates and lands, setting up of an Agricultural Lands Tribunal for valuation of sales of lands concerned under Sections 32 and 62 and to discharge other functions assigned to it, and imposition of penalties by way of fine for contravention of any provisions of the Bill.

While introducing the Bill in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the Revenue Minister has described it as the "final stage" in the matter of legislation regarding land reform in the province and claimed that

"When the Bill becomes law, I am quite sure that the problem of land tenure will have been solved within five years of its application and without any great disturbance, so that we will achieve the result we want to achieve in a manner that will lead to the happiness of all."

It is fervently hoped that the measure would ultimately lead to elimination of intermediaries between the cultivators and the State, transfer of lands to tenants at fair prices, evolution of peasant proprietorship, thus 'improving the economic and social conditions of peasantry and cusuring the full and efficient use of land for agriculture.'

These statements of the ideals and objectives of the Bill as laid down, are indeed magnificent. But a pertinent question arises, whether and to what extent and in what time the goals set up can be actually achieved, even assuming a cent per cent successful operation of the provisions of the enactment. Any attempt at answering these points inescapably implies a scrutiny of some of the chief items of the Bill, as attempted here.

In the first place, tenants are classified as protected tenants and ordinary tenants 'A protected tenant' is one who has held land uninterruptedly for a period of at least six years immediately preceding either 1st January, 1938 or 1945 and has cultivated such land personally during the period. It is only such tenants' that have been given redress by the tenancy laws in the province up till now. If the clause of continued occupation of land for a period of six years were to be made a necessary condition for qualifying oneself as a tenant, it is certain that about 75 per cent of the genuine tenants in the Province shall be disqualified in the first instance. This section of the Act in the past must have rendered an additional incentive to the rentiers to change tenants or to change holdings cultivated by different tenants under them more frequently with the result that the state of becoming a 'protected tenant' might have scarcely occurred. The new provision of the Bill providing that no lease of farm land should be less than ten years is welcome, as it gives stability of tenure for all tenant-cultivators. However, the need for reducing the period of holding tenancy land from a period of six years, or the liberal extension of some of the rights and privileges conferred on 'protected tenants' to the rest of the tenantry cannot be overemphasised, if it is expected that the benefits of the legislation should reach the bulk of the tenant population and not merely an insignificant section of their community.

Secondly, under Section 4, if cultivation is carried

on by employing a servant on wages payable in or kind under the fersonal supervision of a landowner or under any member of his family, the landlord concerned is taken as owner-cultivator. It may be noted here that in order to evade law, it is probable that the lessors may get tenants registered as farm servants or wage-earners working under their supposed supervision or that of their family members. Moreover, if some erstwhile rentiers resort to farming of their lands under these provisions, it may be likely to affect farming efficiency and contribute to the general deterioration in the standard of agriculture at least in early stages.

Thirdly, although Section 32 regarding purchase of land by a protected tenant is on principle conceived with the best of intentions, it is niggardly in the matter of producing remarkable results, when reduced to actualities and to its potentialities. It lays down that a protected tenant shall be entitled to purchase any time from his landlord the land held by him as a protected tenant at a price determined by the Agricultural Land Tribunal provided that (a) the total area of the arable land remaining in the ownership of an individual landlord or any one branch of an undivided Hindu family, after purchase of land or any portion thereof is not less than 50 acres and (b) the total area owned by the tenant after purchase of land is in the aggregate not more than 50 acres including the extent of land already owned by him before the transaction. In other words, the parties benefited in view of the section are restricted only to the fraction of the class of protected tenants created by the Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939, and the parties affected are those, either individuals or branches or joint Hindu families, owning more than 50 acres. A study of the distribution of land and composition of holdings in the Province reveals the very limited scope of the benefit obtainable. The table below contains an abstract of the quinquennial statements of holdings in Government Ryotwari area in Bombay Province for the years 1936-37 and 1942-43.

| 193 | 36-37 | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| Classification of | Percentage of No. | Percentage of area held to |
| holdings | of persons to | |
| | total | total |
| Up to 5 acres | 49 | 9.5 |
| Between 5 and 15 acres | 29 | 22.8 |
| Between 15 and 25 acres | 11 | 17.7 |
| Between 25 and 100 acres | 10 | 34.4 |
| Over 100 acres | 1 | 15.6 |
| 19 | 42-43 | |
| Up to 5 acres | 49.26 | 9.50 |
| Between 5 and 15 acres | 29.28 | 22.78 |
| Between 15 and 25 acres | 10.83 | 17.67 |
| Between 25 and 100 acres | 9.71 | 34.48 |
| Over 100 acres | 0.92 | 15.57 |
| | | |

It may be seen that about 78.54 per cent of people own 32.28 per cent of the area, their holdings varying from 1 to 15 acres. In fact, about half the number of holdings are below 5 acres and account for about one-tenth of the total area, while about 1 per cent of holdings constitute more than 100 acres occupying

nearly one-sixth of the total area. Holdings varying from 25 to 100 acres account for about 10 per cent of the total holdings and nearly one-third of total area. It may be interesting to note that during the years 1916 to 1922 there was a tendency on the part of holdings over 100 acres to decrease in the Central and Southern division and to increase in the northern division of the province. It is obvious that the Bill affects at the most about 5 or 6 per cent of the total holdings occupying about one-fifth of the total extent. It is important at any rate to collect and furnish latest figures relating to the percentage of holdings and the area covered by holdings more than 50 acres in different divisions of the province and also the relative estimates of parties and areas which may be actually affected. Further the ceiling of 50 acres is quite arbitrary (cf. the recent Burmese ordinance about agrarian reform) which has no relation either to the size of the economic holding, or to the soil, climate, irrigation, crop structure and other local conditions in different regions of the province. Without much ado, it appears reasonable even as an experimental measure, if the limit is reduced to 20 acres in case of irrigated and first class soils and to 30 to 40 acres in respect of moderate and poor soils exclusive of the extent of waste and grazing lands held. It is desirable to classify lands according to their productivity into rich, moderate and poor lands and fix maximum limits in respect of each of these taking also into consideration costs of production, the average net money incomes obtainable out of each one of the groups and the cost of maintenance of an average family in reasonable comfort and physical efficiency in the regions concerned.

Fourthly, the new measure with regard to assumption of management of badly administered estates of non-ryotwari proprietors for the benefit of the peasantry and for economic ultilisation of the land resources of the estates, is mild and conservative as it runs counter to the shibboleth of 'abolition of Zamindaris' and elimination of the vestiges of feudal landlordism which are repeatedly proclaimed to be the essential items of the Congress Economic Programme. In a way, it is tantamount to giving legal recognition of the continued existence of the non-ryotwari estates (of course, whose abolition in the Province appears to be shelved by the Bill for the present!) and there is nothing novel about it, since it is only a variant of assumption of estates by the Court of Wards as in vogue in other Provinces like Madras.

Fifthly, out of all the items of the Bill, Jections 61 to 64 concerning restriction on transfers of agricultural lands, management of uncultivated lands and acquisition of estates and lands, are both commendable and direct in their approach to solve the problems of land. Land transfers to non-agriculturists through sale, mortgage, gift or leases have been summarily prohibited except in genuine cases with the previous sanction of the Government authorities. Secondly, "free trade in

land' is disallowed, since sales of land are to be effected through the Agricultural Lands Tribunal at a reasonable price determined under the rules laid down. The order of priorities of buyers of land is as follows: the tenant of the land, the cultivator of contiguous or neighbouring land, a better forming of resource society registered under the Bombay Cooperative Societies Act, 1925 and any other agriculturist. Any sale transacted contrariwise is considered void. Thirdly, the Provincial Government is entitled to take over the management of such lands as have been found uncultivated for any two consecutive agricultural seasons owing to the fault of landowner, tenant or whatever cause. The Government can lease out such lands on a rent at least equal to the value of the land revenue assessment. To a certain extent the loss of revenue sustained by the Government on this account may be made good. Similarly, the State can compulsorily acquire or assume management of any estate or land considered necessary in the public interest. Lands taken over for management can also be permanently acquired, if necessary, after compensation to the full value of the properties concerned as determined by the Tribunal.

Sixthly, the idea of setting up an impartial Agricultural Lands Tribunal for the determination of the prices of lands and estates involved under Sections 32, 62 and 64 of the Bill has much to recommend for itself even in the matter of determination of compensation and valuation of estates connected with the problem of abolition of Zamindaris in order to insure justice both to seller and buyer and to the satisfaction of all concerned avoiding at the same time the economic consequences of powerful vested interests on the bargain negotiated directly between two private individuals, or between the State on the one hand and the private individuals or estates on the other. The case of commitment of high compensation and unfavourable terms regarding the purchase of transport equipment, stock and buildings, etc., by the Bombay Municipality from the B.E.S.T. as well as the three cases of failures of direct negotiations in respect of acquisition of London Transport, British Overseas Airways and the British Sugar Corporation may serve as a sufficient warning and a useful lesson in this behalf. The successful results achieved by instituting an impartial Tribunal may be noticed in acquisition of coal royalties in British mines and that of the Bank of England. Or else, the dangers of making nonsense of compensation under the pressure of political groups with different ideology and complexion or under the influence of the powerful vested interests as seen in somesof the compensation provisions made in the proposed Bill of abolition of the estates in the Madras Province are too obvious. As it is difficult for an average ryot to find out amounts adequate enough for purchases of lands in advance and to deposit the sums with the Tribunal, the suggestion of payment by instalments or through the hire-purchase system with

the help of the Land Mortgage Banks or the proposed Agricultural Credit Corporation deserves full investigation. For, unless adequate credit facilities are also provided for purchase of lands, the benefit of the new provision will carry little meaning and substance to the bulk of the Kisans because, if left for himself, he has either to beg, borrow or forego his claim to purchase land in favour of a more favourably situated neighbouring landlord or 'any agriculturist.'

Seventhly, the clauses with regard to consolidation of tenants' holding (Section 27), maintenance and repairs of bunds, etc., as well as the termination of tenancy, if any tenant fails to raise in any year a maximum yield of crops produced on the land or as determined by any official appointed by the Government, are all in full conformity with the schemes of soil conservation and economic use of agricultural land.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that if no restriction is placed on the extent of land a tenant can cultivate on lease, it is possible that the tenant may cultivate large areas of land taken on lease with (or without) his own holdings with the result that he may obtain incomes much larger, than many of rentiers themselves. For example, big tenants cultivating large areas under tenancy, if they cultivate heavy cash crops like tobacco, sugar cane, turmeric, onions, etc. may sell produce worth not less than Rs. 10,000 a year and thereby reap huge profits for themselves, even though they pass on as tenants. The incomes of such persons cannot be easily assessed under the provisions of even Agricultural Income Tax, as they happen to be mere tenants owning very small areas of land.

To conclude, the facts and materials presented in the above discussion are sufficiently indicative of the fact that, though the Bill is no doubt a great advance over many of the Tenancy Laws obtained in the proprietary areas or in any other province in India, the provisions fall much short of the eloquence of the Hon'ble Revenue Minister in declaring the objects of the Bill. It is at any rate, not a revolutionary measure consistent with 'the change in the political status of the country' or with the declared policy of the Congress as enunciated in the Congress manifesto, since it goes to retain the existence of the non-ryotwari proprietary estatedars at the one end, and at the other, to safeguard the interests of the class of rentiers, big landowners in the ryotwari areas. The eradication of the intermediaries between the State and the actual tillers of land may not be achieved within the "next five years." Thus the whole land and tenant problem remains much the same unsolved. If the fathers of the legislation do not conceive of it being replaced by a radical piece of enactment striking directly at the very fundamentals of the issues involved, it is to be rogretted that the 'measure', shall perpetuate landlordism in the province, instead of eliminating it in the immediate future, perhaps within certain limits imposed by the regulations of the Bill.

EXHIBITIONS OF PAINTINGS

By S. I. CLERK, B.A.

Now-a-days we have a good many exhibitions of paintings particularly in big cities, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, etc. They enable the artists to put before the public their "wares." These exhibitions also help in making the public art-conscious. Inasmuch as demand for works of art depends on the development of the aesthetic sense of the consumer, selling a work of art is not the same thing as selling commodities, such as food, cloth, radio, watch, fountain pen, etc. Hence, in the absence of a public of discriminating adults, we have the vicious circle of starving artists and an artless common life.

In order to create an intense demand for works of art, art must be given an increasing importance in education—particularly, university education—with special emphasis on the teaching of art appreciation. Art in education need not necessarily aim at creating artists. Besides art in general education, public galleries, cheap reprints of better paintings, remarriage of art and industry, will go a long way in creating a demand for art products.

We have to educate the people to demand from "industry" goods with aesthetic appeal. If today in our country industry does not need the artist it is because the masses are not sufficiently "awakened" to demand from industry products of good design. The union of art and industry is prevented by the manufacturer, artist (designer), retailer and public. The manufacturer thinks only of quick profits. Only a few rare exceptions take a long point of view and give thought to the appearance of the finished product. In absence of lucrative remuneration, no really talented artists are attracted in the field. The retailer and the middleman are afraid to take risks and hardly even attempt to persuade the public to go in for something new and original. The people buy what they come across for they lack aesthetic discrimination. And thus, sometimes it is almost impossible to sell really well-designed articles. A remarriage of art and industry is essential for reintroduction of art in the daily life of the masses.

It is an obvious fact that only a few can go in for the original paintings. On the other hand, quite a big section of the people can be persuaded to go in for prints and reproductions. The invention of photographic methods and their use in printing processes have left the autographic methods (e.g., mezotint, aquatint, lithography, etc.), mainly to the use of the creative artist. Before the recent war, in England prints collection was so very popular that advertisement posters were being sold at nominal price to the public by London Passenger Transport Board, the G. P. O. and the shipping companies. Similar organisations can do the same in India. Particularly, the air services can issue quite interesting posters. In

England and on the Continent, print dealing is a highly organized business. From the artist's point of view, in England, the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers was formed in 1880. The revival of the processes of wood-engraving, wood-cutting and lithography along with etching as well as the use of engraving processes and lithography for book illustrations, book jackets and for poster work have widened the general interest in the original print. Besides aesthetic appeal, technical excellence is another main factor which enhances the value of such prints. In fact, both are closely interlinked. Much depends on the selection of paper and the blocks in case of photographic printing processes.

Lithography is a useful process in that it enables us to go in for mass production. The final print being produced in a large quantity is very cheap and within the possibility of almost every pocket. Over and above providing comparatively inexpensive prints, this is also a medium which makes possible subtle variations of colour and texture and a wide range of effects between carefully detailed drawing and the broad painterlike sweep. When the artist himself-draws directly upon the stone or other printing surface we have what may be termed autolithograph. The resulting prints are reckoned as original works of art.

Such reproductions play an important part in our life. Their wide circulation enables all to possess and appreciate the masterpieces just as radio and gramophone do in music or popular reprints in literature. Nor need the artist expect a fall in his income as a result of a wider circulation of reprints; the increased knowledge of art these reprints are likely to bring about will, in all probability, also bring about a corresponding increase in the number who want direct contact with the originals. Especially for this purpose it is absolutely essential that although such prints should be cheap, their technical excellence should never be sacrificed at the altar of price.

Active State patronage and guidance are necessary for a full flowering of the arts and the crafts of a country. This can be observed in the case of the ancient civilizations of India, China, Egypt, Greece, Rome, etc., with their public buildings, such as temples, caves, palaces, tombs, etc. At present in our country there are plenty of discussions and proposals and counter-proposals as to how the government should help to revive our art traditions and bring art in the daily life of the masses. While considering as to how and to what extent State can be helpful in this connection, we should beware of the dangers of too much State interference and the consequent regimentation of art and artist-both harnessed to some ulterior (probably, sinister) end of the State. This is specially the case in a polity where State is end and man a means. However, in active and live democracies, this pitfall

can be avoided. Besides direct employment of artists, architects and sculptors for public buildings (libraries, museums, municipal theatres, etc., Government will have to subsidize, control and guide art schools, art gulleries, museums, etc.

There should be a co-ordinated effort on the part of the artists, art societies, art schools and government to make the masses art-conscious. All this effort will be useless if there is no rise in the standard of living. How can there be "better life" where there is no assurance of "mere life"? How can man think of spiritual, intellectual and nesthetic aspects when his entire life is a struggle for sheer physical existence? On the other hand, in our society today we also have the "rich" who do not know how to spend their surplus wealth which is frittered away after foreign tinsels while our own artists and craftsmen, for no fault of their own, are compelled to starve. These are the two battlefronts for us.

Our artists and craftsmen should also realize that the days of relying on aristocratic patronage are fast dying. Once they relied on royal patronage. Then, with the end of royalty (as a major ruling force in society), they switched on to land, commerce and industry aristocracy. Once more today, times are fast changing. Heavy taxation, death duties and nationalisation of agriculture, commerce, industry, finance all tend to cripple if not actually destroy this aristocracy. Of course, there is the rise of managerial class. Those possessing technical of administrative skill are coming into power. Not the wealthy but these will be governing and controlling the world However, this does not alter our thesis that it is the common man whom we must approach. This does not imply that the artist should bring down his art to the aesthetic and emotional level of the layman. It does imply that the artist will have to cease to be the "court artist" and become the "folk artist" in the truest sense of the word. He should not merely understand and depict common man's life, he must strive to bring in that life the aesthetic and the intellectual joys of "better life." Only then the exhibitions of paintings can be "successful."

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Two main purposes of an exhibition of paintings are: (1) "advertisement" of the artist; (2) education of the people—making them art-conscious and consequently bringing art in their daily life. The arrangement of the paintings, their mounts and frames, their prices, publication of the catalogues and repriats—all these require careful attention of the organisers if we are to realize these purposes successfully.

Even in case of one-man shows, the selection of pictures is a very important matter. Just as proper selection and elimination of superfluities and unnecessary details enhance the beauty of an individual painting or a literary piece, similarly, indiscriminate number of exhibits only spoil an exhibition and confuse and irritate the spectator. By way of illustration,

we may mention the last annual exhibition of Bombay Art Society. The drastic cut in the number of exhibits tremendously improved the exhibition as a whole. The spectators were able to see and appreciate the pictures individually for there were only a few pictures to be seen. We hope the organisers will continue in future this innovation of drastic selection; (it is said that only about 300 pictures were accepted from about 850) and will not revert back next year to their previous practice of exhibiting as many pictures as possible.

Less number of paintings also enables us to arrange them properly. "Shortage of space" no more compells us to overcrowd the walls. It is possible now to leave sufficient space between the pictures so as to allow the visitor to enjoy and study each picture separately. This enhances the value of the exhibition. It is no use arranging the pictures on the walls in a haphazard manner. As far as possible, there should be only a single row of paintings on each wall arranged at eye-level of the spectators. Two or more rows result in a jarring overcrowding. The exhibiting space on the wall should be covered by stretched gunny cloth or some similar other material. This provides an excellent background on which the exhibits may be arranged. Proper lighting is another essential factor. Light must be indirect and diffused. The lamps should be so fixed that there are no reflections of them in the glazed frames of the paintings. Such glares irritate the visitors. Direct and strong lights cause headaches and eyeaches.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of an exhibition of paintings is that of the prices of the exhibits. Should we have high prices and low sales or low prices and high sales? High prices imply wooing the aristocrat and low prices imply spread of art among the masses. But then, what about the artist? Has he not his own necessaties? In all probability, this dilemma of starving artist and the artless masses may be partly solved when the classes consider it to be fashionable to buy original paintings and when drawings, sketches and reprints are offered to masses at low prices. Catering merely to the aristocrats will stultify the artist. His art will lose vitality and will be reduced to formalism and mimicry. Under such circumstances, the people may evolve their own art-folk art-or else, the country as a whole may become culturally extinct.

The next problem is that of catalogue and reproductions of the exhibits. Particularly, in a one-man show, the catalogue and reproductions reflect upon the aesthetic sense of the artist concerned. Catalogues vary from a single sheet of paper containing a list of the exhibits, their prices, etc., to profusely illustrated (in colours) thick books. Occasionally catalogues are distributed free to the visitors. Usually, however, a small charge is made, proceedingly, if the catalogue contains colour reproductions. As a rule, black and white reproduction of an original in colour should be avoided; this serves no purpose and is worse than

useless in case the original is valued mainly for its colours. As such, it would be better if an original black and white drawing were selected for reproduction purposes if one is anxious not to increase the cost of the catalogue by including in it a colour reproduction. Care must also be taken in the selection of the paper of the catalogue and its printing. The reproducitons must be neat and utterly faithful to the originals. After all, we must bear in mind that the catalogue will be with the visitors even when the exhibition is a matter of past. This fact alone should induce the. organisers to pay considerable attention to the publication of the catalogue. It will be interesting if a prominent art group of society were to publish a year-book which would include reproductions of the best paintings selected from the various exhibitions held during the year. Such an year-book may profitably include a review of art activities during the year in the country as a whole and proposals and suggestions for the next year. Eminent art critics and artists should be invited to contribute to this publication.

Another interesting experiment which may be conducted by an enterprising art society is that of travelling exhibitions of paintings. By having exhibitions merely in the big cities, we hardly touch even

the fringe of the masses. Periodically, with Government help if possible, selected paintings should be sent to smaller towns—and ultimately to villages as well—so that the people over there have an opportunity of seeing the original paintings. The artists concerned may be paid a hiring fee for the paintings accepted for such exhibitions. The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts in England pays the artist such a fee for every work which he lends to one of its exhibitions. It pays £5 for an oil painting, £3 for a water colour, drawing or embroidery and a varying fee for sculpture.

An exhibition of paintings helps the artist to sell his "wares." The usual practice of free admission to exhibitions, on the other hand, enables the people to see and enjoy the artist's work for nothing. We do not know if any other profession gives so much free service to the community. Visual arts are integral to civilisation. They must have an important place in education and they must be closely linked with industry. The first makes the people art-conscious. The second introduces art into the daily life of the masses. Fine arts are essential for both. Hence, we must establish an atmosphere and a tradition in which good painting and sculpture can be created.

MODERN CHINESE WALLS

By LILIAN E. M. BRUCE

It is most unfortunate that the present position in Britain has given rise to the belief in the outside world, east and west, that the British people are no longer what they were; that in some ways they have degenerated very badly. Many Americans believe that through lack of backbone, the British are beyond redemption. Elsewhere it is simply put down to lack of guts. Let us look briefly at those people who are separated from us by some 6,000 miles of land. sea and air.

The Great War II is, so far as the world in general is considered, over. But in Europe, except for the cessation of bombing, blast and fire, it might still be in progress. Winter comes with its bitter blast of north wind, freezing all water wherever possible. There is little or no coal and those who are fortunate enough to have a little to spare strive to do what they can for others less happily placed. I spent part of the winter of 1946-47 in an hotel on the west coast of Scotland, where, owing to coal shortage, there was only one fire in the entire house to give any warmth to the guests. And that only on Saturday and Sunday evenings. I can assure you, we were glad to wear our outdoor coats indoors as a protection against the cold.

In those far distant islands bound by the Atlantic

and the North Sea, food, clothes, shoes and household linen are all rationed or restricted to the use of a few coupons supplied by the Government. British women are lucky if they are able to secure more than one egg per month for each member of the household during the winter months and one per week during the summer weather. I have seen an Indian cook use more Dalda to prepare one meal than a single person would receive as a month's ration in Britain. Bacon, bread, butter, cheese, fat, flour, jam, meat, sugar, tea and potatoes are all rationed. On the whole, however, prices are far below those current in India. Nevertheless, one learns, because of the rationing, to live and maintain a standard of life on very little food. For the same reason one must make one's clothes last for more years than enough, and replace only those things that can no longer be repaired.

Out of this restriction has grown the habit and with it a slogan the sum-total of which is "Make Do and Mend." So they get down to it over there in the west and repair again and again. I know more than one woman who has patched her stockings for more than thirty times to each pair. And stockings are very necessary in winter weather in Britain. Yet in those islands the people contrive to look smart

throughout each season. So much is this so that those who fail to come up to standard call for friendly comment from those who know them sufficiently well to pass remarks.

Household linen, such as blankets, sheets, pillow-cases, towels and table linen have gradually over the years worn thin and become holed, but they cannot very well be replaced because it requires clothing coupons to secure fresh supplies, which means going without clothes. The number of coupons given to each person for each year is barely sufficient to provide something warm against the frost and the freezing winds of winter.

Apart altogether from the question of clothing coupons, there is an exceedingly heavy purchase tax on all goods that are not termed "Utility." Income tax is high so that carnings are not so large that they can permit of the purchase of highly priced goods. Altogether the lot of the people of Britain is not too happy, yet, at heart, they are facing the whole position pleasantly for their country's sake.

What is there that is discreditable in all this? What should those people do? Should they turn from the defects of a Socialist Government backed by a Communist, that was not truly prepared for office and have a highly Russianised revolution? Elsewhere I have said that we have had enough blood. Very well, I was wrong. There are too many of us. We jostle each other on the street; we crowd each other out of public vehicles; we crush each other out of employment. Day after day we trample each other out of life. A chota revolution in Britain would certainly reduce the population after which there would be more of everything for everybody. Or would there? Would that help matters in any way? For my part I think not. For such action in all its violence would only lead to a burra revolution in Europe. I believe that "aste, aste, does it." For I see just a little further than the point of my nose. And I have not lost faith.

Why have I kept my faith? Because that I know in Holland it costs Rs. 160 for a pair of very poor quality shoes and Rs. 266 for a dress of little worth; because I know that in Europe there are places in which little children become mere skeletons and die of starvation daily, year by year, while their parents endeavour to keep body and soul together on black bread and little else. Because I know that in Rome there are many men young and old, who sleep on the streets, night after night, in warm summer breeze or bitter blast of winter, in rain or snow.

Is all this due to the fact that Europe as a whole is lacking in guts, done and beyond redemption? Their world was shattered; their buildings are bombed ruins; their fields or what is left of them are either scorched earth or cemeteries. They have nowhere to go, nowhere to turn. They are stooped under the weight of dire and dreadful burdens. But those people who walk with their hand in the hand of famine and death, are not broken. And the fault, not of the cause of war but of present circumstances, where does it lie?

I will tell you where the fault lies. It lies in this, that after thousands of years, the entire world is trying to emulate the China of old by encasing itself in walls. True, such walls are not visible to the eye as are China's walls but they are, nevertheless, as mighty. Every country that can do it is endeavouring to export but at the same time they are building massive walls against imports. It is "Britain for the British"; "Americans for the Americans"; "Russia, or any part of the world that can be called Russian, for the Russians"; "India for the Indians". Every country is running round and round, chasing its own silly tail, and getting nowhere in the process.

All this must be put an end to, if happiness and prosperity are to return to the world and death by slow starvation is to cease. If things go on as they are, no country will be able to export because no other country will be importing. Little by little the world will stifle itself amid the weeds and tares of its own unwanted manufactures and poverty will come like an awful spectre to stop the world. It will come on the heels of unemployment. And want and hunger will feed man and beast to death and destruction.

For the love of Eternal God, let us realise that it takes guts to live anywhere today. But let us realise that it is not only useless but all-destroying to continue building modern Chinese walls in a day and age when the aeroplane and radio encircle the world. If necessary, let us go still further back on the sliding scale than we have already gone and return to a system of barter and, by that road, struggle back to prosperity and humanity. Let us do this for the sake of the little children born and as yet unborn, if we cannot or will not do it for ourselves. Otherwise we and the world are confounded and lost. If we fail then of a certainty we have every right to be written in the Book of Life as those without guts, without backbone or humanity. But because we are we, we are bound to succeed, even in face of the foolish modern Chinese walls, for we have courage.

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ERRATUM

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Provincialism in Assam

In the September (1948) issue of The Modern Review, an aspect of provincialism prevailing in Assam was published. As one from Sylhet I have watched the development of this spirit since 1930 or so. I was one of the stipend-holders of the Assam Government and on completion of my University career 1 tried to secure a job under the same Government. I had thus the privilege of meeting many top-ranking persons. Those were the days of Executive Councillors, who for their job depended on the Governor unlike the present popular ministers who depend for their job on so many of the M.L.A.s and party bosses. Bongal Kheda movement was started in Assam mainly as a measure to prevent the people of Sylhet from getting into Government service. The people of Sylhet were definitely far in advance of what they call the Assamese-speaking population, both as regards education and attainments. Inferiority complex and self-interest led the so-called Assum people to resort to Bongal Kheda movement. At that time whether in the Secretariat at Shillong, or in tea gardens or in towns like Gauhati, Tezpur, Jorhat, Dibrugarh, etc., Bengali-speaking people were predominant. I cite an instance of how the post of the Principal, Jorhat Technical School, was filled up. The incumbent Mr. Phatakwala left his service in the school and secured a post in Bihar. The vacancy was advertised and applications were called for. But the appointment was made after two years or so. In the meantime one Assumese gentleman was allowed to officiate and it was no wonder that he was ultimately appointed. This gentleman was none other than the younger brother of Sree Rohini Kumar Chowdhury. Mr. Chowdhury started the United Party and ran a weekly journal at Gauhati. "Assam for the Assamese" was the slogan. Mr. Chowdhury now condemns provincialism. Better late than never. If anyone cares to turn the old files it will be seen that many Assam Government advertisements concluded with the "Surma Valley Hindus need not apply." In the quota for jobs for non-Muslims, there were distinctions; they were divided into Surma-valley Hindus and Assamvalley Hindus. Perhaps Assam is unique in this respect that difference between Hindus and Hindus was made in respect of Government appointments. The advancement of the Hindus of Sylhet was a cause for dislike if not of jealousy, for entertaining them in Government service. Mind, this was in the early thirties. No wonder this has, with distribution of favour and patronage, slowly but perceptively developed to the present stage.

How the people of Sylhet, in spite of their declared loyalty for serving the Indian Union, have been chucked off from service, in the wake of Radeliffe Award, is another blot. Government servants are stationed according to the orders of the Government and not according to their own wishes. A school-master who happened to be at Habigani (Sylhet), after referendum, lost his job as the Assam Gevernment took no responsibility, whereas a school-master of Karimgunj (Sylhet) escaped and went scot-free. This was only a question of chance as to which teacher was posted at which school. Similarly the Professors of the Sylhet College were forsaken whereas the Professors of the Gauhati College were not touched. This is an irony of fate. Many of the renowned Professors, teachers and Government servants are thus thrown out of employment after referendum in Sylhet. Whether the Bardoloi Ministry has any moral responsibility in the matter is still a question. In striking contrast to the sad plight of the handful of Government servants of Sylhet, is the provision made for absorption of thousands of employees from Pakistan who opted for India. Those who came from West Punjab and Sindh, practically fled from their stations. No official records of service, pay and grade of these employees were available to the India Government. But Government allowed declarations to be submitted by the employees and posted them accordingly. When there were two men for one job, a supernumerary post was created. Not a single Government employee who opted for India was without an offer except those of Sylhet after the referendum. Recently certain low-paid temporary work-charged Road Moherers on the Silchar-Shillong Road have been discharged because they happen to belong to Sylhet

The agitation for the formation of Purbachal Province and the renaming of Assam as the North-East Frontier Province is a logical outcome of the policy pursued in Assam. Assam is inhabited by people of heterogeneous stocks. People with Assamese as mother-tongue are not in absolute majority. Twelve thanas of Sylhet have been wrongly in the occupation of the Pakistan dominion after the Radchile Award. Have the Assam Government done anything to retrieve them? These facts only indicate the mentality of the Assam Ministry towards the Bengali-speaking people in general and the people of Sylhet in particular.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Nowspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be Ecknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI: By Professor Nirmal Kumar Bosc. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi and Index. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Bombay. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 4.

When the present reviewer read Professor Bose's small selection of extracts from the writings of Gandhiji years ago, he, on the very first occasion he met the compiler, requested him to prepare a fuller, a larger and a more representative collection of the views of Mahatma for the benefit of those who do not possess old files of Young India and Harijan. This was in 1937 and the only criticism offered is that such a long time was allowed to clapse before this request was carried out. From one point of view, however, the delay has been of advantage for it has enabled Sj. Nirmal Kumar to lay under contribution the writings of the Father of our Nation up to 1942.

As a sincere follower of Gandhiji attracted to him by the ideals he stood for, Professor Bose has not only lovingly studied and correctly interpreted the writings of Mahatmaji, but has also felt compelled to do what he considera his duty to his fellowmen by making the more significant of his pronouncements available to the public in a handy form. And the task he has set himself has been well discharged.

The first three of the eighteen sections of the book deal with such things as Gandhiji's conception of God, discipline for the realisation of truth and fundamental beliefs and ideas. We find the application of these basic spiritual conceptions in the economic and political spheres in the next six sections. The next four sections deal with Ahimsa and Satyagraha, followed by one in which religion and morals constitute the themes. Then come two important ones dealing with the problems of women and of education.

So rich are the treasures the student can find in the writings of Gandhiji, that one can easily think of other subjects which too could have been included in a collection like the present one. At the same time, it cannot be denied that any attempt in this direction would have made the book so unwieldy as to probably deter the average reader from its perusal.

Credit must go to Sj. Nirmal Kumar that he has with that rare insight found only in the careful and systematic student of Gandhiji's writings, selected for the general reader the essentials of Gandhism within so short a compass.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE: Glimpses into the Past: By Jogesh Chandra Ray. Preface by Priyaranjan Sen. Calcutta. 1948. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 8.

The present work is a collection of seven papers contributed by Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray, M.A., Vidyanidhi,, the well-known scholar and educationist, to various Indian journals in the past and revised for publication in

the present volume. Like other products from his pen, it bears witness to the astonishing range of the author's studies and the originality and depth of his reflections.

The first chapter which provides the key for all the rest is entitled Life in Ancient India and is a comprehensive survey of Hinlu culture under the heads Dharma, town-life, food and drink, dress, domestic architecture, agriculture and horticulture, village administration, pious and charitable works. The other chapters bear the titles Food and Drink in Ancient India, Sugar Industry in Ancient India, Textile Industry in Ancient India, Firearms in Ancient India, the Days of the Hindu Calendar and the Eugencis of Hindu Marriage. These are all specialised studies based on extensive data collected from different branches of Sanskrit literature and frequently enriched with the author's scientific comments.

Some statements of the author can only be accepted with considerable qualifications. We give below a few examples. "The Aryans when they came to India belonged to three races" (p. 4): "The mass of the population in the Vedic period and after was Vaisya by profession, if not also by descent" (p. 8): "The national colour of the (Indian) dress was yellow" (p. 16): 'Every village had a council of its own known in Sanskrit as Panchaka. It administered justice, inflicted punishment on offenders against Dharma" (p. 43). In some cases the author's chronology, admittedly based on astronomical calculations. can only be regarded as hypothetical. As examples we may mention the following: Aryans living in the Punjab as carly as 1400 B.C., and 15th century B.C. as the date of the Mahabharata war (p. 55), the Yajurveda first com piled in about 2500 B.C. (p. 56), the *Grihyasutras* belong to the 15th century B.C. and the Srautasutras are still carlier (p. 105). Equally hypothetical are the suggested contemporaneity of Vatsyayana and Kautilya (p. 24) and identity of Parasara, author of Krishi-tantra, with the Smriti author of the same name (p. 30). The author's view (pp. 11, 61, 102) that Kautilya's Arthasastra was written by the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya in the 4th century B.C. is not shared by most scholars.

The value of the present work would have been greatly enhanced by the use of the valuable material embodied in the Buddhist and Jaina literature as well as the evidence of archaeology. From the point of view of advanced students, precise references to authorities would have been very welcome. We have noticed a few slips, e.g., "Hemschandra of South India" (p. 106) and "the Mahisha country on the banks of the Nerbuda" (p. 126), and a few printing mistakes, e.g., furrier (p. 126) and rat (p. 162).

INDO-MUSLIM RELATIONS—A Study in Historical Backgrounds: By Debajyoti Burman, M.A. Published by Jugabani Sahitya Chakra, Calcutta: Pp. 106. Prins Rs. 2.

A Muslim is a democrat, but his democracy is limited

to followers of Islam. . His social equality of which so much is made of is reserved for Muslims only. In these days, when the public mind is agitating over the question of untouchability and temple-entry, it would be news to many that no non-Muslim is permitted to enter the holy city of Merca. It is for this reason that the British envoy to the Sharifian government of King Hussein resided at Jeddah, and not at Mecca. In the ninth Sura of the Koran. which is the last to be revealed and the only one which was revealed entire and at once, we find such injunctions as follows: "Kill the idolaters wheresoever ye shall find them, and take them prisoners, and beseige them and lay in wait for them in every convenient place." "Verily the idolaters are unclean; let them not therefore come near unto the holy temple, after this year (i.e. A. H. 10).'

Islamic psychology, Islamic democracy and Islamic economics are all integral parts of the religion of Islam. As Sir Judunath Sarkar says: "A religion whose followers are taught to regard robbery and murder as a religious duty, is incompatible with the progress of mankind or with the peace of the world." He further points out in his History of Aurangzib: "The conversion of the entire population to Islam and the extinction of every form of dissent, is the ideal of the Muslim State. If any infidel is suffered to exist in the community, it is as a necessary evil, and for a transitional period only, . . . A non-Muslim therefore cannot be a citizen of the state, he is a member of a deppressed class (italics ours); his status is a modified form of slavery." The whole of Indo-Muslim history is a proof and illustration of the above remark, Bahamani Sultans several times attempted to exterminate the Hindu population, or in default of extermination to squeeze it by force into the folds of Islam.

The author has given historical proofs from Muslim historians of the Muslim policy of eradicating Hindus throughout the centuries; and why and how they succeeded, and why and how they failed. It is only in Hindu India they failed; otherwise they have succeeded from Morocco to Indonesia. The book under review is a good little book on a great subject; and is worth its weight in gold.

It is thought-provoking and informative. After going through it once, one desires that there were many more such pages. Our public men cannot certainly do worse if they would read, mark and inwardly digest it. We hope the author, when publishing its second edition, would amplify the thesis. The title only partly explains the subject-matter. The printing and get-up is good.

THE GREAT NEHRUS: By J. S. Bright. Published by Tagore Memorial Publications, Lahore. Pages 320. Price Rs. 6.

The book deals with the various phases of development of the lives of three eminent political figures of India-all of the famous Nehru family-Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vijayalakshmi Pandit. Within a short compass but with no important features missing, the book is written in a manner that does not tax the patience of the reader as a biography ordinarily often does. The apt quotations very liberally taken from relevant books and papers have much to do to make it a pleasant reading. More than ever we have need of men of action now, men who are no escapists or fortune-seekers in the critical period of the country. This book deals with a family where this love of action in the political field was unprecedentedly concentrated. Motilal—the man with a jutting chin, the lawless boy who grew to be a man of law and reasoned action, whose fighting nature showed itself when Jillianwallahag turned him from a moderate to an extremiet; Jawaharlal-the fine blending of reason and sentiment with his uncompromising devotion to Mother India, who played no mean part in destroying the edifice of foreign rule in our country and is now 'the first pilot

of the ship of our State'; Vijayrlakshmi—the stormy petrel of India who went across the seas to fight the onslaughts of General Smuts at South Africa and won—these figures are unfailing inspirations before our countrymen. We should read as often about them as possible to help us trace and cultivate the set-up and the spirit that gave birth to many towering personalities in a single family within the life-time of one another. The book very helpfully presents in a classified manner the salient features of these characters and their activities.

Attraction of the book would have been all the more enhanced had it been adorned with fine photographs of the Nehrus. And there is no dearth of such photographs.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA INDIA'S CULTURAL EMPIRE AND HER FUTURE: By Swirkumar Mitra. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 369 Esplanade, G.T., Madras. Aurobindo Library, Pp. 113. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is the enlarged edition of the author's book originally published under the title The Future of India. The book is divided into three chapters entitled 'India's Cultural Empire', 'Early Contacts of India with Islam' and 'The Future of India'. In the first chapter the learned author traces the influence of Indian Culture in the countries of Europe and Asia. Writing of Europe's debt to India he quotes the following remark of Will Durant the eminent American thinker: "India was the motherland of our race, and Sanskrit the mother of Europe's languages: She was the mother of our philosophy; mother through the Arabs, of much of our mathematics; mother through the Buddha, of the ideals embodied in Christianity; mother through the village community, of self-government and democracy. Mother India is in many ways the mother of us all." About Asia's debt to India he quotes this significant observation of Sir Aurel Stein: "The vast extent of Indian Cultural influences, from Central Asia in the north to tropical Indonesia in the south, and from the borderlands of Persia to China and Japan, has shown that ancient India was the radiating centre of a civilisation which by its religious thought, its art and literature was destined to leave its deep mark on the races wholly diverse and scattered over the greater part of Asia." A perusal of this chapter will give the reader an idea how the Indian Cultural empire had spread over the ancient world. The author also describes how Indian Culture is slowly spreading in the countries of the modern West. In this connection he cites this interesting incident: On secing the famous painting The Buddha carrying the Kid by Sri Nandalal Bose shown in an exhibition in Geneva a Swiss critic remarked: "I see behind this picture a great civilisation." To this cause, contributions of Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ramatirtha, Sri Aurobindo, Annie Besant, Premananda Bharati, Ananda Coomaraswami, Swami Ananda Acharya and others are duly mentioned. About Swami Vivekananda the author rightly remarks thus: "But Vivekananda's influence has been much deeper and wider than we generally feel and know. He has been a force, a greater dynamic force from whom millions derive inspiration . . . Thus by Vivekananda was given a new tempo to the work of India towards the building up of her spiritual empire in modern times" (p. 55).

I am afraid, the author has been partial toesri Aurobindo by making frequent references to his sayings on India and her future. It is unwise to extol the contributions of one only where those of so many are pointly concerned. All great sons of India have contributed in their own way to the spread of our thought and culture abroad. All had a vision of India's glorious future. All believed that the world's future is destined to be influenced by Indian Culture. The young generation of independent India should be appired with this grand Vision.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANADA

SHIVAJI: By C. A. Kincaid. Published by Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1946. Pp. 111. Price Re. 1.

It is a tiny hand-book intended for young boys. The style is lucid and the narration on the whole interesting, but the statements and accounts given here and there on the authority of sources now admittedly obsolete reduce its value, for instance, Shivaji's entering the city of Poona for an attack on Shaista Khan in the guise of a marriage party, Shahji's encouragement to his son to pursue his task of liberating his countrymen from the rule of the Bijapur Government in 1662 A.D., &c. Read on this point the New History of the Marhattas by G. S. Sardesai, page 82. Further comment is unnecessary.

N. B. Roy

SPIRIT OF JAI HIND: By Anukul Ch. Ghosc. Published by the author from 123-A, Dharamtala St., Calcutta, Pages 116. Price Rs. 2-S.

In these pages the author has given expression to his noble feelings and sentiments at the attainment of Independence by India. On the three poems published in this book, one is written on Mahatma Gandhi -Father of the Nation. The author wishes good to all people in Free India and wants all to contribute his or her best for building up Rama Rajya as desired by Mahatmaji. It is written in a charming style. The book deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

SANKET LIPI (Shorthand), 2nd Edition: By L. P. Jain. Fine Art Printing Press, Ajmer. 1933. English pocket edition.

Several years' efforts to evolve one system of Sanket Lipi so as to express all languages materialised in bringing out the above publication by L. P. Jain. The author claims that the book defines a system that catches up the sounds of most languages and therefore has international possibility. The language in which the whole thing has been discussed is very lucid and the get-up is excellent.

KANANGOPAL BAGCHI

BENGALI

ARTHANITI—SAMAJ—RASTRA: By Sri Sasanka Sekhar Bagchi and Sri Sudhansu Bhusan Mukherjee. Published by the Modern Book Agency, 10 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pages 255. Price Rs. 3.

The book contains altogether thirty-seven essays of which five are written on political philosophy. Other essays are on Economics, Sociology, Health, Banking, Inflation, Transport System, Food Problem, Animal Husbandry, Industries, Damodar Valley Scheme and other allied subjects written particularly with reference to Indian conditions. Although the book is meant for Commerce students of our University, the subjects dealt with are of common interest to the general public and as such the book will be found useful by general readers. We have no doubt the book shall have a wide circulation among the Commerce students and the general public interested in Indian Economics.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

HINDI JAIN SAHITYA KA SANKSHIP'I: ITIHAS: By Kamtaprasad Jain. Published by Bharatiya Gnandpith, Benares. Pp. 267. Price Rs. 2-14.

The many-sided contribution of Jainism to Indian culture is an accepted fact. The present publication is a brief history of its contribution to Hindi literature from Apabhramsha period (about eighth century) to the nineteenth century. Hindi literature, indeed, owes a good deal to its Jain scholars for its development and dynamism. The tearned author has handled the subject

with an ever-open eye to the working of the various forces—religious, social, etc. Thus, the book is much more than a mere catalogue or chronology. Its "readability" is one of its several pleasing features. Shri Kamtaprasad has filled a long-felt void in a full-length history of Indian literature; and consequently he is entitled to the cordial thanks of all students of literature in general, and of those of Hindi literature in particular.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MAHARANA PRATAPI PRATAP: By the late Kavi Chhaganlal Amthaaram Bruhma Bhatt. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1946. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 2-12.

Every year the "Gujarati" Printing Press, Bombay, presents a novel to its readers. This is the 63rd such present, and it admirably portrays the heroic deeds of Maharana Pratap, of Mevad. His courage and patriotism have immortalised him in the history of India, and this book is a valuable help in expounding how that immortality was won. It should interest every reader.

GUJARATNUN GOURAVA, Part I: By A. R. Bhimani, Gondal (late of Rangoon). Printed at the Unity Printing Press, Bombay. 1946. Cloth-bound.

Illustrated, Pp. 202. Price Rs. 20.

Mr. Bhimani, who was connected with the Press at Rangoon, before it was evacuated, has in this small volume given short biographies of about 42 Gujaratis who in his opinion have contributed to the greatness (Gourar) of Gujarati. Gujaratis, Kathiawadis, and Cutchis, comprising industrial magnates, literary men, men connected with Insurance, Banking, Films, Education and Charity are all to be found here. It is a comprehensive-list, and is to be supplemented by another.

SAGAR: By Fogindra Jaganuath Tripathi, M.A., B.T., Baroda, Published by the Vidyadhikari, Baroda State, 1946, Thick card-board, Illustrated jacket, Pp. 500, Price Rs. 2-4.

Sagar was the nem de plume of the late Jaganuath Damodardas Tripathi, who, though he lived in this world, was out of it. He passed his whole life in a hermit's hut, and in doing so his object was the attainment of God-head (Prabhumanti). Besides being a thinker and a writer and a student, he was a poet and he has contributed two substantial volumes, Gujarati Gazalistan, and Diwan-e-Sagar, written in the Iranian Sufi's vein, to the Gujarati literature. He was a deep student of poet Kalapi's works and also the philosopherpoet of old Gujarat, Akho. His life and his sayings as put down here, by his son, do the latter great credit as an author, and in the discharge of his filial duty, he has seen to it, that not a single phase of this father's model life has been left out.

HINDUSTANI-GUJARATI KOSHA: By Maganbhai I'. Desai. Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 876. Price

Rs. 4

This is the second edition of the Dictionary, first published in 1939, with additions and amendments. The Hindustani works are printed in Balbodha as well as Urdu script, while the meanings of those words are given in Balbodha (Hindi) only. This is a step forward in the propaganda of Gandhiji for the creation and use of a national language for India. It embodies 16.000 words, and in spite of some drawbacks here and there, as to giving correct equivalents it is a great achievement, specially when one notices that the compiler is a pure Gujarati, born and bred in Gujarat, having very little contact with Hindi. We welcome the attempt.

First, the expensive cruehing machinery which is an essential part of every cane sugar manufacturing enterprise, can be eliminated in the case of a factory devoted to the manufacture of sugar from palms. Palm juice is the result of just "tapping" which of course is a highly skilled operation. Secondly, since the juice is comparatively free from chlorophyllous and other pigments, the process of clarafication is considerably simplifiel? Thirdly, the juice is considered to be free from sucrose inverting enzymes, which minimise the formation of molasses. Fourthly, the annual cost of cultivation attending the raising of sugarcane crops is entirely eliminated. To-day, palms constitute a free and generous gift of Nature: they flourish without any attention in some of the most inhospitable and barren soils and continue to yield the saccharine juice for 60-70 years. With a little attention and care the useful life of the palm could perhaps be extended and the yield of juice augmented. These are problems for the future when the palm will come to be recognised as the sugar-yielding perennial.

It is roughly estimated that a single palm, if well developed, might yield sufficient juice to make a maund of sugar which, at the current rate, would cost about Rs. 35. If a hundred palms can be optimally stocked in an acre of land, the annual gross revenue per acre would amount to a surprising figure of Rs. 3.500. A conservative estimate of the number of palms in the country puts the figure at 4 crores; this potential source of natural wealth should be exploited. We would strongly urge the Provincial and State Governments interested in this perennial crop, to constitute a Central Advisory Board to devise ways and means by which this important source of raw material could be reconomically capitalised in support of Prohibition and the services of the present trade organisation mobilised on modern lines without creating unemployment in its ranks.

India's Progress

The New Review observes:

The crucial problem of Indian politics is unity. Since Independence Day, the first equations have been solved. The general pattern of administration, central and provincial, has been framed and it will soon receive the willing sanction of the Constituent Assembly. The states, including recalcitrant Hyderabad, have been successfully fitted into the pattern, and Kashmir itself would have been definitely incorporated, were it not for foreign interference. Central administrative unity in thus defined and secure.

What is equally gratifying is that communal unity is gradually developing. The supreme test came during the Hyderaland tragi-comedy; communal passion did not flare up and the fears of civil war which the Central Government confessed by declaring a 'state of grave emergency' did not materialise. 'India has turned the corner'. Sardar Patel said at Delhi; 'We are making good', echoed Pandit Nehru in London. The major problem awaiting a solution is the language question and the reshaping of provinces along linguistic lines.

The problem is delicate. In all national life, politics is marked by a tension between unity and diversity. The tension is rarely severe when it is limited to the economic field, as evidenced in the divergence of interests between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts in the U.S.A. But diversity of tanguage holds more redoubtable possibilities. Language is inimitately bound up with personality and divergence in language may easily lead to idiosyncrasics loaded with passion, and ones the conflict has reached certain pitch of emotion it becomes disruptive. The general lines of solution can be surmised. English will be pushed back to the place of the first foreign language and take the importance it had in pre-war Japan, With

elections on the basis of universal suffrage, sheer numbers will return a majority of representatives whe will not have the same legard for Shakespeare and Burke as the adults who are actually framing the Constitution. The popular vote will also strengthen the cause of regional languages; the linguistic revivals which are rousing the intelligentsia in different parts of the country will foster provincial self-consciousness and even emotions which many politicians will not be slow to exploit. Were diversity of linguistic, and cultural emotions combined with economic differences over a given area, ugly tendencies might develop and wreck unity. The language problem is the most complex of those still awaring a solution.

The Constituent Assembly will have it easier to define India's relations with the British Commonwealth. India will first declare herself a sovereign democratic republic; and then in full independence she will search for some sort of an association with the nations of the Commonwealth. She needs the protection of the British navy to-day; she might become the senior partner of the Commonwealth in fifty years.

Fighting Inflation

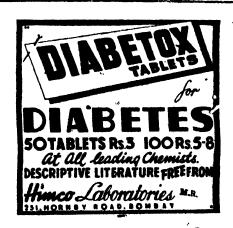
The same Review observes:

In a mood to placate all sides, the Government invited reports and opinions from economists, labour representatives and leading capitalists. Then they got together a bunch of measures which looks like the highest common factor of opinions: (a) balancing budgets by administrative economies and revision of national and provincial schemes; (b) withdrawing money from public circulation by levying death-duties, postponing the refund of Excess Profits taxes, recommending provincial taxes on agricultural incomes, promoting savings schemes; (c) regulating consumption prices by limiting dividends and rationing some ossential commodities.

The real problem to be tackled was the phenomenon of rising prices, the rise being due to a redundancy of currency, and a simultaneous fall in the production of consumption goods. The Government have chosen to limit their present effort to the excess of currency, and though foundly talk of nationalising production, they will

fondly talk of nationalising production, they will selves do little to increase production. They do not

giving the Government an efficacious control of means of payment and no direct initiative in the production of goods, leakages will occur and results may be disappointing.



Wages and salaries are not given any ceiling; any increase would go and swell the already redundant currency on the market and raise prices. The planned drive for small savings will fetch little. Cam savings be expected from the common man who has to wrap his dhoti tighter evrey day? As to budget manipulations they will increase production but little, though they may cut down bureaucratic expenditure. What was most alarming about the anti-inflation measures was the exultation capitalists could not conceal. Dividends on paid up capital are fixed at the average of the last two years or six percent, whichever is higher. It sounds good enough. But there is no limit on commission of Managing Agencies, salary, bonus, etc., no regulation against weakening the assets of a company by mortgaging them for the sake of a loan to others, no restriction on the cascade of middlemen recruited among relatives, etc. Nor is there any measure against shunting reserves into share capital and multiplying the maximum dividends. In course of time such leakages could, however, be stopped.

On the other hand, who can expect a merchant to adjust his prices to the six-per-cent target? Should we not rather foresoc that on each day of the year he will make whatever he possibly can, and that in the last week of the financial year by allocation to reserves, etc., by timely donations to charitable institutions or by any other device suggested by personal acuity and legalist assistance, he will reach down to the six per-cent limit to the bitter edification of the tax-inspectors? Typical of mercantile menatlity was the recent scandal of sugar-stocks piling up in spite of transport facilities offered to sugar-mills. The shortest way to force capitalists to admit that the good old days of rising prices are over is to increase the supply of goods on the consumption market, whether they come from new national sources or from foreign stocks. sight of foreign goods would convert their minds, if not their hearts. What is most urgently needed is abundance of goods; monetary adjustments are subsidiary. Even the Nizam cannot dine off his jewels.

Islam and World Culture

The great contribution, often overlooked, which Islam has made, of which not the least important for the West was its preservation and transmission of the cultural values of the Graeco-Roman world, which had in turn derived from Egypt and from India. Prof. A. J. Arberry writes in The Aryan Path:

By the end of the sixth century A.D. when Muhammad began his mission, Graeco-Roman civilization, which had brought so great intellectual brilliance and material prosperity to Europe, Asia Minor and North Africa, was in the last stages of decay. Christianity was rent by schismatic quarrels. The Sassanian empire of Persia was fast breaking up. The Dark Ages of the West were at hand.

It is possibly not too much to say that, but for the unifying influence of Islam and the coherent pattern of Islamic cutture, Western civilization would in due course have been overwhelmed and utterly destroyed by the successive waves of barbarian invaders. It was a most fortunate gircumstances that when the most powerful threat came, from the Turkish, Mongol and Tartar tribes, the Islamic empire, though weakened by decay and internal dissension, yet remained solid enough and strong enough to absorb the full impact of those onslaughts and to halt the flood of destruction short of Europe,

Otherwise, it seems that nothing could have stood between Hulagu Khan and the Atlantic seaboard. Rome and Paris would have suffered the fate of Baghdad. The scholars of the West, like those of Persia and Iraq, would have been butchered, and those monastic libraries which formed the centres of learning at the renaissance pillaged and burned.

So much on the purely material plane. On the spiritual level, we might speculate that it was in part at least the challenge thrown down by Islam for the possession of men's souls that stimulated the Christian West to seek a revival of learning, lest the masses of Europe should go over wholly to the new religion.

The naked sword of Islamic monotheism could only be parried by the shield of a Christianity purified and rid of its crasser accretions of pagan superstition.

Materially and spiritually Islam throughout its history has maintained a certain pattern of thought, a distinctive standard of life that have secured, despite all the vicissitudes of fortune, a notable stability of culture over a large area of the globe.

Because Islam offered its followers a firm and simple faith, asserting the omnipotence of a Divine Power yet maintaining the worth and dignity of the individual man and woman, the Muslim peoples held fast to their conception of the good life in the face of immense catastrophes.

Islam is a system of law as well as a way of life and worship.

Men will more readily and obediently accept the idea of the sancitity of law if they believe it to be rooted in a heavenly faith, and not the imposition of the strong upon the weak. The religious law of Islam provided a fair and reasonable basis for society and human relations: it is marked by a benevolent care for the weak, the widow and orphan, and asserts the rights as well as the duties of the ordinary citizen. Islam gave birth to one of the great legal systems of mankind, and taught its followers to accept and respect the arbitrament of a reasoned judgment in all causes and disputes.

Islam has furnished the ideal of a virtually classless order of life in which discriminations of pedigree and colour need play no part.

When we consider the intellectual and artistic achievements of Islamic civilization, we are compelled to recognize that they are fully equal to its other contributions to world culture. Each of the major "Islamic" languages—Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu—has produced its own great literature, both religious and secular, rivalling in range and quality any comparable output of the human mind.



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The medical, mathematical and philosophical discoveries of the ancient world might likely enough have been lost after the collepse of Graeco-Roman divilization, had they not been taken over by the Arabs and the Persians at the beginning of Islam and accepted as the starting-point of a further range of intellectual exploration.

The universities of modern Europe owe not a little of their structure and design to the models provided by

Muslim Spain, Sicily and Egypt.

In art and architecture equally the achievements of Islamic civilization are patent to view.

To have stood in the vast fabric of the Omayyad Mosque at Damascus or the majestic Sultan Hassan Madrasa at Cairo, to have seen the delicate arabesques that adorn a thousand splendid buildings from Morocco to India, is to be conscious of a human spirit disciplined in the worship of One God and trained to observe the evidences of His omnipotence and supreme artistry in all creation.

The men who planned and executed these places set aside for Cod's service lavished all their skill and imagination upon a well-loved task. Grandeur of design, exquisite perfection of detail—these reveal a spirit richly satisfied

in God

The Greeks of old also knew the virtue of contemplation; Islam was in this respect far more truly the heir of the Hellenic spirit than dynamic modern Europe.

Role of Scientists in the Control of Atomic Energy

The scientists have produced, the political rulers have enjoined, and the rank and file have used all the dreadful new weapons and complicated gadgets of war with the least qualm of conscience for the preparation of such dastardly outrages like area bombing and saturation bombing under the conviction that they are acting for the good and progress of humanity. The Journal of the Indian-Chemical Society observes:

The Council of the Indian Chemical Society gave a reply to the letter of the Committee for Foreign Correspondence of the Federation of American Scientists inviting the views and opinions of the Indian Chemical Society on the subject of international control of atomic energy and

atomic armament rare.

The Council of the Indian Chemical Society has rightly indicated that the responsibility of the scientists in the matter is possibly far greater than that of any other public body, if only because of the fact that it was the scientists who, deluded, by the so-called spirit of nationalism and

loyalty to the state, and, it may also be added here, lured to a certain extent by highly profitable salaries and rewards, co-operated in the production of such marvels of technological skill in the form of tanks, rock-bursters, V-weapons, rocket-bombs, flame-throwers and atomic bombs. While engaged in the production of these deadly instruments of mass-slaughter they allowed their scientific judgment to be clouded by a false pride of victory in the cause of humanity. The humanity is flow groaning under the crushing weight of their own inventions. They cannot, therefore, escape their share of guilt of the scientifically planned indiscriminate mass massacre and wholesale destruction of the last two global wars, which have landed the world to-day in a state of utter moral and material chaos with scarcity and starvation for millions.

Scientists in general have also contributed indirectly in no less measure to the creation of a mental climate or ideologies, full of potentialities for human conflicts, by advancing materialistic theory of life and human progress.

The philosophical foundation and background of the sciences, which generally account for their limitations were clearly understood only by a very few. As a result, a simplified pictific of the world and reality emerged out of the scientific progress and was universally accepted with an almost fanatical faith. This has gradually led to a denial of human personality and human values. All moral values have been branded as illusions, worthy only of sick-brained visionaries; spirituality has been explained as a perverted or misdirected sex-instinct. Human beings are believed as nothing better than animals or machines madof flesh and blood, controlled by mechanical laws of physics and chemistry. And all this pass current in the name of progress.

Unfortunately this so-called scientific picture of the world and reality still persists in the mind of many, not excluding a large body of the scientists themselves. The enormity of the unprecedented catastrophes of the last world war has failed to awaken the people at large, and with return of an uneasy peace of scarcity and starvation they have engaged themselves once again in activities effective only for perpetuating the causes of war. The world has thus learned nothing a Indeed, it has been said that the inost important lesson of history is that nobody ever learns history's lessons.

It is alleged that in America a large body of experts, including many Nazi scientists, are engaged to-day in extensive researches for war purposes, which cover land and air arms, submarines and naval surface craft, atomic chemical and bacteriological weapons.



In fact, science and technology are being militarized and misapplied for the purpose of destruction. If there be any fruth in these reports, the Federation of American Scientists has much work to do nearer home. And it is very likely that from this realization they have just dissolved

their Committee for Foreign Correspondence.

In their reply the Council of the Indian Chemical Society has rightly emphasized the pressing need for the scientists to organize and educate the members of their own profession than launching a wider campaign for enlightening the public opinion of the world, the right for which they will forfeit if they fail to keep their own house in order. Hence, in this matter of atomic energy control the action of the scientists may profitably follow two main directions as indicated below.

Nationalism, as it stands to-day, aims neither at liberty nor safety, nor even lasting prosperity, for the individual. So we find the common man in every nation to-day is faced either with material or moral ruin. Applied science

in the service of nationalism has wrought this havoc. What is most needed, therefore, is a reorientation of applied science and its utilization for serving the fundamental human needs and forwarding the causes of human welfare, human safety and human liberty.

Instead of researches on the discovery of increasingly more destructive armaments and ammunitions of war, scientists and technicians should devote their attention to the increased production of food, the discovery of more effective medicines, biological researches in general, and the production of cheap power that might be utilized equally by all to meet their primary requirements.

Finally, scientists can organize themselves into an international federation and refuse on conscientious grounds to lend their service or advice for any work connected with preparations of war, or with exploitations and ensalvement of human being. This non-co-operation with evils has been particularly stressed upon by the Council of the Indian Chemical Society in their reply, referred to. For this, of course, the scientists will have to prepare themselfes for all possible persecutions and sacrifices. It endorses, in fact the suggestion made by Dr. Gene Weltfish in one of the issues of the Scientific Monthly of 1945. Scientists and technicians, while enlisting themselves as members of such an international federation, should take an oath, in the words of Dr. Weltfish, as follows: "I pledge myself that I will use my knowledge for the good of humanity and against the destructive forces of the world and the ruthless intent of men, and that I will work together with my fellow scientists of whatever nation, creed or colour for these our common ends.

THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: Sonhia Wadia

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September, 1939—of the declaration of last World War, prediction of the achievement of independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal as the Premier made on the 3rd Sept., 1946, and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstitude praise and gratitude from all quarters including His M-jesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1928 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares. Panditii is now the Canaulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India—a signal Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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Macaulay and His History—A Hundred Years After

In reviewing The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, R. L. Schuyler gives an account of the main characteristics of the life and writings of Macaulay in the Political Science Quarterly, June. 1948:

The well-known ambition which Macaulay cherished for his History-that it would for a few days "superscde the last fashionable novel on the tables of young ladies"—was amply realized, as is shown by the facts and figures concerning its sales given by Sir George Otto Trevelvan, Macaulay's nephew, in his classic biography of his uncle. The annual sale, according to Trevelyan, writing about 1875, often surpassed that of the best-selling novel of the current year.

The first instalment of Macaulay's History was published in 1848, and if in this its centennial year the public in the English-speaking world were to be polled on the question, "Who is the greatest historian of England?" I believe that Macaulay would be an easy winner. He is no longer read to the same extent, to be sure, as in his own day and during the following generation Publishers still find it profitable to reprint his History and his Essays from time to time, but his reputation today is largely traditional. To say this, however, is to say that Macaulay's writings must have made, as we know that they did make, a tremendous impression upon England and her cultural offspring. Nor should we overlook the influence of Macaulay in non-English-speaking countries. Trevelyan tells us that the *History* was translated into German, Dutch. Danish, French, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Bohemian, Russian, Hungarian and Persian. The surprising thing about it today is not that it is not read more widely, but that it is read at all. It deals with only a brief period, even though an important one, in English history; facts unknown to Macaulay have been brought to light by later investigation; literary taste has undergone changes since his day; and the belief that he held in a progress which has operated in the past,

Our principal concern here will be with Macaulay as a historian, but he was, of course, much besides that. No estimate of his work as a historian can justifiably disregard all other aspects of his personality and career, for again and again these latter would call for modifications and alterations of judgments based exclusively on his historical writings.

at least for many centuries, and which can be counted

upon to operate in the future, has been shaken, to put

lifelong trait of Macaulay's of which his published writings give little or no hint was his emotional sensibility.

it mildly.

The agony of grief which he suffered at the time of his mother's death, the pain it gave him to part from those he loved, and his susceptibility to the stirring and sublime in literature, as well as to the pathetic, all bespoke an acutely sensitive nature. He was often, and sometimes embarrassingly, affected to tears by his reading. When nearly fifty years of age he reread Richardson's Clariese and recorded in: his journal: "I hearly cried my eyes out." A letter to his

niece shows him weeping over Homer. "I read the last five books (of the Iliad) at a stretch during may walk today, and was . . . forced to turn into a by-path lest the parties of walkers should see me blubbering for imaginary beings. ." The emotional side of Macaulay's nature is revealed to some extent by the marginal notes which he made in the books in his library, especially in Shakespeare's tragedies; and it may explain the superlatives in which he sometimes indulged, as in the encomium he bestowed on the conclusion of Plato's Apology as being the most sublime thing in literature.

In the judgment of his contemporaries Macaulay was a great parliamentary orator, and his intimate knowledge of public affairs in his own day had some bearing on his outlook as a historian. Entering the House of Commons in 1830 as a staunch Whig, he was not slow to distinguish himself in the arena of national politics. His first speech in support of the Reform Bill made a profound impression. At its conclusion the Speaker told him that he had never seen the House in such a state of excitement, and Sir Robert Peel declared that parts of the speech were as beautiful as anything he had ever heard or read This resounding parliamentary success determined the direction of Macaulay's career for the next two or three years and made him a lion in London society. Though he did not hold important ministerial office, he played a leading part in the House of Commons. In the opinion of Croker, who was not likely to exaggerate Macaulay's merits, he was "the most brilliant rhetorician of the House." "Whenever he rose to speak," said Gladstone, who entered Parliament about the same time as Macaulay, "it was a summons like a trumpet-call to fill the benches." Macaulay's prepared speeches were very carefully thought out in advance, even as to precise phraseology, but he deliberately refrained from writing them out lest they should seem too much like essays, and he habitually spoke without notes.

What Macaulay accomplished in India as a member of the Governor-General's Council, and especially what he did in behalf of English education and for reform of the administration of justice, entitled him to the name of statesman, broad-minded administrator, and jurist.



In 1832, he was appointed a member of the Board of Control, which represented the Crown in its relations to the East India Company, and at once began reading extensively about India. In July of the following year he made a great speech in the House of Commons in support of the East India Charter Bill—"the best speech, by general agreement, and in my own opinion, that I ever made in my life," he wrote to his sister Hannah. Macaulay's primary reason for going to India was, as he himself very frankly admitted, pecuniary. His father, aborbed in religious and philanthropic enterprises, had fallen into grave financial difficulties, and the family fortunes were at a low ebb. His salary of £10,000 a year as a member of the Legislative Council of India would enable him, he calculated, to return to England while still under forty years of age with a fortune of £30,000.

It should be emphasized, however, that while he went to India to win a financial competence and looked upon his stay there as a period of exile, he was very far indeed from regarding his position as a lucrative sinceure. He worked hard in the interest of the people of Iudia as he understood it-unnecessarily so, for much of his most arduous labor was voluntary. A recently published collection of the minutes in which Macaulay explained to his colleagues in the Council his views on public questions shows us a statesman applying without fear or favor, and sometimes with great courage, English principles of justice

to problems of Indian government.

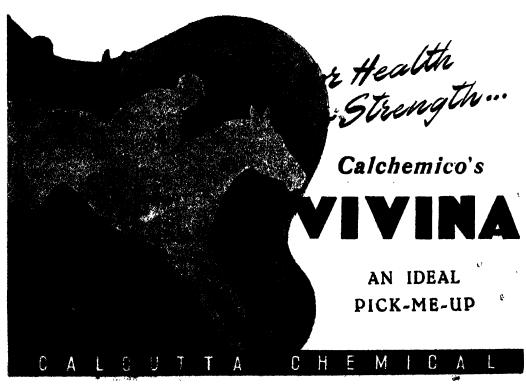
Macaulay happened to go to India at a critical moment in its intellectual development. All educational activity on the part of the government had been at a standstill for some time on account of a difference of opinion in the Committee of Public Instruction. which was evenly divided on the question of what kind of education should be officially encouraged. Half of the members were in favor of maintaining and extending the old scheme of supporting Oriental

learning in Sansorit, Persian and Arabic. The other half advocated teaching the elements of knowledge in the vernacular languages and the higher branches in English, Macaulay on his arrival was appointed President of the Committee, but he declined to take any active part in its proceedings until the government had finally decided on the question at issue. In January, 1835, both sides of the Committee offered their opinions to the Supreme Council, and on February 2, Macaulaly, as a member of the Council, presented the famous minute in which he defended the views of the English party. It settled the question at once and permanently, and a month later the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, decided that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." Thereupon Macaulay as President of the Committee of Public Instruction took up with great zeal and energy the work of that office and, though the means at his disposal were sadly inadequate, he showed a high order of administrative ability.

Macaulay's labors in the cause of education in India were voluntary and unpaid. Macaulay may be he has been-accused of being unfair to Oriental learning, but it cannot be seriously questioned that his educational policy was inspired by a genuine desire

to benefit the people of India.

A clause in the Indian Charter Act of 1833 gave rise to the appointment in 1834 of a Law Commission to advise the Council on matters of law and to draft legal codes. Macaulay had been admitted to the Bar in 1826, but he never seems to have looked to the law seriously as a profession and soon gave up any pretense of practicing it. He was, nevertheless, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, and at his own instigation he was appointed President of the Law Commission. As such he was the principal author of the Indian Penal Code, which appeared in draft in





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1837. Throughout, the influence of Bentham, for whom as a philosopher of jurisprudence Macaulay had a deep respect, can be seen. In fact, Six Leslie Stephen, in his work on the English Utilitarians, called the Indian Penal Code "the first actual attempt to carry out Bentham's favorite schemes under British rule." Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, the eminent authority on criminal law and brother of Sir Leslie, praised Macaulay very highly as a lawgiver: "The point which always has surprised me most in connection with the Penal Code is that it proves that Lord Macaulay must have had a knowledge of English criminal law which, considering how little he had practised it, may fairly be called extraordinary. He must have possessed the gift of going at once to the very root of the matter, and of sifting the corn from the chaff to a most unusual degree; for his draft gives the substance of the criminal law of England, down to its minute working details, in a compass which, by comparison with the original, may be regarded as almost absurdly small.

Before Macaulay became distinctively a historian he had won celebrity as an essayist and a poet—or at any rate a writer of ballads of great merit. The first of the long series of articles which he contributed to the Edinburgh Review, his essay on Milton, appeared in August 1825, when the magazine was at the height of its influence. It made Macaulay's literary reputation. In acknowledging receipt of the manuscript, Lord Jeffrey, then Editor of the Edinburgh Review, said: "The more I think, the less I can conceive where you picked up that style." Some years later, Macvey Napier, who succeeded Jeffrey as Editor, told Macaulay that his articles were all that kept the magazine going. The booksellers reported that the issues sold, or did not sell, according as they did or did not contain articles of his Macaulay's essays were first published in collected form in England in 1843, and they long continued to enjoy phenomenal sales for a volume of such character in Britain and in the United States. The Lays of Ancient Rome appeared about the ame time and scored an immediate success. "Horatius" nd "The Battle of the Lake Regillus" long continued to be favorite material for schoolboy declamations in England and the United States.

What Gibbon called "an invincible love of reading" was the ruling passion of Macaulay's life. It manifested itself, as is well known, amazingly early, and from the time he was three years

old he was reading incessantly.

After reaching India Macaulay wrote to art intimate friending india imagalay wrote to all informatic friend in England: "I read insatiably (on the voyage); the Iliad and Odyssey, Virgil, Horace, Caesar's Commentaries, Bacon de Augmentis, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Boon Quixote, Gibbon's Rome, Aill's India, all the seventy volumes of Voltaire, Sismondi's History of France, and the seven thick folios of the Biographia Britannica. I found my Greek and Latin in good condition enough."

His reading in Greek and Latin while in India was prodigious indeed. Writing to the same friend on

December 30, 1835, he said:

"I have cast up my reading account, and brought it to the end of the year 1835. It includes December, . During the last thirteen months I have read Aeschylus twice; Sophocles twice; Euripides once; Pindar twice; Callimachus; Apollonius Rhodius; Quintus Calaber; Theocritus twice; Herodotus; Thucydides; almost all Xenophon's works; almost all Plato; Aristotle's Politics, and a good deal of the Organon, besides dipping elsewhere in him; the whole of Plutarch's Lives; about half of Lucian; two or three books of Athenaeus; Plautus twice; Terrence

twice; Lucretius twice; Catullus; Tjbullus; Prepertius; Lucan; Statius; Silius; Italicus; Livy; Velleius Paterculus; Sallust; Caesar; and, lustly. Cicero. I have, indeed, still a little of Cicero left; but I shall finish him in a few days. I am now deep in Aristophanes and Lucian.

Commenting upon this miraculous achievement, all the more amazing when it is remembered that Macaulay at the time was busy with important affairs of government, Trevelyan says that all this mass of literature was not only read but read carefully, as is proved by "the pencil marks, single, double, and treble, which meander down the margin of such passages as excited the admiration of the student; and by the remarks. literary, historical, and grammatical, with which the critic has interspersed every volume, and sometimes every page."

At unfailing memory was another gift of the gods to Macaulay. He once declared that if all copies of Paradise Lost and The Pilgrim's Progress were to be destroyed, he would undertake to reproduce those

works from memory.

From his childhood days onward Macaulay's writing was characterized by meticulous precision in the use of words and perfect clarity.

Precision and clarity were, in fact, part of the man. They were evidenced in the dry business of legislation in India as well as in his literary writings and his speeches. As a recent Indian student of Macaulay's legislative work in India has pointed out, Macaulay always insisted upon making the meaning of laws clear and precise. In one of his minutes, in fact, he declared that legislative enactments ought to be of all compositions the most concise and lucid.

Macaulay's conception of historianship was

a lofty one.

"To be a really great historian," he said, perhaps the rarest of intellectual distinctions," and he found no practitioners of the craft who even approximated to his ideal. He paid his respects to the ancient historians but indicated in what ways they fell short-Herodotus, who "perpetually leaves the most sagacious reader in doubt what to reject and what to receive"; Thucydides, deficient in the power of generalization; Livy, completely indifferent to truth, concerned only with "the picturesque effect of his book, and the honor of his country"; Tacitus, unrivaled among historians in the delineation of character, but carrying "his love of effect far beyond the limits of moderation." Modern historians, in general, had adhered more strictly to truth than their ancient predecessors—they had been less fictional. "Whether the historians of the last two centuries tell more truth than those of antiquity may perhaps be doubted. But it is quite certain that they tell fewer falsehoods."

It was the business of the historian, Macaulay insisted, to interpret as well as to narrate. "The writer who does not explain the phenomena as well as state them, performs only one half of his office." In the philo-ophy of history the moderns, in his opinion, had surpassed the ancients. The best of them "far excel their predecessors in the art of deducing general principles from facts." They had, however, fallen into a great error—they had distorted facts to suit general

principles.

Macaulay took Hume as an example of this kind of misrepresentation; Gibbon, too, he found censurable on this score. And modern historians had sadly neg-lected the art of narration, "the art of interesting the affections and presenting pictures to the imagination." No history, Macaulay recognized, could present



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the whole truth; "but those are . . . the best histories which exhibit such parts of the truth as most nearly produce the effect of the whole." History, in other words, must needs be selective, and "he who is deficient in the art of selection may, by showing nothing but the truth, produce all the effect of the grossest falsehood." In this art of selection, Macaulay found, modern historians had been woefully deficient. They had conceived of history much too narrowly.

It is pre-eminently as a stylist, using that word in its broadest sense, that we usually think

of Macaulay-and rightly so.

That is how he thought of himself, and how competent critics, generally, have thought of him. "Where he set his stamp," said John Morley, a severe critic of Macaulay, "has been upon style; style in its widest sense . . . style, that is to say, in its relation to ideas and feelings, its commerce with thought, and its reaction on what one may call the temper or the conscience of the intellect." There are, of course, two sides to historianship-intake and outgo, research and presentation. Macaulay, conceiving of history as essentially a branch of literature and anxious above everything else to be read, was more greatly concerned with historical composition and its problems than with historical research and its problems.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to suppose that Mucaulay was indifferent to research. He thought of himself as a diligent investigator, and, compared with many of his predecessors, he was. "He reads twenty books to write a sentence," said Thackeray, "he travels a hundred miles to make a line of description." Buckle in his History of Civilization spoke of Macaulay's "immense research." Wilbur C. Abbott, no mean authority on seventeenth-century English history, wrote an essay on Macaulay in which he said that "contrary to a widely accepted but wholly erroneous opinion. Macaniay made few statements without

evidence to back them, and the tale of his researches is an amazing chronicle." Firth, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the defects of Macaulay's History were mainly owing to his underestimate of the

emportance of the research side of historianship.

With his characters, also, Macaulay took great pains. The portraits in the spacious gallery of his History were based upon evidence obtained from research, even if the evidence was not always trustworthy. Mucaulay, to be sure, had no gifts of psychological insight to enable him to unravel men's motives or read their hearts, but his characters are something more than the empty names we encounter in the pages of so many historians.

Freeman in his Methods of Historical Study paid a tribute to Macaulay as a writer which deserves to

be quoted:
"I can see Macaulay's great and obvious faults as well as any man, I know as well as any man the cautions with which his brilliant pictures must be studied; but I cannot feel that I have any right to speak lightly of one to whom I owe so much in the matter of actual knowledge, and to whom I owe more than to any man as the master of historical narrative. Read a page of Macaulay; scan well his minute accuracy it every name and phrase and title; contrast his English undefiled with the slipshod jargon which from our newspapers has run over into our books; dwell on the style which finds a fitting phrase in our own tongue to set forth every thought, the style which never uses a single word out of its true and honest meaning turn the pages of the book in which no man ever reac a sentence a second time because he failed to catch it meaning the first time, but in which all of us must have read many sentences a second or a twentieth time for the sheer pleasure of dwelling on the clear ness, the combined fulness and terseness, on the just relation of every word to every other, on the happily chosen epithet, or the sharply peinted sarcasm.